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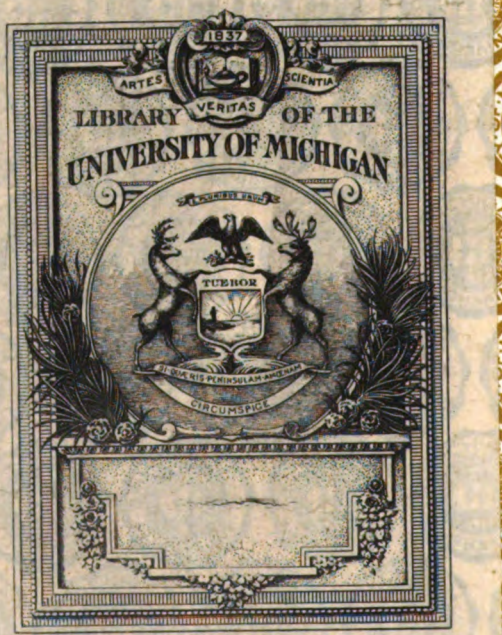

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THE
MODERN LANGUAGE REVIEW

VOLUME XXI

1926

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LONDON: FETTER LANE, E.C. 4

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A QUARTERLY JOURNAL EDITED FOR THE MODERN HUMANITIES RESEARCH ASSOCIATION

BY

J. G. ROBERTSON

G. C. MOORE SMITH

AND

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CAMBRIDGE
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
1926

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Volume XXI January, 1926 Number 1

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THE MODERN LANGUAGE REVIEW

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BY

J. G. ROBERTSON

G. C. MOORE SMITH

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CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON: FETTER LANE, E.C. 4

CHICAGO: THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
(AGENT FOR THE UNITED STATE)
BOMBAY, CALCUTTA AND MADRAS: MACMILLAN & CO., LTD.
TOKYO: THE MARUZEN-KABUSHIKI-KAISHA

Price Seven Shillings net

Annual Subscription, 25s net post free; in United States
$6.00 (*single copies* $1.75 *each*)

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A THIRTEENTH-CENTURY MANUSCRIPT AT MAIDSTONE.

THE Maidstone Museum, Maidstone, Kent, possesses a thirteenth-century manuscript which appears to have escaped the attention of scholars and antiquarians. My first hint of the existence of this manuscript was received some two years ago through the kindness of Mr Eric Miller of the British Museum, who, on his return from a visit to the museum at Maidstone, informed me that he had there seen a manuscript of the thirteenth century which on one leaf contained some Middle English verses. As very few days remained before my sailing date, I lost no time in making a pilgrimage to Maidstone and was rewarded by the discovery that the manuscript contained a text of the *Proverbs of Alfred*, and some additional material in Middle English, namely, a lyric accompanied by musical notes[1], and a few lines on the 'Three Sorrowful Things' incorporated in a Latin prose treatise. There were also two religious pieces in Anglo-Norman verse, the text of which will be given below.

With the exception of these items, the contents of Maidstone MS. A. 13 were entirely in Latin, written by a considerable number of hands, all apparently of the thirteenth century. This hasty examination of the book was sufficient to show that it must have been compiled in some religious house. The only clue to the history of the manuscript which the authorities of the museum were able to supply, was the information that it had been received for safe-keeping some fifty years ago from the parish church of All Saints, Maidstone. Through the kindness of the Curator I secured photographs of the four pages which contained virtually all the English and French material. These I submitted to Mr J. A. Herbert of the British Museum, who gave it as his opinion that the writing could hardly be later than 1250.

It was not until the summer of 1925 that I had opportunity to re-examine the manuscript in the hope of finding further clues as to its history. In the following notes I make no attempt to give an account of the Latin treatises which comprise the main contents of the book. References to England here and there lead to the conclusion that several of these treatises were composed on this side of the Channel.

[1] To be printed in my forthcoming collection of Lyrics of the Thirteenth Century.

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Thus in a Sermon on the text, 'Orate pro inuicem vt saluamini' (*James* V, 16) occur the following passages:

Nota bene deberent homines humiliari & corrigi ut recte cogitarent 4or quomodo deus comminaciones penales ponit in scriptura gladium tempestates pestem & famem & omnia ista vt nos castiget in presenti sicud pater clemens. Infra tempus modicum nobis misit pestes 4 in anglia sicud patet in diutine & quotidie aliqua illarum pro coreccione nostra & tamen induccione de scola nostra postea tandem de peste de pecoribus & de jumentis tamen hoc non obstante.....Quis homo si haberet pecuniarum habundanciam non posset suspendere fideliorem hominem impariter & saluare fortissimum latronem anglie? (fol. 81a).

Of the two Anglo-Norman poems preserved in this manuscript the first is an orison to the Blessed Virgin written as prose at the bottom of fol. 93b:

(1)

Preium au chantant
la mere ihesu
k'ele nus seit aidant
ke ne seum perdu
en-uers cel enfant
ke de li ne fu
ke il nus seit garant
par sa grant uertu
la ioie iert dublee
dunt fu entee
eue par le frut
Lvr fu unke nee
la bele honuree
dunt la ioie mut

(2)

Certes pecheur
ne uus quer celer
ki par bon amur
uult la dame amer
mar auera pour
de nul encumbrer
kar mal ne delur
ne lui purra greuer
la duce marie
li durra sa aie
eforce e uigur
kar ele est amie
a tuz cels ke folie
lesent pur sa amur

(3)

Flur de parais
mere e fille de
pucele de pris
rose de beaute
uus auez cunquis
le nostre herite
Dunt adam iadis
nus out eniete

10. entee] Lamb. MS. *engetee*.

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Mes la curenee
a la flur portee
par un sumes uifs
la char fu penee
e a mort liueree
ke reinst nus cheitifs

(4)

Deu la salua
par le angle ke dist
Aue maria
Quant en lui se mist
mult la honura
quant de li char prist
pus la curuna
de-le lui sa sist
Vnke ne fu tuchee
ne de hom a dese
pucele remist
Ne mie blesmee
enz fu espiree
del seint espirit

(5)

Mere al cur puissant
de nus remenbrez
preez uostre enfant
ne seum dampnez
quant vendrum auant
tuz serrum iugee
pur nos peches grant
dunt sumes penez
Tres duce marie
me al rei messye
pri uus lui preez
ke tut le munde guie
en par-durable uie
a lui me commandez. Amen.

57. cur] Lamb. MS. *tuz*.

Another text of this piece occurring in a fourteenth century manuscript (Lambeth MS. 522) has already been printed by R. Reinsch[1]. The rime-scheme of this piece (*abababab/ccdccd*), it may be noted in passing, makes an interesting approach to the sonnet form.

The other Anglo-Norman poem is written in 12-line stanzas but is distinguished by an extremely unusual arrangement of the rimes (*aabaabbbabba*). The theme is the familiar one of death and its inevitability, but it is developed in a fashion quite out of the ordinary. Those who ignore the life to come fall into the gravest error. If there is no life after death then is a man no better than a beast and those who live only for the pleasures of this world will fare as well as those of

[1] *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, LXIII, p. 58.

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the order of Citeaux. The author then proceeds to a panegyric upon the white monks and their life of devotion which leaves the reader in no doubt that he was himself a Cistercian.

(1)

Mort ki prenz ceus Sudenement
Ke quident viuere lungement
E ki pecchent an esparonce
Va may Sumundre vistement
Tuz nos prelaz cumunement
Engleis lvmbarz et ceus de fronce
Pur quei ne fut sen demorance
Justice de laie pusance
Ke deu gverrei apertement
Bastuns vnt pur fere vengance
E cornes en signifionce
Ki deiueint hurter durement

(2)

Mort tu defies e guerrees
Ceus ke des tailes e des praies
Funt lur surfez e lur utrages
Tuz tes turmenz en ceus emploies
Ki de autri dolur funt lur ioes.
Cest pres par tut li usages
E cist tempez e cist orages
. . . . . .
Chacent lur Almes maleueis
Certes ce nest pas vassellages
Fere sun pru de autrui damages
Ne de autrui quer large curais

(3)

Mort huniz est ke ne tei creent
E plus huniz ke vil ne suuent
Fors ce vie ne li faille.
Faillir! sein faille la cuuent
Poi la tendra ke plus latent
Quanke home aloigne mort retaille
Mes li sot dient e nus kechale
De quel oure mort nus asaille
Per num le ben tant cum il nu uent
Apres ke put valer si vaille
Mors est la fin de Bataile
E cors e alme neent deuent

(4)

Deca ke cest errur cummence
De ceste seculere cience
Dunt fu la viel filosophie
Nasqui ceste peesme sentence
Ki tout a deu sa prouidence
E dit ke autre secle ni ert mie
Sulum ces ad meillur partie

7. *Corrected from* demur ance.
17. *Corrected from* iois.
20. *An omitted line; no gap in MS.*
25. te *corrected from* tei; creent *corrected from* crent.
40. peesme] s *interlined above; ā gloss on the margin reads:* id est mala.

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Cil ke o sa abandune a folie
Ke cil ke garde Continence
Mes certes si nest autre vie
Entre alme e homme e alme a troye
Nad dunk point de difference

(5)

Se autre vie nest dunkes vaus
Face li cors tuz ses auaus
E face quanke li dilite
Viue li home cum purceaus
Kar tuz pechez est bons e baus
Si vertu nat point de merite
E deu ke frunt dunck cil ermite
Ke tant vnt la char afflite
E tont bu de amer rusauls
Se apres la mort est quite *et* quite
Dunke vnt la pire vie eslite
Tuz cil del lordre de cistaus

(6)

Si deus a ceus nul ben ne rendt
Mult cher a blans moynes se vent
Mult vnt le meuz cil as gros couls
Ke ne tenent deu nul cuuent
Einz funt processiun suuent
A cras morsauls e as liz mouls
Kar certes si cum dit Saint Pouls
Cil ke sout dire les bons coups
Ki ben put auer e nel prent
E pur deu sofre les dur cops
Mult est malureus e fous
Se il autre ben de deu natent

(7)

Si deu ne rendt repos pur laste
A ceus ke nunt ne pain ne paste.
E ki pur lui se sunt essillez.
An lordre ke le cors degaste
Pur fer le alme e sobre e chaste
Fous est li gyu e atillez
Ke pur lui se est tant auillez
Ke blonk ordre se est kuullez
E ke de aler a luy se haste
Dunc fu Bien Saint laueranz triulez
Ki Rosti fu e greilez
E fist pur deu de sun cors haste

(8)

Mort pruue e ies ren nen dunt
Ke autont ne vaile poy cumme munt
De tute rien ke moert e secche
Mort mustre ke nient est tut
Quank ke glutunie englout

44. o *written above* sa ab *crossed through.*
53. tuz] MS. *clearly* tur.
58. Se] *altered from* Sa.
64. *Above* cuuent *is a gloss*: id *est* cuuenont.
77. *This line is written on the margin in the same hand and marked for insertion.*

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E quanke lecherie o lecche
Mort fet ke li seint hom ne pecche
Pur ces ke ren ne li cunteche
La u ele put duner sun but
Mort met a un pris grange e crache
Vin e ewe Samun e seche
Mort dit a tutes aises T. tprupt

(9)

Tuit atendent cumvnement
Deus choses mort e iugement
Acuntre ces deus nad ke un cunfort
Repentir sei parfitement
Espinger sei tut netement
De quanke li quor se remort
Ki ces ne fet deuandt la mort
A tar se pleindra aa tort
Quant deus en prendra vengement
Kar einz ke la nef ysse de port
Si lem deittum uindre si fort
Ke ele voist par mer suurement

(10)

Deu pur quei est tont desiree
Ioye charnauls envenimee
Ke si currunt nostre nature.
Pur ducur ke tost est passee
Ki par a si curte duree
Las cum ci ad pale puinture
Ke fet le alme a crere a vsure
Amertume ke tuz iurs dure
Ke tant par est cher conperree
Fui lecherie fui luxure
Ieo nay de si cher morsel cure
Muz eime mes peis e ma poreie

(11)

Se cil ke les granz biens vnt
En cest Siecle e le maus funt.
Sen alasent si senz Iuise
E passasent si bien al punt
Cum cil ke par meseyse i uunt
Dunk deiseiico senz feintise
Ke en deu ne en seinteglise
Neust point de greite Iustise
Certes Seinurs enceies auerunt
Li gros peisun la lure asise
Ke ore manguunt la menuise
Ne de nuli iuge ne sunt.

90. o *written above* leche *crossed through.*
96. tprupt] Cf. 'Tprot,' *Simon Fraser* v. 230 (Böddeker *Altengl. Dicht.*, p. 134); 'Phrut,' Gerv. of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia* (ed. Liebrecht, p. 41); 'Proth,' in stanzas 5 and 11 of Latin poem printed by W. Heuser (*Anglia* xxvii, 315).
106. e *written and expuncted after* nef.
131. MS. memise.

A clue to the particular Cistercian monastery in which these verses were composed may be found in the reference to the martyrdom of St Lawrence, the only saint mentioned in the poem. With a single

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exception all the Cistercian houses in England listed by Dugdale were dedicated to the Blessed Virgin. The exception is Revesby Abbey in Lincolnshire, which was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin and St Lawrence, but was usually referred to by the more distinctive name of St Lawrence[1].

The eulogy of the white monks and the mention of St Lawrence alone among the saints and martyrs would be most plausibly explained by supposing that the author of these verses was a monk of Revesby, and from this the natural inference would be that the manuscript with which we are concerned was compiled in this Lincolnshire house. In fact, this hypothesis would probably be accepted without hesitation were it not for other evidence which points quite as unmistakably in a different direction. Before discussing the matter further I proceed to place this evidence before the reader.

At the top of fol. 6^{b} and 7^{a} one finds the beginning of an alphabetical table of definitions. These are arranged in four columns, devoted respectively to A, B, C, and D; they begin with 'Amor est conjunctio dei pregnantis ad dilectum' and end with 'Desperacio est quando aliquis diffidit de bonitate dei sicut caym. Major est iniquitas in,' etc. These definitions, however, left fully three-fourths of the space on these two pages unfilled, and this vacant space has been utilized by a later hand —of the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century— for recording accounts, presumably relating to some religious house.

[fol. 6^{b}, col. 1.]

Recept' de sliptañ x sol. Item xx sol. de societate (?) x marc'. Item v Marc' & dī & de mag' xx sol. Item de spurliptoñ xiiij s'. Recept' x s' de namuo (?) de trop.

In locacoē cem'tar' prima septimana vij sol. vij d. In petra empt' v. sol. viij. d. In gatis xiiij d. In corbell xiiij d. In clauis iij d ob. In operar' vj. sol. iij den' Roberto carpntar' ij. sol. Lī magistro xx den' in panuo ix s'.

Summa xxxiiij s' ix d. o.

Item Lī cementar' pro secunda septimana x s' viij d. Lī operar' v. sol. ij d. in petra xiij d In I. ferr' ad carectam xj. sol. j. d In Lig' eiusdem v. d. In scur' Rotarum .xv. d. Lī cuidam garcioni xj. d. Lī Magistro ij s' In panno empt' ad opus prīs g. xij. s'.

Summa xliiij s' viij d.

S. ij sept' lxxix [s] v. d. o.

Item Lī cemtar' pro tercia sept' xviij s' v d operar' iiij sol. In calce iij den' Rī magistro xl s' Marg' ancille xij d. carectar' de spilptoñ x d. In I. olla oportet in arcag' ij d in pice & resina I. d.

[Col. 2] Lī cementar' pro quarta sept' xv sol. operar' v sol. v den' carpntar' [2] In petra xij d [Simon' de cotesbroc I. marc̄][3].

[1] Thus a twelfth-century seal (Brit. Mus. Seals lxvii, 26) of the Abbot of Revesby bears the legend: SIGILLVM: ABBATIS: D': SCO: LAVRENTIO (cf. *Vict. County Hist. Lincoln.*, II, p. 143).

[2] Space is left for the amount of this payment, but the figures have not been entered.

[3] A line has been drawn through this entry.

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Item cem̃tar' per quinque [*sic* !] sept' xvj sol operar' v sol. v d carpn̄tar' ij sol. x den' In petra ij sol. vj d. Item iiij d. In calce vj d

Item cem̃tar' pro sexta sept' x sol. v d operar' iiij sol. carpn̄ ij s' x d In petra xvj. d. iij d.[1].

[fol. 7ᵃ, col. 2.]

Summa prime sept' xxiiij sol. j den' ob.
Summa secunde sept' xlj. sol. viij den'
Summa [tercie sept.] xxiij sol. Item xlij s' x. d.
Summa quarta [*sic*] sept' xxiiij s' xj d.
Summa quinte sept' xxvij. sol. j. d.
Summa sexte sept' xviij sol. vij d

[fol. 6ᵇ, col. 2.]

Videtur pro debito regi xxvj lib. xiij s' iiij d eidem pro eodem xl. s' eidem pro pipa ix s' ix d eidem pro assarto x sol. viij d. Item videtur pro cem't' v sol. iiii den' eidem pro borstarde I l. iij s' eidem pro emma wysman xx den' Ianitor' de castro ij s' pro ward ca[stri]. Item gilberto de sottoñ iiij s'. Willelmo de Weldoñ ij s'.

Item Magistro uersus Lond. xl s' Iohanni de touc' uersus L. iiij s' eidem uersus episcopum xviij d. Item processum ix s' Magistro ij Marc' Item ij s' simoni de cotesbroc iiij Marc' eidem c. sol. Helie poger vij li [²] vj. s' viij d. certa pro ductioni x s' simoni de tigtoñ vij s' vj. d Ricardo garcioni portanti venacionem xxij d fratri Rob de pid' xxij s' fratri R rossel iij £ adam de Westoñ xiij s' iiij d. archid. pro sliptoñ I. Marc̄ apud briddestok x sol. seruientibus xx sol. Miss' domi pro cenag' iij s'.

[fol. 7ᵃ, col. 1.]

In bladis empt̄ xij sol. vj d. In pane xij d. In seruic̄ ij sol. pro I. ffomita (?) iij s' [vj d. ob][3]. In secular' ad opus fratris N vj d. & ad opus fratris R xvj d Hn̄r uersus Lond. iij d. In aurifabro ij sol. iiij d simoni de cotesbroc xiij s' iiij d Domino regi pro emma wysman xx d. In ij cordis xxij d falcator' de Irkessal ij s' j. d. Item pro cyphis emend. v sol vij den' Magistro th. de bray xxvj. sol. viij d. Magistro simoni v s' Ricardo portanti venacionem xvj den' In fer' equorum[4] empt' xxij den'. Hn̄r uersus Lond. iij d galfrido uersus Lond. vij d Li Magistro ad opus nuncii domini episcopi vj. d. Item simoni de cotesbroc ij Marc̄. In ceruis' apud Irkesal ij s' j d in le pertimiet' iij d. In cluc' xviij d. In cluc' xj. d. In cluc' & clauis xj. den' in cluc' & clauis & wynd' apud de monte v sol. In pane & ceruis' xv den'.

[Col. 2.] In ceruis' & pane xv (?) den'. elie puger ix s' (?) item carpn̄ & cemetar' x sol. viij d. Iohanni de touc' xviij s'. In I cord' xj. d. In j fer (?) ad equos iiij d. prestoñ ix d.

[⁵] de trop viij s'

The place-names in these accounts which can be identified point conclusively to Northamptonshire. To this county may at once be referred Cotesbroc (= Cottesbrok), Slipton, Toucestre (= Towcester), Weston, Weldon, Pid' (= Pidington), Trop (=Thorp). The unusual 'Briddestok' is probably to be identified with the modern Bridgstock[6]; and the curious 'Spurliptoun' may be compared with the more syncopated form 'Sproptun' which appears as an early spelling of the modern

[1] An obvious error; the total sum for this week is correct if we ignore this 3*d*.

[2] 'xiij s'' was written here and then cancelled.

[3] Written on the margin in a smaller hand.

[4] Written on the margin to replace 'In ij cordis' which has been cancelled.

[5] Before 'de trop' is an illegible word apparently in a different hand. Cf. the previous entry 'de trop' in the first paragraph of the accounts.

[6] This place usually appears in the Close and Patent Rolls as Brigstok, Birestok, or Brikestok. In one instance, apparently, it is spelled 'Bredestok' (*Calendar Close Rolls*, 1279–1288, p. 200). In Bucks there was a Briddestorn or Briddesthorne (cf. *Calendar of Inquisitions*, Vol. VII, No. 378), but this appears much more unlikely.

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Sprotton in Northants[1]. Irkessal may perhaps be regarded as equivalent to Ircestre (modern Irchester) through a confusion of *-castrum* with *-castellum*. Tigton is dubious, though Northamptonshire affords such place-names as Thingden ('Tingdene' in *Domesday Book*) and Teeton[2]. Taken as a whole the testimony of the place-names seems to speak conclusively for Northamptonshire.

The number of personal names appearing in these accounts is somewhat smaller, but the evidence which they supply is no less convincing. Moreover, the personal names assist not only in establishing the county but also in fixing within moderate limits the date at which these accounts were written.

1. Thomas de Bray, whose name occurs in the accounts, appears to have been a member of the prominent Northamptonshire family to which one finds numerous references in Bridges' County History. There was more than one Thomas in this family. Thomas de Bray was steward to Henry III[3], and was apparently the same as the person mentioned in 1275 as 'late Sheriff of Buckingham and Bedford[4].' The Thomas de Bray referred to in our accounts evidently belongs to the succeeding generation and may probably be identified with the person of that name who appears in the 24th year of Edward I and in the 9th of Edward II[5], and is mentioned in the Close Rolls Feb. 11, 1286[6], July 28, 1290[7], and March 26, 1292[8]. In an inquisition made at Northampton in the 26th of Edward I it was shown that at Westhaddon, Esthaddon, Haldenby and Brampton 1/3 Knight's fee was held by Thomas de Bray[9]. A similar inquisition made in the 10th of Edward II showed that the Knight's fee at Tanneshore, Northants, was held by Thomas de Bray among others[10].

2. Adam de Weston, 'king's clerk,' is frequently mentioned in documents of the reign of Edward I. On April 13, 1282, all the lands of David, son of Griffin, in England taken into the King's hand were committed to Adam de Weston, no doubt in his capacity as king's clerk[11]. On November 21, 1283, he was appointed custodian of the temporalities of the priory of St Frideswitha, Oxford, during a vacancy in the priorship[12] and in the following February he was instructed to restore

[1] Cf. *Calendar of Inquisitions*, Henry III, p 233.
[2] Cf. *Northamptonshire Notes and Queries*, New Ser., v, pp. 112-113.
[3] Bridges, *History of Northamptonshire*, I, p. 600.
[4] *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1272-9, p. 189.
[5] Cf. Bridges, I, pp. 504 and 583.
[6] *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1279-88, p. 410.
[7] *Ibid.*, 1288-96, p. 96.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 224.
[9] *Calendar of Inquisitions*, Edw. II, III, p. 309.
[10] *Ibid.*, V, p. 345.
[11] *Cal. of Fine Rolls*, 1272-1307, I, p. 160.
[12] *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1281-92, p. 107.

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these temporalities to the newly elected prior[1]. Under date August 21, 1284, Adam de Weston is mentioned in connection with land in Whittlebury, Northants[2]. The latest mention of Adam de Weston which I have noted is in the Close Rolls for the year 1299[3]. Although of a Northamptonshire family Adam de Weston's business interests were so widely extended that the mention of his name in our accounts cannot be regarded as affording much evidence in identifying the manuscript with Northamptonshire. Nevertheless the numerous references to him in these documents are of value in assisting us to fix an approximate date for the accounts in the Maidstone manuscript.

3. John de Toucestre on April 30, 1290, 'came before the King...and sought to replevy to Richard de Merton the latter's land in Lechebarwe [Northants] which was taken into the King's hand for his default against Thomas de Bray[4].' In this document, it will be observed, two of the persons whose names stand in our accounts appear in collocation. The only other mention of John de Toucestre which I have noted occurs under the date 1291[5].

4. Helie Pouger (or Puger) was buried in the church of St John the Baptist at Pidington. The inscription on his tomb is thus given by Bridges in his *History of Northamptonshire* (I, p. 378):

ELYS POVGER GYT ICY DEU DE SA ALME EYT MERCI/KY POR SA ALME PRIERA QUARANTE JOURS DE PARDON AVERA.

Although the date of his death is not recorded, the time to which he belongs may be determined approximately by the record of a commission of oyer and terminer to 'Elias Puger' in 1302[6], by another commission to him in 1307[7], and by an order to 'Elias Pouger' in the same year to deliver to John de Crumbwell the custody of the castle of Stroguill with the chaces and parks pertaining thereto, etc.[8]. The two spellings 'Puger' and 'Pouger,' it will be noted, are the same two spellings which appear in the manuscript accounts.

5. Simon de Cotesbroc and Emma Wysman, the two names which remain to be considered, are curiously linked in an entry in the Close Rolls dated June 13, 1302:

Richard de Eston came before the King and sought to replevy to Simon de Cotesbrok and Alice, his wife, their land which was taken into the King's hands for their default before the justices of the Bench against Emma, late the wife of Simon Wysman[9].

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 111. [2] *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1279–88, p. 303. [3] *Ibid.*, 1296–1302, p. 307.
[4] *Ibid.*, 1288–96, p. 152. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 196.
[6] *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1301–7, p. 83. [7] *Ibid.*, 1307–13, p. 40.
[8] *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1307–13, p. 7. [9] *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1296–1302, p. 588.

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Emma Wysman, then, was a widow, and her property had been taken under the protection of the Crown. This will explain why in the manuscript accounts we find the item of 20 pence 'pro emma wysman' entered in the list of payments due to the King. This entry in the Close Roll is specially important as fixing more definitely than any other available evidence the date at which the accounts in the Maidstone MS. were written. For, when this twenty pence due to the King was entered, Emma Wysman must already have been a widow, but in 1302 she is described as 'late the wife of Simon Wysman.' Accordingly, the accounts which stand on fol. 6^{b} and 7^{a} may be regarded as added to the Maidstone MS. in Northamptonshire about the year 1300.

One further clue bearing on the history of the manuscript remains to be considered. On fol. 221^{a}, following a series of Latin prayers to Christ and the Blessed Virgin, is an orison to St Andrew:

Sanctorum mitissime andrea qui sequendo saluatorem tuum penas huius erumpuose [*sic*] uite, crucis tulasti patibulo. Tu in cruce celi luce frueris. Sic de cruce tamen celi luce regnum appetis vbi sidus prefulges aureum inter choras sanctorum ciuium vbi decus & magis gloria vbi pax et vera leticia vbi dona dat suis omnia dei saluatoris presencia. Vos nostri memor existere dignare sanctorum purissime ut remittat nostra facinora prece tua cristi clemencia. Amen.

That Andrew is the only saint thus honoured suggests that he may have been the patron saint of the house to which this manuscript belonged. Few monasteries in England were dedicated to St Andrew; almost the only one mentioned by Dugdale is the Cluniac Priory of St Andrew at Northampton! If, now, one looks more carefully at this devotion to St Andrew, one will observe that it is written, in a convenient blank space toward the bottom of the page, in another and distinctly smaller hand—though hardly later than the end of the thirteenth century. The evidence from the prayer of St Andrew, therefore, like that from the accounts, indicates that the connection of the book with Northampton is to be referred to a period somewhat later than the writing of the main contents of the manuscript.

As the case stands, then, it would appear that the Maidstone MS. was originally composed, not later than 1250, at Revesby Abbey, but that by the end of the thirteenth century it had become the property of the Priory of St Andrew at Northampton. All the material of literary interest, it will be observed, is to be associated with Revesby rather than with Northampton.

I am unable to suggest any circumstances which would explain the transfer of the manuscript from one religious house to another. Whether such transfers were frequent or exceptional I am unable to say, but at

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all events no reason appears for regarding them as impossible. And in the present instance the evidence on both sides is so unequivocal that the case either for Revesby or for Northampton, if considered by itself, would be accepted as satisfactory[1].

In a forthcoming paper I shall turn from the problem of the home of the Maidstone MS. to examine its most important contribution to Middle English, namely the text which it offers of the *Proverbs of Alfred.*

CARLETON BROWN.

BRYN MAWR, PA., U.S.A.

[1] In the effort to trace the source from which the manuscript passed to its present home I turned hopefully to Rawlinson MS. C. 155, which on fol. 286 ff. contains 'A Catalogue of the Books left by Dr Thomas Bray [† 1730] to be sold for 50 £ for a publick Library in some Market Town, and w^ch^ were sold accordingly for y^t^ Purpose to be set up in the Town of Maidstone in the County of Kent.' But this Catalogue consists of a list of printed books only.

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CHAUCER AND 'REASON.'

CHAUCER'S interest in and use of many of the technical terms of rhetoric were discussed in a recent work by Professor Kittredge, who pointed out how 'again and again he mentions the formalities of his art, now in his own person, now through the medium of some fictitious character[1].' It is true that Chaucer's notice of the 'termes' of learned authors is usually ironically contemptuous; but one of the school formulae at least he appears to have seriously accepted: he certainly accepted the principle for which it stood. For Chaucer, in fact, increasingly saw what lay behind, and what could be made of, the old academic rule of *ordo*, so often preached, and so little obeyed, in medieval literature. He learnt in his reading to appreciate the wellknit and balanced works of his Italian masters: of those of Boccaccio in particular. 'Boccaccio,' said Professor Ker, 'has no criticism in him, but he does more than the work of criticism by the examples he sets. Chaucer, equally without any explicit reflexion on the principles of construction, shows how he had made out for himself what Boccaccio was driving at. Chaucer had all the medieval tastes, the taste for exorbitant digressions and irrelevancies, the love of useful information, the want of proportion and design. But he read Boccaccio and discovered his secret without any lectures on criticism and without saying much about his discovery[2].'

As Chaucer said so little, his most casual references, even to the theories of right construction current in his time, acquire special value. One such reference may, I believe, be found in his use of the term 'reason' in the well-known lines of the *Prologue*:

> But natheles, whyl I have tyme and space,
> Er that I ferther in this tale pace,
> Methinketh it acordaunt to resoun,
> To telle yow al the condicioun
> Of ech of hem, so as it semed me,
> And whiche they weren, and of what degree;
> And eek in what array that they were inne. (*C. T.*, A 35 ff.)

Here I would translate 'resoun' by *ordo* in its old rhetorical sense, in modern English by 'Rule' or 'Decorum.' And if this interpretation can be justified, there is surely some significance in its occurrence in the opening lines of Chaucer's great and original Prologue to his

[1] *Chaucer and his Poetry*, by G. L. Kittredge (1920), ch. I.
[2] *Essays on Medieval Poetry*, by W. P. Ker (1905), pp. 70-71.

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masterpiece of poetic tale-telling. It would be in right Chaucerian vein to make a mechanical prescription vindicate his own original design for the 'descriptions,' to justify his Imagination from the book of Authority.

But what arguments can be found for traversing the common opinion as to the meaning of 'reason' in the lines quoted? Skeat construes: 'It seemeth to me it is reasonable'; and the translation is correct so far as it goes.

'Reason' has many senses in Chaucer, as in Middle English and Old French; *ratio* in medieval Latin is as ubiquitous and varied in meaning. Reason is often personified, as in the *Roman de la Rose* and the *Anticlaudianus*. Discussion as to the exact function of Reason in the universe is endless; she is considered, generally speaking, a kind of divine principle governing all things; as rising superior in men to the frailties of the flesh; as opposed to the caprices of love by the courtly school of writers, and to those of fancy and of wit by the philosophical. Reason is also the 'judging' faculty of the soul, as in the quotation from Isidore in *Piers Plowman*[1]:

> And whan I deme domes and do as treuthe techeth
> Thanne is Racio my riȝt name Resoun an Englisshe.

The term is also equivalent to 'reasoned discourse' or 'argument'[2]; a poem; the subject of a poem; loosely used, to speech or conversation in general. 'Reasonable,' it is to be noted, means quite commonly 'eloquent,' not 'fluent.'

> Renable nas he noȝt, ac of speche hastyf[3].

Another common occurrence of the word is in parenthetic phrases: 'as is resoun,' 'c'est raison,' etc.

To sum up, 'reason' always indicates order, system, law, purpose; but it remains to show that in the *Prologue* context it means Order, the principle applied to literature, one of Chaucer's derided yet subtly used 'termes of philosophye.'

Firstly, there is evidence in Chaucer's own writings. In *Troilus and Criseyde* (III, 1408 ff.) he writes:

> Reson wil not that I speke of sleep
> For it accordeth nought to my matere;

[1] B, xv, 39, from *Etym.*, xi, i, 13.

[2] Cf. *Ch. de Roland*, 285: 'Bien (il) sait parler et dreite raison rendre.'

[3] Robert of Glos., *Chron.*, ed. T. Hearne, II, p. 14. Cf. Chaucer (D 1509), 'And speke as renably and faire and wel'; *Romaunt* (B 2214), 'Goodly of word and resonable Bothe to lesse and eek to mar.' Gower defines Rhetoric as the 'science' 'Appropred to the reverence Of wordes that ben resonable' (*C. A.*, VII, 1523–4); and Jacques Legrand professes to teach his readers how they may 'bien et raisonablement rymer' (see the account of this writer in Langlois, *Recueil d'arts de seconde rhétorique* (1902)).

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with which may be compared

> But of his aventures in the see
> Nis nât to purpos for to speke of here,
> For hit accordeth nat to my matere. (*L. G. W.*, 953 ff.)

To admit your ornaments and digressions only when they 'accord with the matter' is the regular rule of the rhetoricians[1].

Chaucer's Clerk, who later gets his say as a literary critic, in spite of the Host warning him to remember his audience and so spare them his rhetoric, stipulates that he will tell his tale

> As fer as reson axeth, hardily. (*C. T.*, E 25.)

'Hardily' is yet another term from the schools[2].

The Pardoner's notion of right composition, on the other hand, is appropriately made the conventional one[3] satirized by Chaucer in the *Nonne Preestes Tale* and elsewhere—to work in, if you cannot work out, a moral at all costs.

> By god, I hope I shal yow telle a thing
> That shal, by resoun, been at your lyking.
> For, though myself be a ful vicious man,
> A moral tale yet I yow telle can. (*C. T.*, C 457 ff.)

Ratio, like *dispositio* or *ordo*, was a term originally applied to oratory and the pleading of cases. Chaucer also uses it in this older sense:

> Ful hard were hit to preve hit by resoun
> Who loveth best this gentil formel here; (*P. F.*, 534-5.)

and in the words of the learned and eloquent eagle:

> 'O yis, yis!'
> Quod he to me, 'that can I preve
> By resoun, worthy for to leve,
> So that thou yeve thyn advertence
> To understonde my sentence.' (*H. F.*, 706 ff.)

With these examples in view of Chaucer's use of 'reason' in a special rhetorical sense we may now revert to the *Prologue* passage, and compare it with the opening of the *Rose*; wherein, the background of the Romance to follow having been sketched, the author proceeds:

> From hennesforth how that I wroughte,
> I shal you tellen, as me thoughte.
> First, wherof Mirthe served there,
> And eek what folk ther with him were,

[1] 'Trover et penser po vaudrait sanz les paroles acordans à sa matière.' Brunetto Latini (*Li Livres dou Trésor*, III, iii).

[2] Cf. E. Deschamps, 'Tout bon rethoricien doit parler et dire ce qu'il veult moustrer saigement, briefment, substancieusement, et *hardiement*' (*Œuv. Compl.*, ed. Raynard, VII, 266, *L'Art de Dictier*).

[3] This sense of 'reason' as responsible for the moral kernel of poetry, 'cloaking it in colours,' is suggested by Hawes. Cf.

> They feyned no fable without reason,
> For reasonable was al theyr moralitee.
> (*Past. Pleas.*, ed. Percy Soc., XI, 8).

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> Withoute fable I wol descryve...
> as I may and can I shal
> By ordre tellen you it al. (*Rom.*, A 701–712.)

And then follow the 'descriptions,' including in almost every case the 'array,' the 'shap and aparayle[1],' of the *dramatis personae*. This last phrase alone is enough to warrant the presumption that the writer is thinking of rhetorical usage. In the development[2] of the Description as a means of amplification by the medieval poetic critics, 'array' regularly followed 'shape[3].'

And it may here be noted that descriptions of 'array' had in fact become an established feature of the popular romances. Paid by his lord 'to beren his renoun in the world[4]' the minstrel would naturally be inclined to dwell on his patron's wealth and generosity, on his feasts[5] and the fine dresses of his company. But this more general rule Chaucer ordinarily eludes, often very cunningly, as in the case of the Wife of Bath:

> Now wolden som men seye, paraventure,
> That, for my necligence, I do no cure
> To tellen yow the joye and al th' array
> That at the feste was that ilke day.
> To whiche thing shortly answere I shal;
> I seye, ther nas no joye ne feste at al! (D 1073 ff.)

Once again, of the lines in the *Prologue*, it is just in the opening lines of a medieval work that one would look for a reference to *ordo*, for this 'part' of rhetoric was recognized as applying there with particular force. 'Nearly all that the arts of poetry teach on the subject of Disposition,' remarks M. Faral, 'amounts to the enumeration of the different ways in which a work may begin[6].'

As to the substitution of 'reason' for *Ordo* in Chaucer, I suggest the following considerations:

(1) There was a difficulty in the way of his using 'ordre' in the sense of Disposition. To endite anything 'by ordre' meant rather 'in full,' 'item by item in natural sequence.'

> But al her lettre wryten I ne may
> By ordre, for it were to me a charge[7]. (*L. G. W.*, 2513–4.)

[1] *Rom.*, A 1276, cf. also 812–816 and 1000–1002.

[2] In classical oratory striking descriptions of the protagonists in a case were considered most effective in an Exordium. See, e.g., Cicero, *De Orat.*, II, xliii, lxxix.

[3] This is the order followed, for example, in the examples of Description given by Geoffrey de Vinsauf in the *Nova Poetria*.

[4] *C. T.*, I, 814.

[5] Vinsauf's third Description (*op. cit.*) is one of a royal festival. It is perhaps noteworthy that Quintilian (*Inst.*, VIII, iii, 64–66) cites two outstanding Descriptions of Cicero's: one of a Roman praetor's 'aspect and dress,' the other of a luxurious banquet.

[6] *Les Arts Poétiques du XIIe et du XIIIe siècle* par Edmond Faral (1923), p. 55.

[7] Cf. also *Rom.*, 710; *H. F.*, 1453; *L. G. W.*, 2514; *C. T.*, A 1934, B 3175, G 358.

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Brunetto Latini involves himself in this very difficulty in the section of his work 'de l'Ordre,' where he notices the two ways, natural and artificial, of setting out your matter, 'par ordre et par parties.' The first, he says, is 'sanz grant maistrie de l'art'; the second, 'varier son ordre' shows much more wisdom[1].

(2) *Ratio*, as the judging faculty of the mind, would quite easily come to stand for that shaping principle of law and order, which, as Professor Kittredge has observed[2], was peculiarly dominant in all medieval composition—in theory, be it added. In much the same way 'judgment' acquired a special literary application, and was used in a technical sense, as opposed to Invention or Fancy and, until much later, to Imagination as well, in the treatises of English critical writers for centuries. Similar antithetic terms are to be found the world over[3].

(3) The medieval development of 'reason' in this direction was especially due to, or at least encouraged by, an often quoted[4] passage from the beginning of the far-famed rhetorical textbook, the *De Inventione* of Cicero. This was to the effect that 'Civil Eloquence (*ratio*) replaced Force.' Or to quote the earliest vernacular translator of Tully's work: 'Le materiel comensement de rethorique est la raison civile'; 'rethorique vaut dire...raison aornée[5].' 'Civilis ratio depicta colore' is the laconic definition of rhetoric in the *Laborintus*. Hawes echoes the same commonplace:

> Rethorique...was founde by reason
> Man for to governe wel and prudently,
> His wordes to ordre, his speche to purify[6].

And courtly writers also repeat the idea. The 'goodly softe speche' of Chaucer's Duchess, he tells us, was

> Up al resoun so wel y-founded...
> That I dar swere by the rode,
> Of eloquence was never founde
> So swete a sowninge facounde. (*B. D.*, 922 ff.)

(4) This leads us to the next consideration. For to the courtly poet 'reason' also had its place in the theory and craft of Love. It was the

[1] *Op. cit.*, III, xi. Cf. Vinsauf, *op. cit.*, 86–92.

[2] *Loc. cit.*

[3] Rudrata, one of the oldest Indian writers on poetics, distinguishes between (*a*) the flashing of ideas in the poet's mind, and (*b*) the discrimination (lit. scholarship, or knowledge of rules, which gives discrimination, Sk. *vyutpatti*) necessary for the composition of poetry. See art. by Dr F. W. Thomas in *Bhandarkar Commem. Vol.*, p. 375. Cf. also the interesting contrast (?) between *wordlaþe* and *andgiet* in Cynewulf's *Christ*, l. 663.

[4] Cf., e.g., Godf. Viterb. (*Panth.*, III), who quotes Eusebius quoting Tully; also Vinc. Bell. (*Spec. Doct.*, CX) quoting Isidore; also Latini (*op. cit.*, III, i). Instances might be multiplied almost *ad lib.*

[5] Jean d'Antioch (thirteenth cen.). See E. Langlois, *De Artibus Rhetoricae Rhythmicae* (Paris, 1890).

[6] *Op. cit.*, VII, 6.

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ordo of the lover's speech and songs. In Chaucer it quite frequently[1] translates *mesura*, that temperance in speech as well as in deed, which was prescribed in the *Leys d'Amour* of the Troubadours. No true lover traversed Reason.

> Take mesure in your talking, be not outrage,
> For this reherseth Romance de la Rose,...
> For mesure as right well proued is by reason[2].

So Chaucer remarks of his eloquent Duchess again:

> In alle thinges more mesure
> Had never, I trowe, creature. (881–2.)

(5) Finally, Geoffrey de Vinsauf, in a part of his *Nova Poetria* which we may be certain Chaucer knew[3], explains how the first labour of the poet is mental; there should be an *ordo* in the 'foreconceit' of the work; this must be defined by what he calls the *mens discreta* before it is translated into the *ordo* of the poem itself.

> Opus totum prudens in pectoris arcem
> Contrahe, sitque prius in pectore quam sit in ore.
> Mentis in arcana cum rem digesserit ordo,
> Materiam verbis veniat vestire poesis[4].

R. C. Goffin.

Gauhati, Assam.

[1] In the *Troilus* Reason and Courtesy are equated as against inordinate Desire (cf. IV, 164, 572, 574, 589, 1583, 1678). Reason and Measure are equated in *C. T.*, B 3038; the former opposed to 'outrage' in B 2726, cf. A 3997–8; the latter in B 2180. Cf. also F 570 (reason for worship), F 591 (reason for honour), E 1768, F 296 (reason for the *ordo* of feasts). See also N.E.D. *s.v. measure*: '11. Proportion; due proportion, symmetry...c. 1407 Lydgate *Reason & Sens.*, 58...ordre or mesure...'

[2] *The Ten Commandments of Love.* Text as in Chalmers' *Poets*, I, p. 560.

[3] See Kittredge, *Chauceriana* in *Mod. Phil.*, VII, p. 481. He shows how Chaucer has used Vinsauf's lines, *N. P.*, 43–47 in *T. C.*, I, 1065–7.

[4] *Op. cit.*, 58–61. Vinsauf's remarks on 'the conception of the subject' occupy ll. 43–61.

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GREENE'S MATERIALS FOR 'FRIAR BACON AND FRIAR BUNGAY.'

MANY incidents in Greene's play of *The Honorable Historie of Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* were, it has long been recognised, taken from a chapbook entitled *The Famous Historie of frier Bacon.* Here he may have found the germ of his Fair Maid of Fressingfield. But it has not been noticed that for certain traditions about Bacon the only printed source available in the sixteenth century is Bale's *Illustrium maioris Britanniae scriptorum Summarium* (ed. 1548, centuria tertia, fo. 114–5). There we read thus:

Rogerus Bakon, Anglus, Minoritani nominis quoque doctor, praestigiator ac Magus necromanticus non in uirtute Dei, sed in operatione malorum spirituum, Oxonii ad nasum aeneum, scholasticorum domicilium, mirabilia magna fecisse traditur.... Cum malis daemonibus consuetudinem habens....quibusdam incantamentis, exorcismis, atque alijs obseruationibus curiosis, eos adiurasse fertur, & aduocatos ad quaecunque uellet coegisse. His artibus in secretis suis negotiis utebantur tunc plurimum praelati, ut patet de Clemente quarto Romano pontifice, ad quem accersitus suarum incantationum leges praescripsit.

Only in this account do we find Bacon connected, as in the play, with Brasenose, which *The Famous Historie* does not mention; here, too, we obtain a definite date for his activities. *The Famous Historie* is extremely vague as to the time when Bacon lived, but Bale's *Pageant of Popes* would show Greene that Clement IV became Pope in 1264. In Holinshed's *Chronicle* (2nd edition, 1587) is told how in 1264 the fore-ward of the army of Henry III at the battle of Lewes was commanded by Prince Edward together with the Earl of Pembroke and 'John de Warren erle of Surrey and Sussex.' The senior of Edward's companions in the play is thus identified, whom the stage direction prefixed to the quarto of 1594 calls 'John Warren earle of Sussex.' Editors have challenged the correctness of this title without good reason, not noticing the use which Greene makes of Holinshed. The action of the play occupies a few weeks but includes events belonging to the years from 1247, before Bacon was 'a frier newly stalde in Brazennose' (sc. ii, 10)[1], until 1254.

The contest in magic, in which Vandermast overcame the English Friar Bungay, only to be defeated in turn by Friar Bacon, took place,

[1] For text and for scene-numbering (which agrees with Sir A. W. Ward's) I follow Gayley's edition of the quarto of 1594 in *Representative English Comedies*, 1903.

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according to *The Famous Historie*, at an entertainment given by Vandermast's patron, the King of France, to the English King, on the conclusion of peace after a successful campaign of the English in France. This is a perversion of what happened in 1254, when, as we learn from Holinshed, Henry was entertained with great festivities in Paris after suppressing the revolt of his Gascon feudatories. Greene transfers the contest of the magicians to England. But that a *French* king should come to England, and should do so in company with a king of Castile, was beyond all likelihood, whereas, so recently as 1520, the Emperor Charles V had actually visited England and been entertained by Henry VIII. In the play, therefore, the German Vandermast is brought to the English court by the Emperor. It is in the same scene that Edward and Elinor of Castile meet. Here historical sequence has been slightly distorted for dramatic effect. Holinshed tells how negotiations for their marriage were concluded in 1254, but they met and were married in Spain before the hostilities in Gascony were ended. The wedding shown in the final scene of the play is based on Holinshed's account of King Henry's wedding with Elinor of Provence in 1236.

In scene iv Elinor speaks with admiration of deeds already done by Edward 'at the Holy Land 'fore Damas' walles,' and in another scene the Prince recalls how he 'at Damasco beat the Sarasens' (see sc. iv, 27 and sc. viii, 113). This is romance; a reminiscence, perhaps, of Norandino's jousts at Damascus (see *Orlando Furioso*, canto 17) where the young Grifone overcame the pagan chivalry. Edward did not visit the Holy Land till 1270, and was never near Damascus, the Syrian capital. But English crusaders were in those parts in 1240, when, as Holinshed writes in a passage which Greene probably read, 'Richard earle of Cornewall the king's brother with a nauie of ships sailed into Syria, where in the warres against the Saracens he greatly aduanced the part of the christians' (p. 225).

The noblemen in Greene's play are often designated by the family name instead of the title. Holinshed does the same. Simon de Montfort is styled by him the Earl of Montford in one sentence while in the next he is Earl of Leicester. Similarly, John Warren Earl of Surrey and Sussex is more commonly styled Earl Warren. In 1240 there died, says Holinshed, 'William earle Warren and John earle of Lincoln' (p. 225). Their successors are Edward's companions in the play. As will be seen in subsequent paragraphs, passages from Holinshed's account of the years 1230 and 1231 were used by Greene. It is the more likely, therefore, that he observed Holinshed's statement, under the year 1232, that

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Marjorie, the niece of Ranulph Earl of Chester, married Edmund Lacy Earl of Lincoln[1]. So Margaret, the heroine of Greene's play, is won and wedded by Ned Lacy Earl of Lincoln.

Holinshed says, in another place, that in 1247 Henry married the Earl of Lincoln to the Queen's cousin, one of the 'young ladies of Prouance which' Queen Elinor's uncle 'Peter de Sauoy earle of Richmond brought ouer with him' (p. 240). In the play what appears to be the catastrophe in Margaret's fortunes comes in the shape of news that Lacy is to marry one of the newly-arrived foreign ladies in attendance on Elinor of Castile, he being 'forst To love the lady by the king's command' (sc. x, 145–6). His letter breaking his troth with Margaret is subscribed 'Edward Lacy' which may however be a mere error of the printer; 'Edmd' and 'Edwd' are easily confused, and 'Ned' is the abbreviation both of 'Edmund' and 'Edward.' The substitution of the familiar for the less common name is illustrated by the case of Edmund Coote, author in 1596 of *The English Schoole-Master*, who is mis-named Edward Coote in all the known copies of the book (see *Dict. of Nat. Biography, sub voce*). Margaret's resolve 'to be shorne a nun,' with its abandonment when the reconciliation with Lacy takes place, was perhaps suggested by Holinshed's account of how

> Elianor the kings sister (that was sometime wife vnto William Marshall earle of Penbroke) was now [in 1238] by the kings meanes married the second time to Simon Montford.... Howbeit, this marriage was verie displeasant vnto Edmund the archbishop of Canturburie, bicause that the foresaid Elianor, after the death of hir first husband, had vowed perpetuall chastitie, and betaken hir (as was said) to the mantell and the ring (p. 222).

How King Henry lavished troops and money on foreign enterprises is repeatedly indicated by Holinshed. In 1238, he says (p. 222),

> the emperour of Constantinople, namelie, Baldwine sonne to Peter earle of Ausserre, being expelled out of his empire, came into England, to sue for aid...he was honorablie receiued, and at his departure with rich gifts highly honored...At the same time, Frederike the emperour going into Italie, had a great number of English souldiers with him, which king Henrie furnished for his aid, vnder the leading of a right valiant warriour, named Henrie de Trubleuille.

Holinshed has already told (p. 213) how, in 1231, King Henry 'being required of the king of Aragon to aid him' against the Saracens 'with some number of souldiers, he sent a great power thither with all speed.' With these passages we may compare the last scene of the play, where the king, after expressing his gladness at the presence of the Emperor and the king of Castile at Edward's nuptials, 'vows requitall, if his men-at-armes' or 'the wealth of England...may quite his

[1] Perhaps both the Warren and Lacy families interested Greene because of associations with his native East Anglia.

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favourites.' English relations with the Emperor Frederick had become intimate by 1235, when he married Henry's sister Isabel. In representing him as a visitor to England, Greene's invention may have been stimulated by this account of the fugitive emperor Baldwin.

A weakness in the construction of the play is to be seen in its inclusion of characters who have no part in the action. Churton Collins was apparently the first editor to observe the presence of the Duke of Saxony, a mute character, not included in any stage direction, but addressed and referred to repeatedly. In scene vii we hear that 'the Almain monarke and the Saxon duke' are coming to Oxford. In scene ix the Prince welcomes 'Castile and Saxonie' next to 'the Almain monarke,' and in the same scene Miles, Friar Bacon's servitor, salutes:

> *omnes reges*, that govern your *greges*
> In Saxonie and Spaine, in England and in Almaine.

Concerning him we find in Holinshed (p. 212) that in 1230:

> whilest the king was in France, there came ouer into England the duke of Saxonie coosen to the king, and of the citizens of London was honourablie receiued. He was a man of such high and tall stature, that men tooke great pleasure to behold him.

This duke is Henry, Palsgrave of the Rhine, the son of Henry the Lion Duke of Saxony and Matilda, King John's sister. He was the Emperor's cousin also, by his marriage with Agnes of Suabia.

Other silent historical figures appear, about whom we gain no light from Holinshed. At the beginning of scene vii, Mason, with other Doctors of Oxford, is expecting the arrival of King Henry:

> troopt with all the westerne kings
> That lie alongst the Dansick seas by east,
> North by the clime of frostie Germanie.

The word 'lie' implies military forces in the field. The Emperor's companions are addressed by Elinor in the final scene as 'you the western potentates of might.' These 'western kings' were allies of the Order of Teutonic Knights. In 1230 Conrad of Masovia, one of the principal Polish Dukes, called the Knights to his aid, and from that time onward they were for many years crusading against the Prussians east of the Vistula. Otto Duke of Brunswick helped them, with a large force, in 1239, and, later, came Otto Margrave of Brandenburg, the Margrave of Moravia, and the warlike and ambitious Ottocar, King of Bohemia and Duke of Austria, who 'cum multis Principibus nonnullas regiones Prussiae ita debilitarunt, quòd promiserunt obedientiam Ordini, et Christianos se futuros.' So says Johannes Nauclerus in his *Chronica* of which an edition was published at Cologne in 1579 (p. 944). (See also Foxe, *Actes and Monuments*, ed. 1583, p. 308, as to the association with

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the Emperor of these potentates and of the Landgrave of Thuringia who was a notable personage in the Teutonic Order.) Acquaintance with Polish affairs and persons in Greene's time was not uncommon. His own knowledge of them is seen in the story of *Pandosto*, derived from Polish tradition which told how Ziemovit, prince of Masovia in the fourteenth century, imprisoned his beautiful Bohemian wife on suspicion of unfaithfulness, and how the child which she bore in prison was brought up in obscurity, and, after romantic experiences, married a Lithuanian princess (see S. Kozmian in *Athenæum*, Nov. 6, 1875, and cp. *Notes and Queries*, Mar. 2, 1917). Tales such as these Greene might have heard from Polish travellers who visited Oxford or London. The 'western kings' take no part in the action of the play, but, like 'the Saxon duke,' they add importance to the company of King Henry's guests, the audience to whom Bacon addresses his mystical prophecy concerning the fortunes of the coming descendant of 'Edward and his queen.'

These silent figures had a contemporary interest for an Elizabethan. They are shadows of folk whose doings were within the memory of many spectators of Greene's play. (Was not one of Portia's suitors the young German, the Duke of Saxony's nephew?) Three Saxon dukes, Frederic the Wise, John, and John Frederick, had been successively conspicuous as leaders of the party of the Reformers. In 1547 John Frederick was ousted by Maurice, who ended an eventful life in 1553 when the victorious league of German princes under his leadership had just driven the Emperor Charles to conclude the treaty of Passau. In 1563 the Seven Years' War of the North began, in which the western princes of Denmark, Poland and Saxony, together with Lübeck, were fighting against Eric XIV of Sweden for the possession of the Baltic provinces. The figure of Henry III, too, presented itself to Greene's imagination in the light of contemporary circumstances. This wealthy and powerful sovereign, receiving Emperor and Castilian king as equals who recognised in England 'another little world' (sc. iv, 7) independent of European monarchies, belongs to Tudor, rather than to Plantagenet times: and Greene's audience, ignoring perversions and anachronisms, would respond at once to the sentiment of Henry's closing words:

Thus glories England over all the West.

PERCY Z. ROUND.

LONDON.

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ITALIAN INFLUENCE ON ENGLISH SCHOLARSHIP AND LITERATURE DURING THE ROMANTIC REVIVAL[1].

VI.

Of Byron enough has been said to suggest how large was the Italian element in his poetry, especially in that written after his second and final departure from England in 1816. Byron had, indeed, read some Italian long before; but as late as 1812, when the first two cantos of *Childe Harold* appeared, there is no trace of Italian influence in his poetry. In *Parisina* (1816) he went for the first time to Italy for his theme; but it was in the fourth canto of *Childe Harold* (1818) that he paid his most famous tribute to the fascination of Italy. The whole canto, which is virtually an independent poem, is an impassioned record of the poet's emotions in the presence of the great monuments of the historic past. Venice, Arquà with its memories of 'Laura's lover,' Ferrara and the sad story of Tasso, Florence and 'the all Etruscan three,' Rome and her splendid past—famous men and famous places like these are brought before us in sharp and brilliant pageantry. Granted that here and there Byron seems a little too determined to be moved by the sights which it is obviously proper to feel intensely, and that the technique of the verse leaves something to be desired; yet no faults of style or of taste can obscure the splendour of the whole, or take from Byron the honour of having produced the one poem which, it is not too much to say, interpreted to all Europe the spirit of Italy and her 'dono infelice di bellezza.'

The Lament of Tasso and *The Prophecy of Dante*, written in 1819, may be regarded as appendices to *Childe Harold*; they are attempts to present in semi-dramatic fashion Byron's conception of the personalities of the two poets. But his gifts were not dramatic or psychological, and both pieces are laboured and uneasy efforts, adding nothing to what he had said before. Much the same must be said of the plays on themes from Venetian history, written later[2]; in these Byron prided himself on his truth to historical fact and descriptive detail, and in endeavouring to imitate the simplicity and severity of 'that great man' Alfieri, he

[1] Continued from Vol. xx, p. 304.

[2] *Marino Faliero* (1820) and *The Two Foscari* (1821).

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imposed upon himself a regularity of structure which did not suit his genius[1].

In *The Prophecy of Dante* it is interesting to observe the signs of closer reading in 'the Bard of Hell,' as Byron had (most inadequately) termed him in *Childe Harold*; interesting also is the attempt to reproduce *terza rima* in English, in which Byron rather surprisingly supposed himself to be a pioneer[2]. Byron's *terza rima*, however, is less successful than many other attempts in English; he shows a curious inability to perceive the essentially close and rigid structure of Dante's verse, which he imagined himself to be reproducing.

But in truth Byron did not understand the serious poetry of Italy from the inside; it is the romance of Dante's or of Tasso's misfortunes which appeals to him, rather than the solemn beauty of their poetry. It was natural that *Don Juan*, which best expressed Byron himself, should be largely inspired by the Italians whom he best understood—by Pulci and Boiardo, Berni and Ariosto; and similarly we are not surprised to find his rendering of a canto from Pulci much the best of his attempts in translation[3].

Of the genesis of *Don Juan* we have already spoken; but we must guard against overrating Byron's debt here to the Italians. There are few traces of imitation, direct or indirect; it is the general idea, the mental attitude of a gay and careless, inconsequential, familiar talker, which Byron adopts from the Italian masters and their English naturalisers. The plan, in all the cunning of its seeming formlessness, is Italian; the 'story,' the romance, the bitter satire, indeed the whole spirit of the poem, so far as they are of any country, are English, and Byron's own. The mingling of the streams of English and Italian art was as fortunate in this poem as in any of Chaucer's or of the Elizabethans', and, in the very originality of the result, more complete than in either.

Shelley's Italian studies form at once a parallel and a striking contrast with those of Byron. He had a far greater comprehension of the genius of Dante than Byron, or indeed than any other English poet;

[1] For Byron's high opinion of Alfieri, see his *Letters*, ed. Prothero, v, pp. 64, 81, 323, etc.

[2] A little later than this Byron made a fairly literal, but very wooden translation, in *terza rima*, of the Francesca episode (*Inferno*, v). As we have seen, Hayley had used the metre in translating Dante nearly forty years before; and it had, of course, been tried in original verse by Chaucer, Wiat, and some of the Elizabethans. At no time, however, can it be said to have been naturalised in English.

[3] In 1820, when four cantos of *Don Juan* had already been completed, Byron translated the first canto of the *Morgante Maggiore*. Like the version from Dante, it is nearly literal, following the original stanza for stanza; but it is a much more spirited performance, and catches well the naive humour of Pulci. It was first published in Hunt's *Liberal* in 1822.

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while he cared little for the lighter poetry which most influenced Byron. Probably it was his friendship with the witty novelist T. L. Peacock, of whom he saw a good deal in 1817 and 1818, which brought about Shelley's introduction to Italian literature; Peacock was an excellent Italian scholar, keenly interested in Dante, in Ariosto, and in Boiardo, from all of whom he often quotes[1].

In 1817 Shelley began to read the *Divina Commedia*, using as an assistance Cary's translation[2]; and to the same year belongs his first experiment in *terza rima*, *Prince Athanase*. But, as in Byron's case, Shelley's closer acquaintance with Italian literature dates from his settlement in Italy[3]. Already in April 1818, soon after his arrival, he was planning 'a tragedy on the subject of Tasso's madness,' of which however only a few fragments were composed[4]. Into the last four years of his life, spent entirely in various parts of Italy, Shelley crowded an amount of close reading and study of English, German, Spanish, and above all Classical and Italian literature, which made him, in the exact sense of the phrase, the most thorough 'man of letters' of his age. His letters, and his fragments of literary criticism, especially the well-known *Defence of Poetry*, are full of references to the earlier Italian authors, from Boccaccio to Guicciardini, and from Dante to Tasso. His admiration for Dante and Petrarch is well known, but it is not so often noted that he rated Boccaccio almost as highly, as we may see from a letter to Leigh Hunt (September 27, 1819), a passage from which may serve here as a summary of his opinions of the chief Italian writers:

> I have been lately reading this most divine writer [Boccaccio]. He is, in a high sense of the word, a poet, and his language has the rhythm and harmony of verse. I think him not equal certainly to Dante or Petrarch, but far superior to Tasso and Ariosto, the children of a later and of a colder day . . . When the second-rate poets of Italy wrote, the corrupting blight of tyranny was already hanging on every bud of genius. Energy, and simplicity, and unity of idea, were no more. In vain do we seek in the finest passages of Ariosto and Tasso, any expression which at all approaches in this respect to those of Dante and Petrarch.

In numerous lyrics written in Italy, in such delightful familiar poems as *Julian and Maddalo* and *The Boat on the Serchio*, and above all in his letters, Shelley gives us some admirable glimpses of Italian life and

[1] See *Gryll Grange* (1861) for an interesting discussion of Boiardo, Berni, and Ariosto, with a translation from the first-mentioned. In 1862 he published *The Deceived*, a comedy translated from *Gl' Ingannati* (1531); this is one of the plays often supposed to have been a source of Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*. For his earlier references to Dante, see *Dante in English Literature*, II, pp. 234–7.

[2] Cf. *Letters of Shelley*, ed. Ingpen (1909), II, p. 564. According to Medwin, with whom he read some Dante in Italy, Shelley praised Cary's fidelity, but thought that an 'adequate translation' would require the *terza rima*. (Medwin, *Life of Shelley*, 1847, II, p. 15.)

[3] Mrs Shelley, in her note on the Early Poems, says Shelley read Tasso, Ariosto and Alfieri as early as 1815; but I am inclined to doubt this date.

[4] *Letters*, ed. Ingpen (1909), II, pp. 595–6, 600.

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scenery; but we do not go to him, as we do to *Beppo* and Byron's letters, for brilliant and lively pictures of Italian society. Yet though Shelley declared that he 'did not deal in flesh and blood,' he succeeded, in *The Cenci*, where Byron failed—in handling a tragic theme, drawn from Italian sources, with a power of imaginative characterisation worthy of the highest traditions of English drama.

It has not, I think, been noticed that Shelley's choice and treatment in this play of the difficult subject of incest may have been influenced in part by his knowledge of Alfieri's *Mirra*, a play he greatly admired. In 1818, when Shelley was at Venice with Byron, Mrs Shelley was engaged in translating this tragedy. Byron, as we have seen, had a high opinion of Alfieri, and in 1819, when he saw *Mirra* performed at Bologna, he was so powerfully affected that he burst into tears and left the theatre[1]. Probably Shelley discussed *Mirra* with Byron at Venice, and knowing that the play had had considerable success on the stage, took its reticence and delicacy of allusion as a standard in composing his own tragedy in the following year. *The Cenci* was not acted in Shelley's lifetime, but in this respect its fate, so far as the English stage was concerned, resembled that of *Mirra*; for Madame Ristori, after achieving one of her greatest triumphs in Paris as Mirra, was not allowed to produce the play in London[2].

Dante, Petrarch, and the Greeks, especially Plato, were the supreme influences on Shelley's later poems. Traces of Dante are clear in *Prometheus Unbound*; the *Symposium* and the *Vita Nuova* together inspired *Epipsychidion*; while the influence of the *Commedia* and of the *Trionfi* upon his last poem, the unfinished *Triumph of Life*, makes it in form and in essence the most 'Italian' of all Shelley's works, in spite of the association of the theme with the French Revolution and its results. The procession-device, and much of the symbolism in this poem, are Petrarchan; but the framework of a vision, and the introduction of Rousseau as poetic cicerone, recall Dante and his Virgil. The use of *terza rima*—more nearly successful here than in any other English poem—might of course be due to the example of either poet; but Shelley's handling of the measure recalls Petrarch's more loose and flowing structure rather than Dante's[3].

[1] Cf. Byron's *Letters*, ed. Prothero, IV, p. 339. The heroine in *Mirra* kills herself immediately after confessing her passion for her father. The story is from Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, X, but Alfieri modified it greatly in the interests of delicacy.

[2] Cf. Shelley's *Letters*, ed. Ingpen (1909), II, pp. 626, 718 note.

[3] On the influence of Dante on *The Triumph of Life*, cf. article by A. C. Bradley, *Modern Language Review*, October 1914: and cf. also essay by F. M. Stawell, in *Essays by Members of the English Assoc.*, V, 1914.

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Less conversant than Byron, or even than many lesser men such as Rose, with the lighter side of Italy, Shelley shows a far deeper sympathy with the inward spirit of her greatest art than any other contemporary; his few translations from Dante's lyrics surpass all similar attempts except Rossetti's, and he was the first Englishman, after Cary, to state a definite preference for the *Purgatorio* and *Paradiso* over the *Inferno*. If his work did less than Byron's to spread an interest in Italy among Englishmen, this was only because it went far deeper, and necessarily appealed to a much smaller circle of readers.

To consider the Italian element in the poetry of Keats is to be reminded of the usefulness of Cary's translation of Dante, which was the main source of Keats's knowledge of the Florentine. During his walking tour in Scotland in 1818 the poet's entire library consisted of the three minute volumes of the 1814 edition of Cary, stowed away in a corner of his knapsack[1]. A year later, we learn from a letter to his brother George (September 21, 1819), Keats began to learn Italian, and was reading Ariosto, 'not managing more than six or eight stanzas at a time,' however; and, so far as the study of Dante is concerned, it is not likely that, at this late period in his brief career, Keats ever became independent of Cary's assistance[2].

Cary's version of the story of Paolo and Francesca had the honour of inspiring Keats's fine sonnet 'As Hermes once took to his feathers light'; and it is not unlikely that the poet's knowledge of Dante may have had some influence on the revised version of *Hyperion*, begun late in 1819 when his health was failing. The vision-device, the figure of Moneta, which in conception at least has an almost Dantesque severity and grandeur, and the attempt to prune down the Miltonisms of the earlier version to a style more direct and simple, yet still dignified—all these remind us of Dante. The recast was a failure, of course. Nevertheless it is to certain passages of this poem—notably to the dialogue beginning 'None can usurp this height'—that we turn when we are inclined to indulge in those fruitless but fascinating speculations concerning what Keats might have done if his health had not broken down. Never was there a poet with such a power of learning from the great masters of the past: Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton, Dryden—he had learned from all, yet remained, ultimately, himself. What if Dante had been his next

[1] Keats' first certain reference to Cary's Dante dates from December 1817; but if Dr Toynbee is right in conjecturing the phrase 'pure serene' in the Sonnet on Chapman's Homer to be borrowed from Cary's version of *Paradiso*, XIX, pp. 64–5 (Letter to *Times Lit. Supp.* June 16, 1921, p. 387), this would place Keats's first reading of Cary early in 1817.

[2] Leigh Hunt stated in 1835 that Keats had begun to read Dante in the Italian, but there is no other evidence for this. See *Dante in English Literature*, II, p. 249.

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model? Perhaps he would have excelled Shelley in the power to absorb the very spirit of the *Commedia*; perhaps his supreme achievement would have been some vast work of art standing even to the Odes as the *Commedia* stands to the *Vita Nuova*. Yet this sort of speculation does perhaps less than justice to the perfection of the work which Keats actually did produce; and on this, at any rate, the influence of Dante was slighter than that of other Italian writers.

It was from Boccaccio that Keats took his most definite Italian borrowing. The fifth *novella* of the fourth day in the *Decameron*, which Keats read in the excellent Jacobean translation (1620), was the source of *Isabella, or the Pot of Basil* (1818), the finest narrative poem in English founded on Boccaccio[1]. The debt here, however, is limited to the plot, the working out in detail being almost entirely independent; and the passionate intensity of the whole poem is very unlike the easier pathos of Boccaccio. The measure of this poem, it is worth observing, is the *ottava rima*; in English the stanza is better suited for humorous or at least conversational verse than for so serious a theme, but Keats avoids the difficulty of the 'clicking' final couplet with great skill. As we have seen, Frere's *Whistlecraft* had lately popularised the measure; but Keats probably chose it simply as appropriate to an Italian theme, though his acquaintance with its use for serious narrative in Fairfax's Tasso may have had some effect.

Isabella was Keats's only contribution to a scheme of poetic *Tales from Boccaccio* suggested by his friend John Hamilton Reynolds, who on his part wrote two tales, *The Garden of Florence* and *The Ladye of Provence*, which appeared after the death of Keats[2].

One further sign of Italian influence in Keats's poetry, less happy in its results, but also more indirect, remains to be noticed. A late poem, *The Cap and Bells*, was suggested partly by the early cantos of *Don Juan*, which Keats greatly admired, partly by his own reading in Ariosto, and partly by what he learned of Pulci and Berni from his friend Brown, with whom these poets were favourites. But the comic vein was not natural to Keats, and the tone is flippant and feeble. Oddly enough, here where

[1] On Keats and Boccaccio, see Sir S. Colvin, *John Keats: His Life and Poetry*, etc. (1918), p. 397. There are some curious parallels in detail between *The Eve of St Agnes* and Boccaccio's early romance, the *Filocolo*, which have not been satisfactorily explained. See Colvin, *loc. cit.*, and article by M. H. Shackford (*Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc. America*, XXXVI, 1).

[2] *The Garden of Florence and other poems by John Hamilton*, 1821. These poems have considerable merit and deserve to be better known. The title-piece especially catches the sensuous intensity of Keats's manner in a remarkable fashion. Curiously enough neither of the tales from Boccaccio is in the *ottava rima*.

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the *ottava rima* would have been thoroughly in place, he chose Spenserians instead—a most unsuitable measure.

Such works as *Isabella*, *The Cenci*, and *Marino Faliero* are examples of a revived fashion which may also be seen among the lesser writers; the practice (in abeyance during most of the eighteenth century) of going direct to Italian authors for plot and atmosphere. The Italian setting in such earlier works as *The Castle of Otranto* and *The Italian* was little more than a sham; but during the period we are now considering some attempt at least was usually made to depict genuine 'local colour'; this was, of course, due in part to the advent of the historical novel. B. W. Procter, Leigh Hunt, Landor, Milman the historian (who wrote *Fazio*, 1815, a play with a Florentine plot), Miss Mitford (*Foscari*, 1826), and Lord Lytton (*Rienzi*, 1835) are among those who achieved some success. Boccaccio was a favourite with dramatists and narrative poets[1]. Procter, who published much of his work in the *London Magazine*, was perhaps the largest borrower from the *Decameron*. His *Sicilian Story* (1821) rehandles the theme of *Isabella*, which at the time it greatly excelled in popularity; and *The Falcon* anticipates the title and plot of Tennyson's play, though Procter's is a slighter work. It formed one of his *Dramatic Sketches*, published in 1819; several other pieces in this book, as well as his longer plays *Marcian Colonna* (1820) and *Mirandola* (1821), have Italian settings.

In connection with Boccaccio and the *novelle*, Thomas Roscoe, a son of the historian, deserves mention for his prose translations, of which the most useful, the *Italian Novelists* (4 vols., 1825), is an anthology of tales by many authors from the fourteenth to the eighteenth century. Roscoe was an industrious if mediocre translator; his other works include versions of Silvio Pellico's *Le Mie Prigioni* and of Sismondi's *Literature of the South of Europe* (1823), and a short life of Michel Angelo.

Before we close this survey with some remarks on Landor and Leigh Hunt, a few verse-translations supplementing those already mentioned may be briefly considered. Cary's Dante was not seriously challenged for some time; the next complete version of the *Commedia* was that by I. C. Wright (1833–40). Translations of Dante's minor works also came rather late; the first of the *Canzoniere* was Charles Lyell's (1835), and of the *Vita Nuova*, Garrow's (1846).

[1] The Jacobean translation used by Keats was reprinted five or six times before 1700, and was fairly common even a century later; but there was no new translation between 1741 and about 1800. Between 1800 and 1830 there were four or five independent translations.

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Next to the *Commedia*, Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata* has been translated perhaps oftener than any other of the longer Italian poems; but it can scarcely be said that any of the nineteenth-century versions, more exact as most of them are, has supplanted that by Fairfax (1600). In 1818, when Hoole's Tasso had begun to sink into deserved neglect, a new attempt was made by J. Higgs Hunt, editor of the *Critical Review*. Six years later appeared a rival version, by J. H. Wiffen, in the Spenserian stanza—an interesting experiment; this reached a fifth edition by 1854, and outlasted Hunt's version and another by J. R. Broadhead (1837); but Fairfax is still the name one first thinks of in connection with Tasso.

Landor and Leigh Hunt are here mentioned last among their contemporaries, partly because their work is miscellaneous and difficult to classify, partly because the great length of their careers carries them far into the Victorian age and links their Italian studies with those of later writers. Landor (1775–1864) became the friend of Browning, Tennyson and Carlyle, and survived to receive the homage of Swinburne; and Leigh Hunt (1784–1859) outlived his early associates Keats and Shelley by nearly forty years, and in 1848 was enabled to read Rossetti's *Early Italian Poets* in MS.[1]

Landor's dealings with Italian literature are as aggressively individual as his politics or his domestic habits. Though so much of his work is linked with Italy, one feels a doubt in speaking of it as 'influenced' by the Italians; everywhere the high dignified manner of the 'unsubduable old Roman' carves or stiffens the material to its own heroic pattern.

Landor had begun to read Italian before 1800; but the greater part of the work in which he treats Italian themes falls within the twenty years (1815–1835) of his earlier residence in Italy, at Como (where he got into trouble for libelling the Italian poet Monti), Pisa, Florence and Fiesole[2]. During this period he read many Italian authors; none however with very close sympathy, except Boccaccio, who appealed to the quietly humorous and courtly gentleman coexisting, in some curious

[1] See letter (signed H. O.) to *Times Lit. Supp.* of July 11, 1918, in which Rossetti's opinion of Hunt as a translator, quoted below, was first printed. Hunt however did not think very highly of Rossetti's versions. *The Early Italian Poets* was not published until 1861.

[2] Five volumes of *Imaginary Conversations* appeared between 1824 and 1829; the *Pentameron* in 1836. A number of Conversations (e.g. *Dante and Gemma Donati*) were written later; and his plays on Italian historical themes (which are little more than conversations in verse) were not completed till the forties: the chief are a trilogy on the court of Naples in the early fourteenth century, *Andrea of Hungary*, *Giovanna of Naples*, *Fra Rupert*; and *The Siege of Ancona*.

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fashion, with the fiery republican in Landor's odd personality. His love of Boccaccio, indeed, obscured his appreciation of Dante and Petrarch; so that the dialogues in the *Pentameron* are most pleasing where they remind us of the fresh morning air of the *Decameron*, and least where the speakers are mouthpieces for Landor's captious criticisms on Dante, which would assuredly have made the real Boccaccio and the real Petrarch 'stare and gasp.'

In the *Imaginary Conversations* many scenes from Italian history and fable are finely presented; and some reparation is made to Dante in his talks with Beatrice and with Gemma Donati his wife; but, as with Byron, it is usually the general romantic effect, rather than anything specifically Italian, which attracts Landor to his themes; his Tasso is even less an Italian than Byron's; and his Michel Angelo Buonarotti is very like Walter Savage Landor. In the critical, historical, and political dialogues, the author's crotchets intrude continually, and Machiavelli, Alfieri, Pope Leo XII and the rest are as a rule mere Landorian puppets.

The case is very different with Leigh Hunt's Italian translations and criticisms, which show a far more sympathetic taste for Italian poetry. Hunt learned the language as early as 1793, at Christ's Hospital, where he walked about 'shouting Metastasio'; and half a century later, the *Parnasso Italiano*, which he bought and read while in prison (1813), was still his inseparable companion.

In his many periodical ventures, the *Examiner*, the shortlived *Liberal* (1822), the *Indicator* (1820), and the rest, in the prefaces and notes to his translations, and in such books as *Imagination and Fancy* (1844) and *A Jar of Honey from Mount Hybla* (1848), Hunt writes, in his genial and appreciative fashion, on almost every Italian poet of note. With one exception, none of them comes amiss to him; he relishes Boccaccio beside Chaucer, Ariosto beside Spenser, the *Pastor Fido* beside *The Faithful Shepherdess*. Dante, however, he found hard to digest; he hated his theology and his politics, and like Landor could not away with his condemnation of the republican Brutus. Yet Hunt was fascinated by the 'swarthy Florentine,' to whom he continually returns, retelling stories from him, translating famous passages, and quoting him oftener than any other Italian poet. Hunt's early poem *The Story of Rimini* (1816) is a somewhat unlucky dilution of Dante's wonderful half-canto; but it was in no sense intended as 'Daunt in Englysch,' and, judged by its own standards, has more merit than is usually allowed.

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Hunt was happier, however, with less intense poets than Dante. His version of Tasso's pastoral play, *Amyntas, A Tale of the Woods*, which appeared, with a dedication to Keats, in 1820, is admirably done, and as close to the original as Cary's Dante. Better known, perhaps, is *Bacchus in Tuscany* (1825), a free rendering from Francesco Redi's whimsical dithyrambic *Bacco in Toscana*, easy, rapid, and often ingeniously turned, though the colloquialisms sometimes overdo Redi's familiarity. A later essay in the art of translation, *Stories from the Italian Poets* (1846), is a compound of critical remarks, prose summaries, and ample specimens rendered in verse from Dante, Pulci, Boiardo, Ariosto and Tasso. Hunt made also some of the finest translations from Italian lyric verse which we possess; the best-known, and the best, perhaps, is that from Petrarch's canzone *Chiare, fresche, e dolci acque*[1].

D. G. Rossetti thought Leigh Hunt 'certainly the greatest translator England has produced'; and so far as lyric and 'specimen' translation is concerned, most would accept this judgment, with the reservation that Rossetti himself, in *The Early Italian Poets*, must be held to have surpassed even Hunt. But the rendering of longer poems like those of Dante and Ariosto presents difficulties which the lyric translator, proceeding necessarily by a kind of hit-or-miss method, never encounters; and so it is hardly fair to bring either Hunt or Rossetti into comparison with W. S. Rose, Cary, or the more recent translators of the *Divina Commedia*. After all, perhaps, Hunt's chief claim to remembrance is as the most genial and industrious of the essayists and critics who helped to popularise the Italian poets in England. Less profound in his sympathies than Coleridge or Shelley, he touched a far larger audience; less inspired than Hazlitt or Lamb, he was more widely read, more catholic in taste, and, on literary topics at least, more familiar and intimate in manner. After Coleridge, he was one of the first to recognise the close links between English and Italian poetry, and by a sort of good-natured crusade to bring this home to the ordinary reader.

R. W. KING.

BANGOR.

[1] Hunt's translations are conveniently collected in his *Poetical Works*, ed. H. Milford (Oxford, 1922). Late in life Hunt scored a success with his play *A Legend of Florence* (1840), on a theme which Shelley had begun to treat in his unfinished narrative poem *Ginevra* (1821).

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MARCEL PROUST.

A NOVELIST who for years had the utmost difficulty in finding a publisher and a public to take him seriously, and who now, after his death, is being 'explained' in terms of Schopenhauer, Leibniz, Freud, Bergson and Einstein, certainly occupies a unique position in modern literature. Such is Marcel Proust.

In 1896, at the age of twenty-five, Proust wrote a book called *Les Plaisirs et les Jours*, but would only publish it on condition that a preface was added by Anatole France, illustrations by Madeleine Lemaire and four musical compositions by Reynaldo Hahn. Even in spite of those advantages, the book aroused very little comment. No one predicted great things for its author. Of the few critics who took any notice of it, one, Jean Lorrain, wrote a few lines of such severe criticism that Proust fought a duel with him. Eight years later, Proust wrote in a letter that he was always astonished that anyone should have read his book, adding that his publisher had assured him no one ever asked for it.

Anatole France, in his preface, says of Proust's book:

> Son livre est comme un jeune visage plein de charme rare et de grâce fine.... Sans doute il est jeune de la jeunesse de l'auteur. Mais il est vieux de la vieillesse du monde. C'est le printemps des feuilles sur les rameaux antiques dans la forêt séculaire. On dirait que les pousses nouvelles sont attristées du passé profond des bois et portent le deuil de tant de printemps morts.

Les Plaisirs et les Jours is a collection of tales, sketches and poems, all of which have that touch of disillusionment commented on by France in his preface. But besides this keynote of sadness, there is in this book much subtle observation of nature and humanity. There are also the beginnings of the author's power as a psychologist, and here and there we are struck by passages which, if they lacked interest in 1896, are certainly full of it if one reads them after seeing what they have developed into in the later work of Proust. His descriptions of 'les vanités d'une âme snob' are a foretaste of the way in which he will later on lay bare the illusions on which society life, and in fact all life, is based. His sensitiveness to physical impression, and his consciousness of the effect of sensation on him, are both evident, though he does not yet proceed to the psychological 'excavations' which will later engross him.

A few years after the publication of *Les Plaisirs et les Jours*, Proust wrote several short articles on Ruskin. In 1904, he published an

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annotated translation of Ruskin's *Bible of Amiens*, preceded by an introductory essay on Ruskin. This essay was reprinted in a collection of essays and tales by Proust, published under the title of *Pastiches et Mélanges*. This collection contains another essay entitled 'John Ruskin,' in which the author criticises Ruskin's aesthetic principles. The last essay of the book is called 'Journées de Lecture,' and is a reprint from the *Mercure* of a study written to accompany a translation of *Sesame and Lilies*.

Ruskin found in Proust a great admirer, but also a merciless critic. In his introduction to the *Bible of Amiens*, Proust says the greatest homage one can pay to Ruskin is not to visit his grave but to go on a 'pèlerinage ruskinien' to see the things he admired. Accordingly he made pilgrimages not only to Amiens, but to all the great churches in Normandy and elsewhere which had been studied by Ruskin. He used Ruskin's *Seven Lamps of Architecture* as a guide to Avranches, Bayeux, Beauvais, Bourges, Caen, etc.[1], and he seems to have derived great pleasure from thus studying French art through English eyes. This tribute to the aesthetic appreciation of the English refers, not only to Ruskin, but to other English artists and art critics.

Quelle intéressante collection on ferait avec les paysages de France vus par des yeux anglais: les rivières de France de Turner; le Versailles de Bonnington; l'Auxerre ou le Valenciennes, le Vézelay ou l'Amiens de Walter Pater; le Fontainebleau de Stevenson et tant d'autres[2].

Proust regarded Ruskin as one of the greatest writers who ever lived. It was Ruskin who taught him to see things, and from the time of this initiation, it was a new heaven and a new earth which delighted the eyes of Proust.

L'Univers reprit tout d'un coup à mes yeux un prix infini. Et mon admiration pour Ruskin donnait une telle importance aux choses qu'il m'avait fait aimer, qu'elles me semblaient chargées d'une valeur plus grande même que celle de la vie. Ce fut à la lettre et dans une circonstance où je croyais mes jours comptés; je partis pour Venise afin d'avoir pu avant de mourir, approcher, toucher, voir incarnées, en des palais défaillants mais encore debout et roses, les idées de Ruskin sur l'architecture domestique du Moyen Age.

In spite of this very enthusiastic admiration, Proust is not blind to the faults of Ruskin, and condemns Ruskin's doctrines as being moral doctrines and not aesthetic doctrines. Hence an underlying insincerity which made Ruskin, when he chose something for its beauty, persuade himself he was choosing it for its embodiment of truth. This compromise, says Proust, is more dangerous to the mind than immoral

[1] See E. de Clermont-Tonnerre, *Robert de Montesquiou et Marcel Proust*, p. 96.
[2] Preface to Proust's *Bible d'Amiens*, p. 68, footnote.

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doctrines sincerely professed, and a page of Ruskin is for each of his readers and for Ruskin himself a kind of 'trompe-l'œil.' The principal religion of Ruskin, says Proust, was not the Religion of Beauty, as has so often been said, but simply Religion. Whenever Ruskin became acquainted with a new school of architecture, it was as great an event in his moral life as a divine revelation would be in the life of a Christian, because he regarded beauty not merely as an object of joy, but as a reality more important than life itself. This reality being one, he sees no difference between the various ways of representing it, i.e. between pictures, statues, poetry, laws, etc., whereas Proust says painting can rival literature only on condition that it is not in itself literary. For Proust, reality is not one but manifold, and he abhors the kind of half-sincerity which is content with a one-sided view of the truth. As to those numerous arguments in which Ruskin shows a liberal use of imagination curiously allied to scientific facts, Proust scorns their futility. When Ruskin says God used bright colours in creating pure and precious things and dull colours for harmful things, Proust is reminded of Bernardin de Saint Pierre who said God divided melons into slices so that men could eat them more easily.

By the time Proust was translating *Sesame and Lilies*, his admiration of Ruskin had undergone a change. *Sesame and Lilies* is in his opinion the worst thing Ruskin ever wrote, and this work never roused any enthusiasm in Proust at all. He does not say that Ruskin has ceased to interest him, only that his early love for him was more spontaneous. 'Mon amour pour Ruskin dure. Seulement quelquefois rien ne le refroidit comme de lire Ruskin[1].'

Ruskin's doctrines had no effect whatever on Proust, but Proust admits his indebtedness to the spiritual discipline he imposed upon himself under the guidance of Ruskin. To the critic who says: 'What can it matter to you what Ruskin feels; feel for yourself,' he answers that this discipline increased his power of understanding and his critical faculty. He says it is a psychological error and a sophist's argument to suppose that the man who strives to make his mind a void, in order to owe nothing to outside influence, is really more personal in his expression than the man who goes through the discipline of re-creating in his own mind the thought of another. In fact Proust says (and in his case it is obviously true) that it is this process of re-creation, of 'living through' the experience of another, that brings to light one's own thought. In his preface to the *Bible of Amiens*, Proust's style is

[1] Letter to M. Léon Bélugou (1906) quoted by E. de Clermont-Tonnerre, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

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not unlike Ruskin's, but there the comparison ends. In his later writings there is nothing to remind us of Ruskin, although one is struck, not only by the number of passages where Proust shows a very great appreciation of architectural beauty, but also by a marked tendency on his part to use metaphors reminiscent of the technicalities of architecture. Angles and surfaces, circles, radii and other geometrical terms are commonly used by Proust when he is analysing character or describing society. It looks as if certain relationships, as, for instance, between one trait of character and another, between one action and another, between a cause and its effect, etc., were first visualised by him as geometrical diagrams and then expressed in language which sometimes betrays the technical origin of the mental image.

The one thing Ruskin and Proust had in common was their sensitiveness to physical sensation. Ruskin's biographer says of him:

> No man was more sensitive than he to physical impressions from external nature; for indeed physical and spiritual light was to him the same, and never was there a man who lived more largely in the contemplation of sky and cloud, of lake and flowers and hills[1].

Proust also was influenced to an extraordinary extent by physical impressions. He sometimes felt as if he were directly influenced by the presence of inanimate objects, as, for instance, when he talks of the hostility of certain purple curtains, or the mental restlessness caused by the peculiar shape of a room[2], or the overwhelming physical sensation produced by certain pieces of music[3]. He was even reluctant at times to expose himself to new impressions, to become acquainted with a new set of sensations, owing to the torment he suffered when, in new surroundings, he felt overwhelmed by 'l'âme des choses' over which he says we must superpose 'l'âme qui nous est familière' before we can regain our tranquillity of mind[4].

This sensitiveness to physical impression is the common starting point of both Ruskin and Proust, but their mode of procedure is very different, for Ruskin, on experiencing, for example, a sensation which gives him aesthetic pleasure, goes on to muse over it with the purpose of a moralist and the fancy of a poet, whereas Proust, whenever he records a new sensation, puts it under the microscope, so to speak, and

[1] Library edition of Ruskin's works, vol. xxxiii, Introduction, p. 37.

[2] 'Ma pensée s'efforçait pendant des heures de se disloquer, de s'étirer en hauteur pour prendre exactement la forme de la chambre' (*Du Côté de chez Swann*, i, p. 13).

[3] 'Une phrase...si profonde, si vague, si interne, presque si organique et viscérale qu'on ne savait pas à chacune de ses reprises si c'était celle d'un thème ou d'une névralgie' (*La Prisonnière*, ii, p. 78).

[4] *Sodome et Gomorrhe*, i, p. 188.

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makes a physiological and psychological study of it in which moral values have no place.

In 1913, Proust published the first volume of his great work, *A la Recherche du Temps Perdu.* He had great difficulty in finding a publisher. The reader of one publishing firm, after going through *Du Côté de chez Swann,* as the first volume is called, said:

> Je ne sais pas si je suis bouché à l'émeri, mais je ne comprends pas l'intérêt qu'il peut y avoir à lire trente pages sur la façon dont un monsieur se retourne dans son lit avant de s'endormir.

Another publisher offered to print part of it, but Proust refused. Finally, when the book appeared, most people thought it scarcely readable. Edmond Rostand, however, said of Proust: 'C'est un des plus puissants cerveaux de la littérature française.' Another writer, Francis de Miomandre, in a Belgian review, *L'Art Moderne* (1914, April), wrote a favourable criticism[1]. But it was not till 1919, when Proust published the next two volumes entitled *A l'Ombre des Jeunes Filles en Fleurs,* that his success was really assured and that he began to count as a writer. Through the influence of Léon Daudet and in spite of much hostility, Proust obtained the Prix Goncourt for his novel and, from this time on, was much in favour in French society.

It would be very difficult indeed to give a summary of the eleven volumes which constitute *A la Recherche du Temps Perdu*[2]. From the first volume to the last, there is as much action as Balzac might relate in twenty pages, and yet, on the other hand, there is often a greater revelation of truth in a page of Proust than in a whole volume of Balzac. What Proust aims at is a mental reconstruction of his past. He tries to recapture all the forgotten sensations that constitute his past life. In this 'novel of memory,' as his work has been called, the greatest innovation is Proust's conception of memory itself. He maintains that, in reconstituting the past, it is not conscious memory but involuntary memory that is the most important factor. It is not the things we have always remembered of the past that keep the past alive in us, it is the things which, having been completely forgotten, are recalled in all their original vividness by some trivial sensation, and not by an act of the intelligence at all. Hence, paradoxical as it may seem, oblivion is a necessary factor, if the past is to be brought back to us with its original clearness. A memory which we have

[1] See E. de Clermont-Tonnerre, *op. cit.*, pp. 169 f.

[2] The whole series has not yet appeared. At least one volume of *A la Recherche du Temps Perdu* remains to be printed, besides the final section, in one volume or more, entitled *Le Temps Retrouvé.*

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always had with us grows paler and paler as time goes on, but a memory which, having been buried, is 'dug up,' affects us as strongly as the original episode[1], so that by a flash of involuntary memory we turn the 'temps perdu' into 'temps retrouvé.' Moreover we get nearer to the true essence of life through memory rather than through perception. Memory resuscitates our past, but our past freed from the passions and deceptions that blinded us. Hence the truth lies, not in the distorted image we have of the content of the present moment, but only in our mind, where our stored-up past may from time to time be revealed by a flash of involuntary memory. So that the 'temps retrouvé' is not merely the past brought back to mind, but the past seen in its true significance and not as our perception of the moment represented it to us.

In the first volume of his work, Proust sets himself to reconstruct a certain phase of his childhood. This part of his past was not at first recalled by conscious memory, but came back to him suddenly one day, years after, when he happened to taste the peculiar and long-forgotten flavour of a 'madeleine' dipped in tea. The whole of the first volume is the outcome of this one sensation, the resurrection of which brings with it a whole mass of other sensations, the sum of which constitute the history of that period of the past to which they belong. On another occasion, the peculiar sensation of waking up after a profound sleep prolonged by fatigue brought back to Proust the time when, during his stay in the little country town of Combray, he used to go for long walks with his parents, returning home very tired and very sleepy. He had no need to make a pilgrimage to see the garden he played in or the road his parents always chose for their walk. A certain degree of fatigue brought back the same sensations as he had in that garden or after that walk, long after his conscious memory recalled nothing

[1] 'Ce qui nous rappelle le mieux un être, c'est justement ce que nous avions oublié (parce que c'était insignifiant et que nous lui avions ainsi laissé toute sa force). C'est pourquoi la meilleure part de notre mémoire est hors de nous, dans un souffle pluvieux, dans l'odeur de renfermé d'une chambre ou dans l'odeur d'une première flambée, partout où nous retrouvons de nous-même ce que notre intelligence, n'en ayant pas l'emploi, avait dédaigné, la dernière réserve du passé, la meilleure, celle qui quand toutes nos larmes semblent taries, sait nous faire pleurer encore. Hors de nous? En nous, pour mieux dire, mais dérobée à nos propres regards, dans un oubli plus ou moins prolongé. C'est grâce à cet oubli seul que nous pouvons de temps à autre, retrouver l'être que nous fûmes, nous placer vis-à-vis des choses comme cet être l'était, souffrir à nouveau parce que nous ne sommes plus nous, mais lui, et qu'il aimait ce qui nous est maintenant indifférent. Au grand jour de la mémoire habituelle, les images du passé pâlissent peu à peu, s'effacent, il ne reste plus rien d'elles, nous ne les retrouverons plus. Ou plutôt nous ne les retrouverions plus, si quelques mots.....n'avaient été soigneusement enfermés dans l'oubli, de même qu'on dépose à la Bibliothèque nationale un exemplaire d'un livre qui sans cela risquerait de devenir introuvable' (*A l'Ombre des Jeunes Filles en Fleurs*, I, p. 196).

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of the period in question. It is as if he remembered, first with his muscles and then afterwards with his conscious memory[1].

If we can only recapture the past by recapturing the actual sensations belonging to it, Proust concludes that our past joys and griefs are not always in our possession. But if by any chance we are brought into contact with the whole framework of sensations in which our past joys and sorrows are stored away, then these past sensations can again exercise a great power over us, because for the time being they instal within us, as it were, the being we were at the time when they first affected us. Thus we renew our acquaintance for a moment—not only with the vivid reality of the past, but with a forgotten phase of our own personality. It is only through this knowledge of ourselves revealed in those occasional flashes of involuntary memory that we realise the constant change that is going on in us. Usually we do not take this into account. We suffer pangs of regret when we think of the future, because we place in it our present selves with our present desires and our present susceptibilities. One of Proust's heroes, Swann, violently in love with a young woman, Odette, was occasionally tormented by the idea of how insufferable life would be if, at some future date, this love, which then filled all his thoughts, should ever become anything less than the most powerful factor in his life. As a matter of fact, by the time this passion had ceased to dominate him, the desire to remain in love had also gone, so that a state of things which Swann could only picture with agony (and which would have caused him agony had it happened at that time) came about without disturbing him in the slightest, because the Swann who dreaded certain events was not the same person as the Swann who later on peacefully lived through those same events. As our memory is so defective, it is only on rare occasions that we get a glimpse of any of the countless past variations of our personality, but, if we could realise this unceasing change that goes on in us, we should be relieved of many fears, but at the same time we should be robbed of many illusions. Romance could not exist if, at the time of his infatuation, a lover could become for an instant his future self and look on the object of his idealisation with the eyes he will have when he is no longer in love[2]. Proust reduces love at most to a mere series of 'intermittences' of the heart. He regards it as something relative, and denies its existence as an absolute reality. It is only because we are

[1] One of the titles Proust had thought of for this first volume was 'Jardins dans une tasse de thé.' This was finally discarded in favour of 'Du côté de chez Swann.' See letter to M. Louis de Robert quoted by E. de Clermont-Tonnerre, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

[2] *Sodome et Gomorrhe*, I, p. 152.

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forgetful or ignorant of the extent to which we are creatures of change that the illusion of love is possible.

Personality is therefore not a fixed reality but is as unstable as shifting sands. It is difficult to get in touch with what we once were, but it is just as difficult to know our present selves. Our idea of our own personality and of our own conduct is obscured in so many ways by our imagination, our vanity, our own preconceived idea, other people's idea of us, etc.[1] In fact, the part played by illusion is enormous, and together with the constant changing that goes on and the extraordinary difficulty in knowing ourselves, Proust sometimes asks whether personality really exists at all, or whether it does not reduce itself simply to the ebb and flow of sensations. The being we are at this moment is doomed to a speedy destruction and will be replaced by a series of totally different beings. There is a constant succession of births and deaths going on within the personality of each of us, in fact, according to Proust, there seems to be no stable element in our personality, no solid foundation, only a baffling 'relativity.'

Owing to this instability, it is impossible to interpret a man's character by studying merely his principal actions. So many of our actions prove only the 'puissance anesthésiante de l'habitude'; they proceed from motives long since dead, owing to that inability in all of us to 'scrap,' along with an outworn motive, the kind of action to which it used to give rise. Hence Proust ignores 'action' as it is understood by most novelists. He never concentrates on the great episodes and events of a person's life, but gives us an insight into character by showing people at the most ordinary moments of their lives, when they are obviously off the stage, so to speak. In a crisis we surpass ourselves, and what we do in such a moment is not characteristic of us. In fact Proust is always on his guard against accepting any action or attitude as being in any way characteristic. Instead of leading up to, and dwelling on an important action, he gives us for example a minute analysis and interpretation of an insignificant gesture or statement made by one

[1] 'Ce que nous nous rappelons de notre conduite, reste ignoré de notre plus proche voisin. Ce que nous en avons oublié avoir dit, ou même ce que nous n'avons jamais dit, va provoquer l'hilarité jusque dans une autre planète et l'image que les autres se font de nos faits et gestes ne ressemble pas plus à celle que nous nous en faisons nous-même, qu'à un dessin quelque décalque raté, où tantôt au trait noir correspondrait un espace vide et à un blanc un contour inexplicable. Il peut du reste arriver que ce qui n'a pas été transcrit soit quelque trait irréel que nous ne voyons que par complaisance et que ce qui nous semble ajouté, nous appartienne au contraire, mais si essentiellement que cela nous échappe. De sorte que cette étrange épreuve qui nous semble si peu ressemblante, a quelquefois le genre de vérité, peu flatteur, certes, mais profond et utile d'une photographie par les rayons X' (*Le Côté de Guermantes*, I, p. 244).

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of his characters, and the study of this one detail, with all the psychological tunnelling to which it leads, brings to light greater discoveries about the person concerned, than the study of any so-called characteristic action. Take, for instance, the passage in *La Prisonnière* where the hero Marcel is trying to get the truth from the vague contradictory remarks of Albertine:

> Parfois l'écriture où je déchiffrais les mensonges d'Albertine sans être idéographique avait simplement besoin d'être lue à rebours. C'est ainsi que ce soir elle m'avait lancé d'un air négligent ce message destiné à passer presque inaperçu. 'Il serait possible que j'aille demain chez les Verdurin, je ne sais pas du tout si j'irai, je n'en ai guère envie.' Anagramme enfantin de cet aveu. 'J'irai demain chez les Verdurin, c'est absolument certain, car j'y attache une extrême importance.' Cette hésitation apparente signifiait une volonté arrêtée et avait pour but de diminuer l'importance de la visite tout en me l'annonçant. Albertine employait toujours le ton dubitatif pour les résolutions irrévocables[1].

Proust finds a source of knowledge in such trivial details as an irrelevant answer, or a seemingly unimportant amendment casually added to a chance remark. In fact, the study of 'un acte manqué,' of the touching up of a statement after it has been first made, frequently provides Proust, as well as modern psychologists, with valuable data on which to work. Proust, though he never read Freud, shows a parallel with him in certain details of method, but Proust is content to investigate facts without fitting them into explanatory theories. He explores the dark alleys of our subconscious mental life and sometimes derives valuable information from a useful, if sordid, examination of 'the dustbin of the subconscious mind.' But he goes no further than to trace the relationship of cause and effect and to lay bare the illusions and deceptions in which our conscious life is immersed, owing to the intensity of our subconscious mental life and chiefly to the very imperfect and vague realisation we have of it. Proust is not a theorist. He deals only with facts and not with general notions or generalised interpretations, and so is a stranger to the Freudian theories.

When Proust has laid bare the illusions on which life is based, when he reduces one by one all our values in life to a mere deception of the senses, there would seem to be nothing left. A man who can assert that sometimes 'l'amour naît comme certaines maladies nerveuses de l'explication inexacte d'un malaise pénible[2],' who can sum up his views on the subject by calling love a 'sentiment qui (quelle qu'en soit la cause) est toujours erroné,' who can reduce personality to a very vague, shadowy thing dependent on sensations and the caprice of

[1] *La Prisonnière*, p. 118.
[2] *Sodome et Gomorrhe*, II, p. 12.

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memory, is obviously prepared, since he lays bare the mechanism of our emotions, our impulses, our desires, in a way that excludes a moral valuation, to face the emptiness of existence. Only occasionally he seems to touch something which is more than illusion, something which, unlike love and everything else that gives pleasure in life, has a lasting value. This permanent reality he sometimes divines rather than grasps, in the world of art. It was music chiefly which gave him this sense of being in the presence of something more real than everything else he had experienced. Speaking of a certain sonata which he loved to hear, he says he found in it

comme la promesse et la preuve qu'il existait autre chose, réalisable par l'art sans doute, que le néant que j'avais trouvé dans tous les plaisirs et dans l'amour même et que si ma vie me semblait vaine, du moins n'avait-elle pas tout accompli[1].

J. MURRAY.

LEEDS.

[1] *La Prisonnière*, p. 82.

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LITERARY IDEAS IN SPAIN FROM 1839 TO 1854.

THIS article is the third of a series contributed to the *Modern Language Review* upon Spanish literary theory during what is commonly termed the 'Romantic' movement. As a matter of fact I have shown, in the two preceding articles[1], that neither before nor after 1835 (the date of *Don Alvaro*) was there any general agreement in Spain as to what Romanticism meant, and that 'militant, constructive and self-conscious Romanticism' never dominated Spanish literature at all. I have traced, in these articles, the prevalent Spanish conceptions of Romanticism from an early stage in the pre-Romantic movement, through the period of the emigrations, the short-lived triumph of a few revolutionary plays, the so-called 'classical reaction' and the years when literary eclecticism flourished, down to the year 1854, at which date all would agree that Juan Valera was justified in calling Romanticism, in the narrow sense of the word, 'una cosa pasada, y perteneciente a la historia[2].' The aim of this article is to supplement those which precede it by amplifying, and perhaps by defining rather more clearly, the tendencies of literary thought in Spain during the latter part of the period referred to. I propose next to embark upon a more difficult theme, for the study of which this series of articles will have prepared the way, namely, the true nature of Romanticism in Spain, judged not only by Romantic theory, but by Romantic practice. It seems unlikely, however, that the treatment of this theme will be able to be contained within the limits of an article: it will more probably appear in book form.

I.

To read the comments of many critics in the fourth decade of the century, one would suppose that a very definite and positive form of Romanticism had taken Spain by storm, and had triumphed over its opponents completely. The *Siglo XIX*[3] at the beginning of 1838 prints

[1] *Some Spanish Conceptions of Romanticism*, vol. XVI, pp. 281–96, and *Later Spanish Conceptions of Romanticism*, vol. XVIII, pp. 37–50.

[2] *Revista española de ambos mundos*, 1854, vol. II, p. 613.

[3] This journal had a short life—from January 1, 1837, to March 29, 1838—and the article here referred to appears on pp. 1–3 of the 1838 volume. It was a Romantically inclined review, as may be seen both from the nature of the contributions published in it, and from the editorial preface to the first volume (1837). I have seen the first volume (wrongly marked 'Vol. II') in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, and the second in the private library of the Duque de T'Serclaes.

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an interesting summary of the literary condition and tendencies of the time, contributed by F. Fernández Villabrille. According to this writer, the 'rules' are absolutely dead and forgotten, and, whatever may be thought about it, the so-called 'modern school' rules the day. We may quote Villabrille's principal passage:

...Llégale su vez a la literatura, y sufre también una revolución, no sólo en sí misma, sino al mismo tiempo en todo aquello con que tiene relación. La filosofía y los preceptos de Aristóteles en armonía con la marcha lenta de los siglos anteriores, no pueden subsistir ante el movimiento actual. Las reglas dictadas por los autores, a quienes la antigüedad dió el nombre de clásicos, por su autoridad y porque habían servido de texto para la enseñanza en las clases, son desconocidas, son atropelladas por escritores que adoptan en sus composiciones estilo nuevo, vago, ideal, que sin sujeciones de ninguna especie, dejan libre campo a la fantasía. Esta pretendida escuela moderna resucita las leyendas, las trovas y romances de la edad media, y adoptando el estilo y las formas, que prefijaron a sus composiciones los escritores españoles del siglo diez y seis, invade primero la escena y después todos los géneros de literatura. Las nuevas producciones chocan primero por su novedad y extrañeza; pero luego hallan fácil acogida y rápida aceptación entre la multitud curiosa, aficionada a la variedad y amante de las sensaciones fuertes y extraordinarias. La juventud española se lanza a la gloriosa palestra, hace competir sus obras con las de los más famosos escritores extranjeros, e intenta elevar a su patria a la altura que ocupó en otro tiempo en el mundo civilizado. ¿Y por qué no ha de ser así? ¿Acaso el ingenio de los Españoles es menos aventajado y audaz ahora que lo fué en los siglos anteriores? No ciertamente, y la mayoría de nuestros poetas ha sabido ya mejorar y dar su valor verdadero al romanticismo: han acreditado ya que pueden escribir con entusiasmo las hazañas de nuestros héroes, presentar la sociedad actual como ella es en sí, y desenvolver un gran pensamiento moral, sin manchar sus cuadros con sangre y horrores exagerados e indecorosos. Loor eterno a los que vindicando el honor nacional han sabido entrar en parangón con los ingenios más aventajados de Europa.

But even at the time when such articles as this were being penned, Spanish literature was swayed by an attempt at the re-establishment of classicism. The most determined opponents of the modern movement, who saw in it nothing but 'lawlessness,' had neither been converted nor defeated by Romantic theory, still less by Romantic practice. When the few great Romantic dramas of 1835–7 had come and (to appearance) gone, the Classicists saw their opportunity. No one was satisfied with the poetry or drama of the day: there was at least a chance for the reactionaries. And not only did they take that chance, but it may even have seemed at first as if they were likely to achieve success.

The revival of interest in the dramatic Unities—in those of Time and Place no less than in the Unity of Action—is most characteristic, the more so because it occurred at a time when political happenings were only too painfully absorbing. In the *Revista de Madrid* for 1839 we find that the Ateneo has been discussing the Unities, and the observations, upon the subject, of Pidal[1], a moderate whose opinions carried

[1] Pedro José Pidal, first Marquis of Pidal (1799–1865), co-editor of the moderate *Espectador*.

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great weight, are given in full[1]. The questions proposed were whether the unities of classical literature were to be kept, or abandoned as in Romantic drama: and, in the former case, to what extent they were to be observed. Pidal first asks if there is an essential difference between Classicism and Romanticism[2] [this in 1839!]; he seems by no means sure that there is[3], but, granting it for argument's sake, he proceeds to assert that the 'rules' are essential to both schools of dramatic poetry. The Unity of Action[4], of course, 'must be observed by all': 'Nada hay, a mi modo de ver, en la naturaleza ni en el objeto del drama romántico que pueda dispensarle de someterse a esta condición[5].' If the contrary were claimed, the assertion would be 'the most terrible censure (of Romanticism)...sufficient to prove its inferiority and drive it from the stage[6].' The Unity of Time, like that of Place, is of less importance: 'I will not censure the poet who extends his drama over three or four days, if he does it with art and verisimilitude[7].' But the conclusion of the matter, after a lengthy discussion[8], is that the one precept is 'razonable, fundado sobre las leyes de la verosimilitud dramática y acreditado en grandes y sublimes creaciones[9],' and the other is equally sound: 'fundado en la rázón y en la experiencia,' 'that it is to be kept whenever possible and departed from to the smallest extent compatible with necessity[10].' Pidal appeals to the Romantically-minded in his audience to observe the Unities in this spirit[11]; asserts that the works of Shakespeare, Lope and Calderón, as much as those of the modern French and German Romantics, are full of the most serious defects[12]; and asks for a comparison between the works of the two schools, that the superiority of the classics may be manifest. Finally, he puts forward his own position for consideration:

(1) He favours the Classical school: '...Mi opinión favorable a la forma clásica, y mi deseo de que nuestra brillante y fogosa juventud mire con predilección y respeto los grandes modelos de la antigüedad, y de los que siguieron después gloriosamente sus huellas[13].'

(2) He does not however despise 'our own Spanish dramatists' as the preceptists of the last century did ('Despreciaron injusta y desacorda-

[1] They are reprinted in his *Estudios literarios* (Madrid, 1890), II, pp. 193-246, to which references are here given.

[2] Pp. 200–1. [3] Pp. 201–10. [4] Pp. 212–16.

[5] P. 216. [6] Pp. 216–17. [7] P. 230.

[8] Pp. 217–37. [9] Pp. 232–3.

[10] Pp. 234, 240. The intervals may only elapse between two acts.

[11] P. 240.

[12] P. 242. This would not, of course, have happened had they followed the rules of 'verisimilitude and good taste.'

[13] P. 244.

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damente nuestro teatro....Encastillados en sus preocupaciones transpirenaicas, no se contentaban con recomendar la estructura dramática francesa: hasta los sentimientos habían de ser franceses[1]').

(3) He ends with the cryptic words: 'Fué ésta una verdadera reacción contra la literatura española. ¿Estamos acaso ahora bajo la influencia de otra reacción contraria? Mucho me lo temo[2].'

In the *Semanario pintoresco* for 1839 some account is given of the discussion referred to above. The first meeting of the year was held on January 25, 1839, the theme for debate being: 'Paralelo entre las modernas novelas históricas y las antiguas historias caballerescas.' Gil y Zárate, who opened the discussion, gave the palm in every respect to the moderns, and Corradi followed, taking a similar line. This meeting may or may not have been the cause of the subject of the Unities being selected for the February session (February 22, 1839), as in any case was done. Segovia opened the debate for the Classicist party, and was followed by Antonio Alcalá Galiano, who, while acknowledging the 'superstitious respect' which in his youth he had entertained for the 'rules,' said he now considered that to their having been broken we owe 'the choicest fruits of modern drama.' The remainder of the report may be quoted as it stands:

> Añadió sin embargo que no pretendía con lo dicho aplaudir los desaciertos de los que ahora se llaman *románticos*. Que en su sentir el mal de estos consiste en no serlo realmente, y en ser opuestos a los *clásicos*; porque intentando desviarse de la escuela de estos y seguir un rumbo enteramente contrario, dan en un extremo por evitar otro: huyen de Scila y se estrellan en Caribdis.
>
> Resumiendo cuanto había manifestado, dijo: que el espíritu de examen propio del siglo en que vivimos, así en literatura como en política, induce a no tener por sagradas las reglas clásicas, así como también a no aplaudir los desaciertos del romanticismo. Y pues veía los muchos bienes producidos en la poesía dramática por el quebrantamiento de las reglas, no podía menos de apoyarle sin aplaudir el exceso; mucho menos en los escritores románticos del día, que en su sentir son, generalmente hablando, malos escritores[3].

Segovia replied to this onslaught, defending the Unities warmly, and Alcalá Galiano was allowed a rejoinder, in which he took concrete examples from Terence and Plautus, and showed their futility.

The same discussion was continued in an adjourned meeting held a week later (March 1, 1839). Corradi, who spoke first on this occasion, claimed to belong to the eclectic school[4], but his discourse seems not to have been wholly in agreement with this profession. He defended the 'so-called "classical" rules': 'En mi sentir existen y las juzgo necesarias.'

[1] Pp. 245–6. [2] P. 246.

[3] *Semanario pintoresco*, 1839, p. 79.

[4] 'Protestó que no pertenecía exclusivamente a ninguno de los dos bandos clásico y romántico que en la actualidad dividen el campo literario.'

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After proving the necessity of each in turn by various arguments, he summed up as follows:

> Reasumiendo por último cuanto había manifestado acerca de las unidades dramáticas, concluyó diciendo, que si los escritores saben aprovecharse de las ventajas que ofrece la observancia de las reglas, lograrán resultados de más importancia que no siguiendo los pasos de Vitor (*sic*) Hugo y Alejandro Dumas[1].

Alcalá Galiano could hardly resist a reply to this wolf in sheep's clothing. He began in a conciliatory tone by agreeing with Corradi that the divisions between 'Classical' and 'Romantic' were inexact[2]; but soon proceeded to an attack, not of *all* rules, but of *the* rules as they existed, using much the same arguments as before and concluding with an appeal for a 'poética nueva, tomada de los dramas de Schiller, Shakespeare, Calderón, Moreto, Lope de Vega, etc.' Hartzenbusch, who followed, defended the Romantics also, but in very moderate language, and was unable to see why anyone should object to their shaking off the yoke of the 'rules[3].' The Duque de Frías continued the discussion[4], which was again adjourned till March 8, and from that day, on account of the intense interest aroused in it, till March 15, when it closed.

Such a phenomenon as the holding of this thrice-adjourned debate in Madrid at a time when it is popularly believed that Romanticism had conquered Spain is, as the *Semanario pintoresco* remarks[5], a sign of the even balance of the Classical and Romantic forces. It is noteworthy that this same periodical in its 'Chronicle' of the year 1839[6] reproduces one of Lista's articles on Romanticism, and refers to the series published in *El Tiempo* of Cádiz. It is also significant that the Liceo of Madrid held a discussion, in which Escosura and Espronceda spoke, similar to that which took place in the Ateneo.

There was no real danger of a return to the tyranny of the Unities in Spain. Gil y Zárate undoubtedly expressed the opinion of a large body of people when, in the very year of these debates, he wrote, in the *Revista de Madrid*[7], concerning the 'rules,' as follows:

[1] *Semanario pintoresco*, 1839, pp. 87 ff.

[2] 'Esa división importada de Alemania a Italia y Francia, de donde ha pasado a España, es funesta para las letras.'

[3] To this Segovia replied that anyone who could break the rules as happily as Hartzenbusch had done in the *Amantes de Teruel* was quite justified in breaking them! Before the debate could proceed Hartzenbusch had of course to return thanks for this compliment.

[4] 'El Sr. Duque de Frías habló de los románticos y del falso modo de ver que tienen al desempeñar sus asuntos, diciendo que el mal romanticismo consiste en el empeño de los autores en valerse de lo pasado para hablar de lo presente.'

[5] It comments thus: 'Esta cuestión de *moralidad* que ha complicado la de la libertad de las formas literarias, es únicamente lo que ha podido hacer odiosa a muchas personas la banda llamada romántica.'

[6] Pp. 102 ff.

[7] 1ª Serie, III, p. 147.

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Su observancia puede contener funestos extravíos y sugerir preciosas bellezas; su olvido total no nos conducirá nunca sino a extravagantes delirios y a monstruos ridículos y atroces, que pretendiendo ser hijos de la imaginación y del genio, llegan hasta carecer de buen sentido.

But this 'classical reaction' had little weight. It was one thing to debate academically upon the Unities, or to suggest that the classical precepts were not wholly bad, but it was quite another to set up Boileau and Luzán again as gods. So Zorrilla saw. On the one hand he realised perfectly clearly (in this same year of 1839) that the battle was not with the Romantics, and thought it well to join playful issue with them while conciliating their opponents:

El autor de *Cada cual con su razón* no se ha tenido jamás por poeta dramático. Pero indignado al ver nuestra escena nacional invadida por los monstruosos abortos de la elegante corte de Francia, ha buscado en Calderón, en Lope y en Tirso de Molina recursos y personajes que en nada recuerden a Hernani y Lucrecia Borja. Y por si de estas sus creencias literarias se les antojara a sus amigos o a sus detractores señalarle como partidario de escuela alguna, les aconseja que no se cansen en volver a sacar a plaza la ya mohosa cuestión de *clasicismo* y *romanticismo*.

Las clásicas verán si en esta comedia están tenidas en cuenta las clásicas exigencias. La acción dura veinte y cuatro horas; cada personaje no tiene más que un objeto, al que camina sin episodios ni detenciones, y la escena pasa en la casa del marqués de Velez.

Los señores románticos perdonarán que no haya en ella verdugos, esqueletos, anatemas ni asesinatos. Pero aun puede remediarse. Tómese cualquiera la molestia de corregir la escena final...[1].

But he saw also—and at a later date set on record—that the advent of Romantic principles and practice was sufficient to kill Classicism pure and simple in Spain:

La reacción clásica no pudo cuajar; el romanticismo había echado de nuestra poesía popular a las divinidades mitológicas, y el tonante Júpiter, el furibundo Marte, la afrodita Venus, el alípedo Mercurio y demás olímpica compañía, no volverán a tener altares ni templos en la tierra católica de las catedrales de Toledo, León y Burgos, y de los moriscos alcázares de Sevilla, Granada y Córdoba[2].

II.

Between the years which delimit this study, then, the eclectics are in possession of the greater part of the field. Classicism and Romanticism are both under suspicion: those who advocate 'some of each' respond most nearly to the feeling widely current at the time, one of widespread dissatisfaction and of general confusion. It is felt that while eclecticism may not be all that is desired and is certainly not wholly justified of its children, it has more promise than any other ideal of the time.

[1] Preface to *Cada cual con su razón* (August 27, 1839). The rather unkind cuts were not received in silence. 'J. J.,' for example, in the *Revista gaditana*, attacks the preface temperately but determinedly, showing that to state that one side cares only for unities and the other for excitements is unfair, and that from the standpoint of either party the play itself is unsatisfactory. Another comment on the preface is quoted below.

[2] *Recuerdos del tiempo viejo*, Madrid, 1882, vol. II, p. 33.

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There were few violent attacks on Romanticism after 1840—because its vitality had departed. There were hardly any on Classicism—because no one took it seriously for long together. There were none on eclecticism—because eclectics usually escape attack, at any rate during epochs of reconstruction.

Where any party was attacked, however, it was generally that of the Romantics. Lista's 'De lo que hoy se llama romanticismo' (1842) has already been quoted in an article of this series[1]. The Sevillan *Revista Andaluza* for 1842[2] contains a similar attack, by one José Morales Santisteban. Romanticism, according to him, is an 'academic school,' 'un sistema adoptado *a priori*, no exigido por la sociedad,...que ha dado origen a una poesía académica, la cual ha gozado de una voga efímera y pasajera.' This is the gist of the article—the invective we may leave out—and of many other articles during the period under consideration: indeed, it may be described as the typical form of attack.

Another side of the question is treated by Escosura in the *Revista Andaluza* for 1841[3]. 'What is the state of the Spanish theatres?' he asks. 'Have we any real dramatic literature to-day?'

> Moratín no tiene público, porque no lo es la reunión de una docena de literatos, con dos de gentes que quieren pasar por tales, y algunos abonados que se cuidan más de lo que pasa en los palcos que de lo que se representa en la escena...¿Qué resta pues? Bretón con sus versos fáciles, fluidos, sonoros, agradabilísimos...pero Bretón es un hombre solo y ni bastan sus producciones para satisfacer el hambre de novedades que el público tiene, ni por otra parte abrazan en mi entender todo lo que en su género cabe.

Testimony after testimony can be gathered from periodicals of these years to the emptiness of the theatres and the barrenness of the dramas which they staged. Twelve years after Escosura's plaint the condition of things is no better. Ochoa in 1853—and what better evidence could be cited than his?—laments in a lengthy article that, although an eighth theatre is shortly to be opened in the capital, the seven already functioning can hardly exist. Good actors, both men and women, are far to seek, and the number of works which are suitable for staging, and at the same time worthy of being acted, is all too small[4].

III.

There were great writers producing great work in Spain—though little of it was of the very highest class—between the years which we have taken as our limits, but how sad was the condition of Spanish

[1] *Modern Language Review*, vol. XVIII, p. 40.
[2] Vol. II, pp. 361–78, 'De la literatura en la sociedad moderna.'
[3] Vol. I, pp. 453–61, 'Observaciones sobre la literatura dramática en España.'
[4] 'Sobre el estado actual de los teatros en España,' in *Revista española de ambos mundos*, 1853, vol. I, pp. 61–73.

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literature in the mass! The years of war and internal strife had left their mark upon production, both individual and collective. Romanticism, as a revolt, had endeavoured to establish itself and failed. An attempted return to the Classical ideal had met with no wide acceptance. The efforts of this and that writer to obtain general adherence to an eclectic ideal were equally abortive. Where did Spanish literature stand? What had it gained by the European upheaval, and the confusion which had followed in Spain? Much, undoubtedly—but that is rather the theme of the concluding study of the series than of this[1].

For the present we are concerned with what the chief Spanish writers of the time, as representing the literary public, thought of it all. The truth is only too clear. Just as they had no clear conception of Romanticism—as has been already shown[2]—so they seemed to have no idea that Romanticism had actually been among them, and, in certain of its aspects, was with them still. Because Romanticism as a school, and even as a movement, was non-existent, those who would gladly have followed a great Romantic leader, had Spain but had one, can see nothing good in the Spanish literature of their day at all. The die-hard Classicists and the moderate, reluctant eclectics are equally unhappy. Only the convinced eclectics are content—and these are few indeed. A number of the judgments of the time may be quoted:

'El movimiento literario de Europa apenas tiene representación en nuestra patria,' begins an article in the *Alhambra* of 1839[3]. The writer of this finds excuse for Spain in her internal and foreign troubles, and consolation in the back-to-Lope movement which continues with marked success. Manuel Cañete, in the same journal (1840)[4], makes the neglect of Lope, and of drama in general, the burden of his complaint. 'No podemos menos de lamentar el miserable estado en que se encuentra una tan útil parte de la literatura, cuando por razón de los adelantamientos de la época, debiera brillar con todo esplendor.' Cañete was little more than a boy when he wrote this article, and complained that the Spanish stage 'is flooded with plays that are not original....and nothing but imitations of the French.' He gives no credit to the few living dramatists of note, and ends by merely hoping for better things. An article by Roda in the same year (1840)[5] is very similar.

At the beginning of 1840 a writer in the little-known and short-lived *Esperanza*[6] is more hopeful. 'Una nueva senda se abre....y el gusto de

[1] See p. 44 above.
[2] In the two articles of this series referred to in note 1, p. 44 above.
[3] Vol. I, pp. 191–2. [4] Vol. II, pp. 40–1. [5] *Ibid.*, pp. 125–7.
[6] J. B. y Q. in *La Esperanza*, pp. 197–8.

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la poesía se hace general en España.' But he would seem from the context to be one of those who pinned their faith to eclecticism. Morón, who writes in the *Liceo Valenciano* for 1841[1], and is equally hopeful, is certainly an eclectic. To force modern literature into a classical mould is to him an anachronism; we must abolish 'vague denominations,' see the best in both schools and choose what inspires us.

This is really very much the position of Alcalá Galiano, in the article already referred to in this series of studies[2]. His astonishing description of Romanticism was then commented upon: let us now see how, in his closing lines, he looks at the present and the future, and shows himself to be an eclectic at heart:

> La poesía dramática '*está en revolución*,' para decirlo hablando al uso, y durante una revolución no se hacen trabajos grandes ni acabados, sino meras obras provisionales.
>
> Vendrá el tiempo en que más sereno el mundo quede más espacioso, y seguro, y expedito terreno para el cultivo de la literatura. Llegará asimismo el día en que terminada la revolución literaria, quede la legislación crítica aprobada y firme, y se trabaje no como ahora en pugna y ansiedad y con el enemigo a la vista, sino como se trabaja en tiempos de paz y sosiego, desapasionado y despreocupado el ánimo, y atento sólo a dar a su obra toda la perfección posible.
>
> Entonces probablemente la poesía dramática no será clásica ni romántica, según la acepción hoy dada a uno y otro epíteto, pero será espontánea porque debe serlo; será encaminada al entretenimiento y a la razón juntamente; y será especialmente adaptada a la sociedad a que fuere destinada y en que haya nacido.
>
> Por ahora el drama tendrá que ser lo que es, una cosa que nos divierte distrayéndonos de mayores y superiores cuidados, hijo de una era de transición, y tan sin lima ni solidez como cuanto ahora se produce, viviendo como vivimos de prisa y apremiados por durísimas circunstancias.

But only such as Alcalá Galiano, the instability of whose literary views was highly unusual, could write so hopefully as this. For the remainder all was black, and, as the decade wore on, it only grew blacker. 'Triste y desconsolador....es el cuadro que presenta nuestro país en su parte intelectual' is a representative comment in 1845[3]. The writer is ill-informed and partial. He detests all the works of France, ascribes the Unities to Boileau, and shows no knowledge of his own compatriots' recent achievements in either the novel or the drama. But that he voices the views of as many as does Gil y Zárate is certain.

Gil y Zárate, to whose literary position allusion has already been made[4], comments in 1841[5] upon the war which is going on between old and modern forms of drama:

[1] Vol. I, p. 82.

[2] In *Modern Language Review*, vol. XVIII, pp. 40–1. The article by Alcalá Galiano is in the *Revista de Madrid* for 1838.

[3] J. B. de Beratarrechea in the *Revista de España, de Indias, del Extranjero*, 1845, vol. IV, pp. 404–14.

[4] 'Later Spanish Conceptions of Romanticism,' *Modern Language Review*, XVIII, p. 47.

[5] *Revista de Madrid*, 3ª Serie, vol. I, pp. 112ff., 'Teatro antiguo y teatro moderno.'

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Los unos desean, y han conseguido algunas veces, que abandonemos del todo la senda antigua para seguir otros modelos; los otros tratan toda innovación de extranjerismo peligroso, y la anatematizan como contraria a la nacionalidad que anhelan conservar ilesa e inmaculada.

In disowning alike the tyranny of Classicism[1], and the excesses of the Romantics, and advocating a middle course[2], Gil y Zárate gives us an interesting view of Spanish literature of the day as it appeared to him, in which the same hopefulness predominates:

El primer hervor ha pasado; la sana razón va recobrando su imperio, el gusto se mejora, se leen los buenos modelos, lejos de despreciar a nuestros antiguos se estudian más que nunca; y en cambio de algunas composiciones exageradas, se ha conseguido un movimiento que no existía ha ya más de siglo y medio, movimiento que deberá producir los más felices resultados.

Similar are the views of Gavino Tejado, who declines, in an 'Ensayo crítico sobre algunas épocas de la literatura española[3],' to go into the 'mohosa cuestión[4]' of literary supremacy as between the two parties, but expresses himself very clearly as to the past[5], present and future. The two words 'Classical' and 'Romantic,' he says—this is in another article, dated 1845[6]—are ill-defined and imperfectly understood. Both parties he criticises fairly: the principal service of Romanticism, in his view, has been to reveal the absurdities of Classicism. Then he dilates upon the vagueness and confusion of the present state of literature in Spain. What everyone is looking for is *stability*. He is not quite sure what the public wants, but certain that it does *not* want the excesses of either party. He is a fervent admirer of the Golden Age: in it (this again is in another article[7]) he places his hopes for the future: 'Esperemos el porvenir acabará la vacilación y renacerá la fe, saldremos del círculo de remedos y renacerá la nacionalidad[8].'

Summing up these not dissimilar views, we have an anonymous article in the *Colmena* of 1845[9] which also gives a valuable first-hand account of the past and present in Spanish letters, and the conventional

[1] 'Un siglo entero de combates ha patentizado su impotencia....Se ha mostrado infecundo, a pesar de haberse alistado en sus filas talentos del primer orden. *La forma pura clásica es, pues, un imposible entre nosotros.*'

[2] In which the drama must look to three sources for its inspiration: 'las comedias antiguas, la literatura clásica y los dramas románticos.' Not one alone, but each of these three, has something to offer.

[3] *Revista española de ambos mundos*, 1853, vol. I, pp. 281–302.

[4] The reference is of course to Zorrilla's preface to *Cada cual con su razón*, quoted above.

[5] 'Nuestra literatura se hallaba divorciada de nuestras tradiciones, porque los literatos se hallaban divorciados de nuestras creencias y costumbres verdaderamente españolas.' 'Y obsérvese,' he adds, in words more open to dispute, 'que digo *los literatos*, y no la sociedad, porque a mi modo de ver había también divorcio entre la sociedad y los literatos.'

[6] *Colmena*, 1845, vol. IV, pp. 259–62, 'Poesía dramática.'

[7] *Ibid.*, 1842, vol. I, pp. 175–7.

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] Vol. IV, pp. 269–71, 'Estado actual de la literatura española juzgada por los extranjeros.'

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eclectic prophecy of the future. Spain rushed blindly into Romanticism, is the line it takes:

> Más tarde la Península entró ciegamente en la vía de la literatura romántica y como el resto de Europa reprodujo, multiplicó y exageró sus caracteres; en Madrid y en Granada, en Valencia y en Barcelona se representaban a porfía al lado de las composiciones de sus mejores escritores antiguos los dramas patibularios, los héroes sangrientos y las catástrofes terribles de Victor Hugo, de Alfredo Vigny y de Alejandro Dumas.

But now—and here the writer grows more interesting—the country has seen the error of its ways:

> Mas ya todos los buenos ingenios se han apercibido del camino errado que se adoptara: Gil y Zárate en su manual de literatura, Morón en su ensayo sobre el teatro antiguo español, Hartzembush (*sic*) en su crónica dramática publicada en la revista de España y del extranjero, y Lista, uno de los escritores más críticos y más populares de la antigua escuela, se levantan con energía contra esas imitaciones serviles tomadas del extranjero.

The regeneration of the stage (he continues) has begun. Rivas, the reformed Romantic, has published both dramas and romances which are worthy of old Spain. In less than a year one hundred plays have been given in the three chief theatres of Madrid, and thirty of these—no more!—have been original. As to lyric poetry, which was never in so bad a way as the drama during the nineteenth century:

> (Se) han publicado colecciones en donde brillan los fieros afectos de la primitiva pasión castellana. Cada día que pasa se confirma y se desarrolla más y más el progreso.

To predict a glorious future for Spanish letters, then, is all that there remains for the writer to do:

> Que la poesía de las costumbres, de las tradiciones y de las creencias pase a los libros, que sobre las ruinas de las escuelas extranjeras se eleve la escuela nacional, y la España sin dificultad vendrá a ser lo que era antes del siglo XVIII, la patria natural de los poetas líricos, de los dramáticos, y de los romanceros.
>
> * * * * *
>
> Nosotros...presagiamos el porvenir nuevo, que se está abriendo a su literatura, y los nuevos días de gloria a que es llamada la patria de Lope y de Moreto, de Calderón y de Tirso.

E. Allison Peers.

Liverpool.

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THE VALKYRIES.

SINCE the publication, in 1890, of W. Golther's monograph on the Valkyries[1] no great progress has been made towards the discovery of the hidden origins of these figures of Teutonic hero lore. Golther's main contribution to the problem lies in the fact that he clearly pointed out the multiplicity of the roots of the Valkyrie tradition, since no one explanation will satisfactorily account for the various features of the myths. One of these roots reaches down into Indo-European times, the conception of female warrior divinities being found among other branches of the Indo-European group[2]. A second root he finds in the existence among the Teutons of female warriors, mentioned by the chroniclers both of antiquity and the Middle Ages[3]. But he rightly believes their chief rôle as the companions of Othin and the heroes of Valhal (in which they have become immortal) to be the product of the Viking Age and, in part at least, owing to Western (Celtic) influences[4]. His chief contention, viz., that the poetic conception of the Valkyries, with which we are all familiar, thanks, largely, to Wagner's music-drama, is not primitive Teutonic but not anterior to the Norman expeditions, can be controverted only by additional data of bearing on the history of continental German religion before the introduction of Christianity. That a large amount of new material be forthcoming on Mediterranean or Central European soil is hardly to be expected. The investigator into ancient Teutonic religion must therefore largely draw on anthropological sources and the comparative method whenever the existing documents leave him sadly in the dark.

Dr Golther devotes some space to the belief in warlike virgins of supernatural character such as we meet in Sanscrit, Greek, and Celtic mythological sources, and he deduces the correct conclusion that the conception is Indo-European. Curiously enough, he passes over the (continental) Teutonic *Idisi* of the First Merseburg Charm and an Anglo-Saxon bee-charm, limiting himself to a bare mention[5]. He does not refer at all to the two female figures connected with Tyr in two monuments unearthed in Britain and going back to Roman times prior to the fall of the empire.

[1] Wolfgang Golther, *Studien zur germanischen Sagengeschichte.* I. *Der Valkyrienmythus. Abhandl. d. Münchener Akad., philos.-philol. Cl.*, XVIII (1890), pp. 399–438.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 404.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 406.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 411 ff.
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 404–5.

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These monuments, to which a third must now be added[1], have been the subject of many discussions, especially in Germany, and students of Teutonic antiquities and the early Middle Ages may safely be presumed to be familiar with the main facts[2]. A few lines will therefore suffice to make the matter clear even to a more general reader.

In Northern England, at the site of the old Hadrian's Wall, at Housesteads, two altars were excavated in the last century, bearing two inscriptions[3]:

(1) Deo Marti Thincso et duabus Alaisiagis Bede et Fimmilene et numini Augusti Germani cives Tuihanti v. s. l. m.

(2) Deo Marti et duabus Alaisiagis et numini Augusti Germani cives Tuihanti cunei Frisiorum Ver....Ser....Alexandriani v. s. l. m.

One of the altars shows, on the right side, the relief of a female figure, doubtless one of the Alaisiages. Another relief, likewise connected with the altars, is a representation of an armed warrior, probably Mars Thincsus himself, accompanied by a bird (goose or swan), and on both sides two hovering genii. The altars were erected in the reign of Alexander Severus (A.D. 222–235). They are ex-votos, erected by Teutonic soldiers from Lower Germany, who served as mercenaries in the Roman legions.

In October 1920 a third altar dedicated to the Alaisiages was discovered at the same site, bearing the following inscription:

(3) Duabus (or Deabus?) Alaisiagis Baudihillie et Friagabi et numinibus Augustorum numerus Hnaudifridi v. s. l. m.[4]

A good deal has been written to explain the character of the male divinity, called Mars Thincsus. Whatever may be the origin of that name, it may be considered as established that the ex-votos were erected to him, in all cases, by warriors in his quality of a war-god, and as a war-god he must be regarded in any successful interpretation of the monuments[5]. As a consequence, the two female figures with their enigmatic names[6] must be related to the main figure in the same quality; they must be companions of the war-god and show characteristics which justify their occurrence on reliefs of this character. It would be of course hasty to identify the two divinities—for such they are without doubt—with the Valkyries, all the more so because our

[1] Cf. Th. Siebs, *Mitteilungen d. schles. Gesellsch. f. Volkskunde*, xxv (1924), pp. 1–17.
[2] A good bibliography will be found in K. Helm, *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* (Heidelberg, 1913), p. 366.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] Siebs, *op. cit.*, p. 9.
[5] Cf. Siebs, pp. 12 ff.; *Zeitsch. f. dtsch. Philologie*, xxiv (1892), pp. 433 ff.
[6] On these names cf. Siebs, *Mitteilungen*, p. 15 f.

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conception of the latter is deeply imbued with the poetic flavour which it acquired during the Viking Age and still more in the period of the Romantic Movement; but this much may be safely asserted: The very character of the ex-votos furnishes *prima facie* evidence that the two Alaisiages are at the root of the Valkyrie myth or at least stand very near to it. Further enquiry must affirm or contradict this conclusion.

As early as 1889 R. Heinzel referred to two similar figures mentioned in certain Norse documents[1]. The *Jomsvikinga Saga*, a late composition but narrating events of the tenth century and utilising old material, tells the following story. Jarl Hakon, before the decisive battle with the Vikings of Jomsburg, lands on an island and prays to Thorgerd Hölgabrudr, but without receiving an answer. Then he promises his own seven-year-old son Erling as a sacrifice. She accepts the offering, the child is killed, and during the ensuing battle Thorgerd and her sister Irpa hurl arrows and big hailstones against the Vikings, who are completely defeated. In one version the two sisters are actually seen standing on Hakon's ship, hurling their deadly missiles[2]. The Icelandic sources further state that on the island of Hladir Hakon had a temple with the images of Thor, Thorgerd and Irpa. We do not learn that Thor was standing between the two female divinities, but symmetry in the arrangement of figures in a group was doubtless as strict a rule in Ancient Norway as it was in the Mediterranean countries and as it has been ever since[3].

Paul Herrmann refers to Thorgerd and Irpa as 'weather-goddesses,' a term justified in a way and yet not sufficient. Obviously, their mode of aiding Hakon is but one of many they might have adopted. Nor did the Jarl know in advance what sort of aid to expect. Further, the Valkyries were often supposed to give precisely this type of aid, to strike panic into the enemy. The Norsemen designated such a feeling of sudden terror by the name *herfjötur*, which is also the name of a Valkyrie[4]. Still more closely related, it would seem, are the Idisi of the Merseburg Charm, as their assistance does not by any means consist of a mere participation in the battle. With the figures of the ex-votos they have in common their connexion with a chief divinity. Without deciding off-hand in favour of the priority of Tyr over Thor, it may safely be said that the two 'weather-goddesses,' whatever their real and original names,

[1] *Sitzber. d. Wiener Akad., phil.-hist. Kl.*, CXIX (1889), Abh. III, p. 52.
[2] *Jómsvíkinga-Saga* i Latinsk oversaettelse af A. Jonsson, udg. af A. Gjessing, Kristianssand, 1877, pp. 44–5, cap. XV–XVI. *Fornmanna sögur*, XI (1842), pp. 115 ff.
[3] Cf. J. Grimm, *Kl. Schr.*, IV (1869), p. 278.
[4] P. Herrmann, *Nordische Mythologie*, Leipzig, 1903, p. 76.

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are not figures recently admitted into the Norse Olympus; on the whole they make rather the impression of being old and even decrepit, on the point of being dropped altogether or relegated to the *superstitiones vulgi*. What was their origin?

It is to be noted that neither Tyr nor Thor was originally a war-god. The former, as is well known, was a sky-god, the bright sky personified[1], the latter a god of the thunderstorm. It should be added that in Greece and Italy both divinities are fused into one, Zeus and Jupiter, who are both sky- and thunder-gods. Since group images usually, if not always, presuppose some sort of relationship between the various divinities represented[2], it may be assumed that the two goddesses or semi-goddesses were most probably thought to be the daughters of the chief divinity; they were then the 'daughters of the Sky' or the 'Daughters of the Thunder,' and we must next enquire whether similar figures are found in the mythologies or religious beliefs of other peoples, Indo-European or other.

Zeus is credited with numerous offspring, but the number of his daughters is as small as that of his sons is considerable, and no wonder, since female births were held in little esteem in Ancient Greece—and elsewhere. But among Zeus' boys we do indeed find figures which, but for their sex, correspond very well to the Alaisiages of unknown function and the Norse 'weather-goddesses.' The name of the Διὸς κοῦροι, the 'Sons of the Sky,' comes to the mind immediately. In Lithuania we hear of the *Dewa Deli*, likewise 'Sons of the Sky[3].' The Indian Açvins, too, are sons of the sky-god. But the existence of such personages is not peculiar to the Indo-Europeans alone. In Portuguese East Africa (Mozambique) it is the custom to attach to twins, when born, the collective name of *Bana ba Tilo* or 'Children of the Sky,' where the word *tilo* is used for 'sky' in the most general sense of the term, including the thunder, the lightning and possibly the rain[4]. The close relationship thought to exist between twins and the sky is brought out by a number of strange customs obtaining among the same people and discussed by Sir J. G. Frazer[5]. I limit myself to mentioning a few of these, referring

[1] Cf. R. Much, *Der germanische Himmelsgott*, in *Abhandlungen zur germanischen Philologie*, Festgabe für Richard Heinzel, Halle, 1898, pp. 189–278; Siebs, *Mitteilungen*, pp. 1 ff.

[2] H. Usener, *Dreiheit*, in *Rhein. Mus.*, LVIII (1903), pp. 1–48, 161–208, 321–62.

[3] W. Mannhardt, *Die lettischen Sonnenmythen*, in *Zeitsch. f. Ethnologie*, VII (1875), pp. 73–104, 209–44, 281–330.

[4] Rendel Harris, *Boanerges*, Cambridge, 1913, p. 4.

[5] Sir J. G. Frazer, *The Belief in Immortality and the Worship of the Dead*, II (London, 1922), p. 268.

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the reader to the work of the English scholar for the rest. In time of drought the people will take a mother of twins, put her in a hole and pour water on her. This is believed to cause an abundant rainfall. Or they will go in procession, the women naked, headed by a mother of twins, and pour water on the graves of twins. Or they will disinter the body of a twin and rebury it near a river or water-course. When a thunderstorm threatens the village, they will say to a twin, 'Help us, you are a Child of Heaven. You can therefore cope with Heaven; it will hear you when you speak.' And the child will go out and request the thunderstorm to pass away. When the storm is over, the child is thanked for its services. In ancient Peru one of twins was held to be a child of the lightning[1]. Elsewhere we are told that both twins, whether men or llamas, were considered children of the lightning[2].

Under these circumstances it is not strange that twins should be credited with a direct influence upon the sky and the weather. The examples from Mozambique quoted above are by no means isolated. The Tsimshian Indians of British Columbia believe that twins control the weather; they therefore pray to Wind and Rain 'Calm down, breath of the Twins[3].' Similar beliefs are held by the Kwakiutl Indians on the Pacific Coast, near Vancouver[4]. Among another tribe of Canadian Indians twins were believed to control the wind[5]. The Chuswap Indians, likewise inhabiting the Pacific Coast regions, hold that twins are endowed with power over the elements, especially rain and snow. If a twin bathes in a lake or stream, rain is bound to follow[6]. Among the Thompson Indians twins have control over good and bad weather[7]. Twin apples are credited with the power to allay tempests in Brittany, in the neighbourhood of Cape Finistère[8], and the Spartan Dioskouroi were stillers of storms and saviours of hardpressed mariners[9]. Nor were such beliefs unknown to the Teutonic peoples. In a remarkable passage of the *Þidreks Saga*[10] we are told about the epiphany of the Harlungen, in whom already Müllenhoff saw an ancient Teutonic twin couple[11]: 'When the wind comes from the west and the south and the sun is bright, and at times a soft rain falls, and it is fair in the north and east, what else

[1] Harris, *Boanerges*, p. 9. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 136. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 143.
[4] *Ibid.* [5] *Ibid.*, p. 144. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 146.
[7] *Ibid.* [8] *Ibid.*, pp. 284 and 411. [9] *Ibid.*, p. 285.
[10] *Saga Didriks konungs af Bern*, udg. af C. R. Unger, Christiania, 1853, pp. 246 ff.; A. Rassmann, *Die deutsche Heldensage und ihre Heimat*, II (Hannover, 1858), pp. 575 ff.
[11] K. Müllenhoff, *Frija und der Halsbandmythus*, in *Zeitsch. f. dtsch. Altertum*, xxx (1886), pp. 217–60. I have dealt with the Harlungen Legend in chapter xxii of my book *Studies in Mythology and Folk-Lore* which is now being published by H. Lafaire, Hannover, and I have tried to vindicate Müllenhoff's view which of late has been rejected by more than one scholar.

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comes thence except it be Young Egard and his brother Aki?' The mythical character of this passage was clearly recognised by F. Panzer, who, by the way, was no adherent of Müllenhoff's Dioscuric theory[1].

In the *Jomsvikinga Saga* the two companions of the thunder-god do not influence the weather upon the request of the pious husbandman; neither may we suppose the Alaisiages to have done so and to have therefore been honoured by the ex-voto of a centurion in the Roman army. In both cases, we may be certain, the two were in the first place divinities of war and battle. Whether in addition they were prayed to by the peaceful farmer of Norway and Northern Germany, we cannot tell, history being silent on that score. But we do know that this warlike character fully justifies our surmise that they are 'Children of the Sky,' for they, too, are mighty in battle, as we shall see presently.

The part played by the Spartan Dioskouroi in the battles on the Sagra[2] and on Lake Regillus[3], and by another twin couple, later, when the Gauls threatened Delphoi[4], is of course well known. Similarly, in 'certain parts of South Africa, in war-time, it was the custom to send twins in advance of the main line of the army[5].' Nor did this warlike quality die with the ancient twin divinities; the Christian saints were there to take their place, and twin saints followed twin gods. Thus Protasius and Gervasius protect the Milanese, till they are themselves captured by the host of Frederick Barbarossa and sent to Germany, where they continued to protect the city of their abode in much the same fashion as they had done at Milan. While they were then in Breisach, their place in Milan was taken by St Ambrose, who also possessed many Dioscuric features[6]. Amicus and Amelius in Lombardy are warrior saints and Dioscures[7], and so are the saints Yago and Millán in Spain; like Castor and Pollux of old, they appear on white chargers and decide the battle of Simancas in favour of the Christian arms. If the Alaisiages are then associated with the war-god, who was also a sky-god, and if they are honoured by a contingent of Teutonic mercenaries serving in the Roman army of Britain, the inference is justified that they, too, are heavenly twins. But, it may be objected, so far we have not heard of female Children of the Sky; is the inference not

[1] F. Panzer, *Deutsche Heldensage im Breisgau*, Heidelberg, 1904, p. 56.
[2] Cicero, *De nat. deor.*, II, 2, 6; III, 5, 13; Justin., XX, 3, 4.
[3] Cicero, *De nat. deor.*, II, 2, 6; III, 5, 11; Dion. Hal., VI. 13.
[4] Harris, *The Cult of the Heavenly Twins*, Cambridge, 1906, p. 45.
[5] Harris, *Boanerges*, p. 313.
[6] Harris, *Cult*, p. 126. I have dealt exhaustively with Protasius and Gervasius at Breisach in chapter xxii of my book referred to above.
[7] *Mod. Lang. Review*, XVIII (1923), p. 152.

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somewhat premature? The answer is that Dioscurism is not limited to boys any more than twin-births are; but it must be admitted that the number of girl twins is smaller than that of boy twins, at least in mythology, no doubt for the same reason which accounts for the small number of Zeus' daughters as compared with the multitude of his sons.

In Lettish folk-lore we meet two female figures called *Dévo duktele*, the 'Daughters of the Sun,' the exact parallel of the Vedic *Divo duhita*[1]. In Ancient Greece we hear of the Leukippides, the brides of the Spartan Dioskouroi, according to some versions, of the Messenian twins Idas and Lynkeus, according to others[2]. The hyperboraean maidens Hyperoche and Laodike, both connected with the Apollo cult of Delphoi and Delos, were twins who routed the Gauls by raising a terrific storm against them. True, in the version of Pausanias they are spoken of as two heroes, Hyperochos and Laodikos[3]; but Dr Harris is doubtless right when supposing them to be but a masculine presentation of the white maidens from the north[4]. For when the Pythian priestess of Delphoi was appealed to for counsel at the approach of danger, she replied that she and her White Maidens would take care of the matter[5]. At Leuktra, famous for the defeat of the Lakedaimonians in 371 B.C., there existed an ancient twin cult of two maidens, the Leuktrides, said to have been wronged by two Spartan youths, just as the Leukippides were said to have been fallen upon by the Spartan or, according to others, by the Messenian twins. The Leuktrides had a powerful part in bringing about the defeat of the Spartan host in the fatal battle which destroyed the Lakedaimonian hegemony over Greece[6].

If female twins play such a conspicuous part in Greece, where women cannot be said to have held a prominent position in public life, how much more considerable must have been their rôle in the Teutonic world, where women were admitted to important political and priestly functions, a fact which justly struck the Roman observers[7].

Alaisiages is the name the two divinities have in common. Two of the inscriptions quoted above besides mention their individual names; but it is a noteworthy fact that these names do not agree. Thus the goddesses of (1) are called Bede and Fimmilene, those of (3) Baudihildi[8] and Friagabi. We are therefore justified in concluding that there existed

[1] Harris, *Cult*, p. 43. [2] Roscher's *Lexikon*, I, 1, cc. 1160–1.
[3] Pausanias, *Descr. Gr.*, X, 23, 2. [4] *Cult*, p. 45. [5] *Ibid.*
[6] On the Leuktrides cf. S. Eitrem, *Die göttlichen Zwillinge bei den Griechen*, Christiania, 1902 (*Videnskabsselskabets Skrifter*, II, *hist.-filos. Kl.*), p. 86; Roscher's *Lexikon*, II, 2, c. 2018.
[7] Tacitus, *Germania*, cap. VIII. [8] Cf. Siebs, *Mitteilungen*, p. 12.

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several twin couples all designated by the common name of Alaisiages[1]. This is only what was to be expected at the outset. Neither are the Alaisiages the only twin couple of Teutonic mythology. Tacitus mentions the Alcis, whom he identifies with the Dioscures[2]. The Harlungen and Ammius and Sarus are still others[3]. Müllenhoff, working under the illusion that Kastor and Polydeukes were the *only* pair of Dioskouroi among the Greeks, quite naturally concluded that there existed only *one* Teutonic twin cult and attempted to force an identification of the various Teutonic twins, an endeavour as hopeless as if one should attempt to identify the Spartan twins with the Messenian couple Idas and Lynkeus, or both with the Theban twins Amphion and Zethos or the Elian Moliones. Everything points to the existence of innumerable local twin cults, each twin couple being the property of a fairly narrowly circumscribed district, and if the Spartan twins as a noteworthy exception extended their rule over the Hellenic world and even Italy, this is an exceptional case, entirely owing to the epic poets. There is not the slightest reason to suppose matters to have been different among the Teutons. Thus the Alcis were in all probability Vandalic, Ammius and Sarus Gothic, and the Harlungen Alamannic twins.

From inscription (2) we may conclude that it was often thought unnecessary to add the individual names of the two divinities, their common name *Alaisiages* being deemed sufficient. In this, too, there is an exact parallelism among the Greek twin couples. Thus the common name of Dioskouroi as often as not designates both brothers, and so does in Rome the name Castores. Of most Hellenic twin couples the common name was far more often used than the individual names of the brothers or sisters. Thus we hear of the Apharides, the Leukippides, the Moliones, the Boreades[4], and others. In the case of the Leuktrides the individual names have so far fallen into oblivion that the various sources disagree, reporting different names. In that of the Açvins no individual names are known. If we leave classical soil and go among the 'savages' of Africa, we find the same situation. Thus in Benga (West Africa) twins are always called *Ivaha* and *Ayenwe*. Among the Yorubas they are called *Ibeji* (twins), and in numerous instances, both in Europe and in other parts of the world, their names, though not the same, are but slightly differentiated[5]. The fact is that individuality

[1] Siebs, *Mitteilungen*, p. 11. [2] Tacitus, *Germania*, cap. XLIII.

[3] Cf. my monograph *The Legend of Rodrick, Last of the Visigoth Kings, and the Ermanarich Cycle*, Heidelberg, 1923, pp. 47 ff.

[4] Cf. Eitrem, *op. cit.*, p. 56; *Mod. Lang. Review*, XVIII, 160.

[5] Cf. Harris, *Cult*, pp. 58 ff.; *Mod. Lang. Review*, XVIII, 153; also Harris, *Boanerges*, pp. 291 ff.

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tends to disappear in view of their likeness, which is emphasised and even over-emphasised[1]; hence the usual substitution of a dual for two individual names.

To come to the name *Alaisiages* itself, the most plausible etymology of those hitherto proposed is doubtless that of Th. Siebs[2], also adopted by W. Golther[3]. Siebs derives the word from *eisa*, which means in Old Norse 'to rush' or 'to hurry,' which in turn would go back to a Prim. Germ. verb *aisjan*. This etymology leaves no doubt about the relationship of the two divinities to the weather and fully corroborates what has been said above about the 'Children of the Sky' and the 'Children of the Thunder.'

Between the time of the Britannic inscriptions and the Viking Age, when we find the belief in Valkyries in its fullest development, there is a gap of several centuries, filled with the most far-reaching revolutions in the history of the Teutonic tribes. That there should be numerous and important differences between the Alaisiages of the third century and the Valkyries of the Icelandic sources is but to be expected. We must attempt to take them up one by one, in the hope of accounting for them with the scanty source-material at our disposal.

The most characteristic and vital feature of the Alaisiages was their number, which they have in common with other twin divinities. This number recurs, as we have seen above, in the Scandinavian North, where Thorgerd and Irpa may be safely considered as parallel figures of Bede and Fimmilene. In the *Hákonarmál*, written shortly after the fall of Hákon the Good (ca. 970), mention is made of two Valkyries, called Gǫndul and Skǫgul, sent to the battle-field by Gauta Tyr, to carry the king to the halls of Othin[4]. But on the whole it must be admitted that in the Valkyrie tradition the number two is an exception rather than the rule. Thus in the *Vólundarkviða* their number is three[5], in the *Helreiþ Brynhildar* eight[6], in the *Helgakviða Hjorvarþssonar* twenty-seven[7], and whole bands approach Balder's funeral pyre in *Vǫluspá*[8].

While their number has thus increased, their functions have remained essentially the same. They are still inseparable from war and battle. In the case of Thorgerd and Irpa, as was pointed out above, the aid

[1] *Mod. Lang. Review*, XVIII, pp. 152 f.
[2] *Zeitsch. f. dtsch. Phil.*, XXIV, 434 ff.; *Mitteilungen*, p. 16.
[3] *Handbuch der germanischen Mythologie*, Leipzig, 1895, p. 461.
[4] Golther, *Studien*, p. 419.
[5] Stanzas 1–2; cf. Gering, *Die Edda*, p. 142.
[6] Stanza 27; Gering, p. 239.
[7] Stanza 28; Gering, p. 156.
[8] Stanza 31; Gering, p. 8.

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afforded by them is characteristic of the 'Children of the Sky,' i.e. weather-goddesses *par excellence*. Nor is this an isolated case. According to the *Helgakviða Hjorvarþssonar* their horses shake, and from their manes the dew falls into the valleys, and hail, fertilising the fields[1]. Rain-giving and fertilising powers are really inseparable, and as a consequence, perhaps, we note that everywhere twins are credited with powers of fertility, both animal and vegetable. Thus the twins Apollo and Jacob caused the cows and ewes of their flocks to bear twins, and we are told besides that the cattle and sheep they tended for Admetos and Laban greatly prospered under their care[2]. Among fisher-folk twins are believed to ensure rich catches[3]. To agriculturists they are sent by the gods as a blessing on the crops, and various ceremonies, meant to quicken the growth of cereals, are connected with and based upon this belief[4].

In the *First Lay of Helgi* the Valkyries appear to the hero; light gleams about them and rays of lightning shine forth from the gleam[5]. Since there is no mention of a thunderstorm, we must suppose heat, lightning or some other electric phenomenon to accompany the epiphany of the maidens. Turning from the North to the Mediterranean world, in the hope of clearing up the passage of the Eddic poem with the aid of the richer source-material flowing in Southern Europe[6], we immediately think of S. Elmo's fire, which appears on the masts and yards of ships during storms or immediately before. The phenomenon was known to the sailors of antiquity as well, and the tradition runs that when the light was double it indicated the presence of the Dioscures and was a good omen, but a single flame was thought of ill omen and credited to Helen, the sister of the Spartan twins. In his great work *Boanerges* Dr Harris pointed out that the Heavenly Twins are the patrons of river and, later, of maritime navigation, and he furthermore proved that S. Elmo is but a Christian form of Remus, the twin brother of Romulus, and that here as elsewhere the pagan divinity was replaced by a Christian saint[7].

In the same poem the hero Helgi, upon the request of the Valkyrie Sigrun, sails to her father's realm, to save her from an unbecoming

[1] Stanza 28; Gering, p. 156.
[2] Cf. Sir J. G. Frazer, Apollodorus, *The Library*, London, 1921, II, 376 ff.
[3] Harris, *Boanerges*, p. 143; Frazer, pp. 377 ff. [4] *Ibid.*, pp. 380 ff.
[5] *Helgakviða Hundingsbana I*, st. 15; Gering, p. 163.
[6] The traditional explanation of this and other phenomena occurring in the Valkyrie literature by the assumption that they were originally clouds personified (*Wolkenwesen*) harks back to the school of Max Müller and does not explain anything. For why should clouds take part in a human battle?
[7] Harris, *Boanerges*, pp. 195 ff.

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match. A storm breaks, and the vessels are in danger of being overwhelmed by the waves. Then Sigrun appears in the sky, snatches Helgi's ship from the clutches of the grim sea-goddess Ran, and leads the heroes into port[1]. The Valkyrie fills then the function ascribed to the Dioscures by the Mediterranean peoples. In the midst of the storm she appears to them, like the Heavenly Twins,

ξουθῇσι πτερύγεσσι δι' αἰθέρος αἴξαντες,

as the Homeric Hymn expresses it, saves them from the storm and the angry waves of the ocean, and guides their ship safely to land[2].

There is still one important feature of the Norse Valkyries which requires explanation, viz. their connexion with the swan-maidens. The data bearing on this aspect of the Valkyrie tradition have been collected by Dr Golther[3], and there is therefore no need to repeat them here. We may also unreservedly accept his statement: 'A Valkyrie may occasionally be a swan-maiden, but a swan-maiden is not necessarily a Valkyrie, but only accidentally here and there in Norse Poetry[4].' Various explanations have been put forward to explain this occasional connexion of Valkyries and swan-maidens. Thus W. Hertz saw the reason in the fact that the swan 'is the favourite bird of lakes and clouds[5].' W. Golther held the belief in the fylgja, i.e. the hero's double appearing to him in the form of an animal or a bird, responsible for it[6]. Neither explanation is particularly convincing, for one fails to see why the swan should be the favourite bird of clouds, or, if Golther's suggestion be adopted, why wolves, bears, eagles, and hawks (to mention but a few of the animal forms generally adopted by the fylgjur) should not have taken the place of the swan in most cases.

It should be noted that the swan-maiden *motif* is usually identical with the story of the fairy wife who deserts her husband upon the breaking of a taboo[7]. But the nature of the fairy wife may vary greatly. Generally speaking, she is a fairy in Ireland and France, a *vila* in Slavonic countries, a nightmare in Northern Germany[8], and the Hindoo

[1] *Helgakv. Hund. I*, st. 29–31; Gering, p. 165 f.

[2] On the Dioscures as saviours *a periculo maris* cf. Roscher's *Lexikon*, I, 1, c. 1163; K. Jaisle, *Die Dioskuren als Retter zur See bei Griechen und Römern und ihr Fortleben in christlichen Legenden*, Diss. Tübingen, 1907; Harris, *Boanerges*, pp. 205 ff.

[3] *Studien*, p. 427. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 428.

[5] Wilhelm Hertz, *Aus Dichtung und Sage*, Stuttgart u. Berlin, 1907, p. 43.

[6] Golther, *Studien*, p. 427.

[7] Cf. on this F. Panzer, *Die gestörte Mahrtenehe, Bibl. d. Lit. Vereins in Stuttgart*, CCXXVII (Tübingen, 1902), pp. lxxii ff.; E. S. Hartland, *The Science of Fairy Tales*, London, 1891, pp. 255 ff.; J. A. MacCulloch, *The Childhood of Fiction*, London, 1905, pp. 342 ff.; H. Holmström, *Studier över Svanjungfrumotivet i Volundarquida och annorstädes*, Malmö, 1919.

[8] Holmström, p. 87.

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Urvaśi is, as is well known, an Apsaras[1]. Granting, then, that the Valkyries are supernatural beings, credited with extraordinary beauty, it is but natural that sooner or later they were made to take the place of Celtic fairies or Slavonic *vile*, if, as is likely enough, the story of the fairy wife came to the Teutons from their neighbours, west or east. There is indeed no need to have recourse to the belief in fylgjur.

It would however be erroneous to suppose that the fairy wife deserting her husband is always a *swan*-maiden. As a matter of fact, her forms differ widely in the various versions of this story complex. Very often no animal shape is mentioned at all[2]. In certain Norse and Irish versions she is a seal[3], in two Arabic tales a dove[4], in a Slavonic story a peahen[5], in another Slavonic variant a goose[6], in a third a she-wolf[7]. She is a vulture in an Indian tale from South America[8], a dove in a Basque[9], a Catalan[10], a Spanish[11], a Portuguese[12], an Italian[13], a Bohemian[14], and a Hungarian Märchen[15], a duck in a Portuguese narrative from Brazil[16], whilst in many versions she is merely referred to as a bird[17]. At the most it can be said that the swan form occurs rather frequently in tales from Northern and Western Europe; but it is not absent in Eastern and Central Europe[18]. At all events, it is certain that the conception of swan-maidens is very old in Northern Europe, as can be judged from an allusion of Aeschylus[19]; it does not belong to the folk-loristic material imported from the East in comparatively recent times.

[1] Tawney-Penzer, *The Ocean of Story*, II, pp. 34 ff., 245 ff.

[2] Cf. Th. Keightley, *The Fairy Mythology*, London, 1892, pp. 20 and 214; W. Mannhardt, *Antike Wald- und Feldkulte*, Berlin, 1906, p. 70; Köhler, *Kl. Schr.*, II (1900), p. 412; Gonzenbach, *Sicilianische Märchen*, Leipzig, 1870, I, p. 31; W. Hertz, *Spielmannsbuch*, Stuttgart, 1900, pp. 132 and 368; Cosquin, *Contes populaires de Lorraine*, Paris, s.d., II, pp. 14–15.

[3] Keightley, pp. 163 and 169; Holmström, p. 84.

[4] Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, VI, 2; VII, 41.

[5] A. H. Wratislaw, *Sixty Folk-Tales from exclusively Slavonic Sources*, Boston, 1890, p. 187; F. S. Krauss, *Sagen und Märchen der Südslaven*, Leipzig, 1883, I, p. 352; A. Leskien, *Balkanmärchen*, Jena, 1919, p. 97.

[6] Wratislaw, p. 111; Krauss, I, p. 316.

[7] Wratislaw, p. 290.

[8] Koch-Grünberg, *Indianermärchen aus Südamerika*, Jena, 1921, p. 180.

[9] W. Webster, *Basque Legends*, London, 1877, p. 120.

[10] Maspons y Labros, *Lo Rondallayre*, Barcelona, 1875, I, p. 85.

[11] *Biblioteca de las tradiciones populares españolas*, I (1884), p. 187.

[12] Th. Braga, *Contos tradicionaes do povo portuguez*, Oporto, s.d., No. 32.

[13] Schneller, *Märchen und Sagen aus Wälschtirol*, Innsbruck, 1867, No. 27.

[14] J. Wenzig, *Westslawischer Märchenschatz*, Prag, 1857, p. 70; V. Tille, *Verzeichnis der böhmischen Märchen*, I, p. 105.

[15] Jones-Kropf, *The Folk-Tales of the Magyars*, London, 1886, p. 101.

[16] S. Romero, *Contos populares do Brazil*, Lisboa, 1885, No. 22.

[17] Chauvin, VII, 31 and 37; W. R. S. Ralston, *Russian Folk-Tales*, London, 1873, p. 126.

[18] A. Rittershaus, *Die neuisländischen Volksmärchen*, Halle, 1902, pp. xxxix, 173, 212, 215–216; A. P. Graves, *The Irish Fairy Book*, London, s.d., p. 227; Hartland, p. 258; Tille, I, pp 114, 136 and 143; Köhler, *Kl. Schr.*, I (1898), p. 444.

[19] *Prom.* 797: Κόραι τρεῖς κυκνόμορφοι.

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If then the Valkyries, whenever they appear in animal form, *always* assume the shape of swans and never that of any other animal or bird occurring in the tale of the fairy wife, there must be a special reason for it, and the natural conclusion is that the Valkyries were swans even before they became the heroines of the story complex of the fairy wife deserting her husband. This conclusion is further borne out by the significant fact that in quite a number of tales the Valkyries appear in the shape of swans, whilst they desert their husbands in only one, the *Volundarquiða*.

Jacob Grimm was the first to compare the swan-shaped Valkyries with Leda and the swan-shaped Zeus[1]. More recently M. Salomon Reinach again pointed out the similarities existing between these figures of Norse and Mediterranean mythology[2]. There is indeed enough evidence to show that the swan (or goose) was somehow connected with the twin divinities of old. I can here refer only to a few important traits, drawing attention to the study of Dr Harris on *Apollo and His Birds*, forthcoming in the *Bulletin* of the John Rylands Library. Zeus, the father of the Spartan twins, lay with Leda in the shape of a swan; the Dioskouroi were born from an egg. According to Lucian, the Phrygian caps they wore were considered the shells of the egg[3]. A poem of the Augustaean period mentions a gander as Leda's mate[4], and on ancient monuments the Dioscures and Helen are often accompanied by a goose[5]. Leda (Lada), the Phrygian name for 'woman,' 'lady,' cannot be separated from Leto (Latona), the mother of another twin couple, Apollo and Artemis. The twin Apollo, accordingly, is likewise connected with the swan. At Tenedos, Tenes, the eponymous hero, was the son of Kyknos (= the swan), who had been nursed by a swan when exposed like so many other hero children. According to another local legend of Tenedos, Apollo himself was the father of Tenos, hence the equation Apollo = Kyknos, a fact which had already struck O. Müller toward the middle of the last century[6]. Antoninus Liberalis knows of another Kyknos, a son of Apollo[7]. From the traditions relating the killing of a hero Kyknos by Achilles or Herakles both U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff[8] and L. R. Farnell[9] inferred the existence of a hero Kyknos dying

[1] *Deutsche Mythologie*, I (1875), p. 362.
[2] *Cultes, Mythes et Religions*, II (Paris, 1896), pp. 42 ff.; *Les théoxénies et le vol des Dioscures*.
[3] *Dial. Deor.*, cap. 26.
[4] O. Keller, *Thiere des classischen Alterthums*, Innsbruck, 1887, p. 455.
[5] *Ibid.* A goose appears as Leda's partner also in certain ancient monuments; cf. Harris, *Boanerges*, p. 310.
[6] S. Reinach, *C.M.R.*, II, p. 51.
[7] *Transf.*, cap. 12.
[8] *Eur.* II, pp. 73 and 127.
[9] *The Cults of the Greek States*, IV, p. 273.

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in the service of Apollo, probably as his priest. If we remember that in a number of instances priesthood of a divinity means identity with the divinity[1], we are again led to the equation Apollo = Kyknos. Throughout Classical and Hellenistic times the swan was considered as the sacred bird of Apollo[2]. A team of swans draws the chariot in which he comes from the Hyperboraean lands, a sure indication that the connexion of the god with the bird is not of recent date but was already in existence before the Nordic Apollo reached Hellenic soil.

According to a parallel legend of the Leda myth, known to the author of the *Kypria*, Nemesis, when pursued by Zeus, transformed herself into a goose[3]. Although this tradition has come down to us only in fragments, we are justified in inferring that in the sequel of the story Zeus, in the shape of a swan or, more probably, a gander, had intercourse with her and begot Helen and the Dioscures[4]. The same story was known to Tzetzes, who refers to it in his famous commentary on Lykophron[5]. Metamorphosis into animals very often indicates a former theriomorphic stage in the development of the divinity in question[6], and the inference is that Leda-Nemesis was a goose. Lada (the form which is at the base of the Attic *Leto* and the Latin *Latona*) was unquestionably a proto-Hellenic or Western Asiatic mother-goddess. As such she is closely related with Aphrodite Ourania, of Semitic origin, whose sacred birds were swan and goose[7], and with the Capitolian Juno, whose sacred geese played a well-known part in Roman history. There can indeed be little doubt that we are here dealing with different forms of the same divinity, carried west by the Etruscans. But to come back to the twins, it is worth noting that the Moliones[8] and doubtless also the Leukippides[9] were born from eggs. Nor is the egg-birth peculiar to the Hellenic twin couples alone. According to a legend current among the Guamachucos of Peru, the twins Apocatequil and Piguerao were born from two eggs deposited by their mother before her death[10]. On the Coghill vase, representing the rape of the Leukip-

[1] Cf. for example Io and Hera, Kallisto and Artemis, Iphigeneia and Artemis, the seer Karnos.

[2] Cf. O. Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt*, II, pp. 214 ff., and the study of Dr Harris, referred to above.

[3] Roscher's *Lexikon*, III, 1, cc. 118–119.

[4] Cf. the parallel legend of Poseidon and Demeter.

[5] Ad Lykophr., *Al.* 88.

[6] J. v. Negelein, *Germanische Mythologie*, Leipzig-Berlin, 1919, p. 45; MacCulloch, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

[7] Cf. J. E. Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, London, 1890, p. 214.

[8] Eitrem, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

[9] O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte*, München, 1906, p. 662.

[10] Harris, *Boanerges*, pp. 158 and 401.

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pides by the Spartan twins, swans are painted, and Eitrem inferred that there must be some connexion between the twins and these birds[1]. On the Etruscan cista of Volterra Zethos, one of the Theban twins, is winged[2]. The Boreades are able to pursue the Harpies thanks to their ability to fly. Kastor and Polydeukes likewise are often depicted as winged, and there can be little doubt that originally they were birds[3].

The former bird nature of the non-Hellenic twins is equally apparent. Reference has been made to the egg-birth of the Peruvian twins. The horses of the Hindoo Açvins are called *hansas*, a word which in Sanscrit denotes 'swan,' 'goose,' or 'duck[4].' The natural inference is that originally the chariot of the Vedic twins was drawn by these birds, sacred to the twin divinities, and that in a period still farther back the twin gods were themselves swans, geese, or ducks. In an ancient Gothic legend which I examined two years ago[5], Svanhild is the name of the sister of a pair of Teutonic Dioscures, killed by a monster (the old King Ermanarich) and avenged by her brothers.

I wish to conclude this array of facts (tedious in the extreme, I fear) with a curious survival from Mediaeval England. The *voeux du paon* are of course well known to all students of the European Middle Ages, and there is no need to refer to them at length here. What is noteworthy is that in England vows on swans occur. To quote Matthew of Westminster[6]:

> allati sunt in pompotica gloria *duo cygni* vel *olores* ante regem phalerati retibus aureis vel fistulis deauratis, desiderabile spectaculum intuentibus. quibus visis rex (Eduardus I, a. 1306) *votum vovit deo coeli et cygnis*, se proficisci in Scotiam, mortem Johannis Comyn et fidem laesam Scotorum vivus sive mortuus vindicaturus.

Now it is certainly a remarkable fact that in the ancient world the Dioscures were commonly appealed to in asseverations and in contracts. *Edepol* and *Mecastor* are found time and again in writers of colloquial Latin. But in the Greek-speaking part of the Empire the same habit prevailed. When the pagan Dioscures had to go, the Christian saints took their place in regard to this as to any other function. As Dr Harris pointed out[7] in the East Saint Polyeuctes replaced Polydeukes, as the avenger of perjury *par excellence*, and if he came to occupy the same position in Western Europe as well, the reason is that he displaced a

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 25. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 42.
[3] Cf. the study of M. S. Reinach quoted above, also Pauly-Wissowa, *R.-E.*, v (1905), c. 1109.
[4] Cf. Gr. χήν, Dor. χάν, Lat. (*h*)*anser*, O.H.G. *gans*, Lit. žąsìs, O.Pr. *sansy*; Irish *geis* means 'swan.'
[5] *The Legend of Rodrick, etc.* See especially pp. 47 ff.
[6] *Flor. Hist.*, p. 454; the passage is quoted in J. Grimm, *Rechtsaltertümer*, II[4], p. 553.
[7] *The Dioscuri in the Christian Legends*, London, 1903, pp. 56-57; *Cult*, pp. 55 ff.

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Western avenger, a Roman or Celtic twin. The modern custom of swearing by *Gemini* is a survival of the ancient belief in the Heavenly Twins as guardians of truthfulness, a function which they acquired thanks to their sonship of the all-seeing Father Sky[1] and, Dr Harris might have added, to their father's power of sending his bolt down upon the perjurer. If then in Mediaeval England vows are made upon the swan, the reason is that the swan was the bird of the Heavenly Twins and that originally the Twins were thought to make their appearance in the form of swans[2].

The set of facts brought out in the foregoing pages and the number of which could doubtless be considerably increased, will no doubt show the correctness of M. Salomon Reinach's conclusion that the Spartan Dioskouroi were themselves birds, that is, swans or, perhaps, geese, in the oldest stratum of Hellenic religion[3]. In the light of the universal character of twin cults we may safely extend this conclusion to the other pairs of Heavenly Twins, the Moliones, the Leukippides, the Açvins, and some of the Teutonic twins. It will thus be found that the swan-shape of the Valkyries, which has always proved a disconcerting feature in the attempts made to penetrate to the origin of the enigmatical beings, not only does *not* contradict the evidence brought forward in the previous pages but bears it out most perfectly[4]. The swan-shape of the Valkyries no less than the electric phenomena accompanying their epiphany, their influence upon the weather, their power of fertility and their character of saviours *in periculo maris*, a feature which they have in common with the Spartan Dioskouroi and the Vedic Açvins[5], their kinship with the sky-god and their appellation, is most easily explainable by the assumption of their Dioscuric origin, but these various features are indeed difficult to reconcile by any other theory put forward heretofore.

The question will be asked, How is it that man came to think of an especially intimate connexion between the Heavenly Twins and certain species of water-fowl? The problem puzzled Dr Harris quite as much as it had puzzled the mythologists of the older school. He rightly rejects the idea that swan and goose can be thunder-birds, and he thinks of the existence of totems as responsible for the identification[6], a

[1] *The Cult of the Heavenly Twins*, p. 56.

[2] The well-known oath of Socrates and his disciples by the goose has doubtless the same origin.

[3] *C.M.R.*, II, 56 ff.

[4] It is tempting to identify the bird of one of the Alaisiages reliefs with the Dioscuric swan or goose. Yet such an identification is somewhat hazardous, as the bird may well belong to the main figure, Mars Thincsus; cf. Heinzel, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

[5] Harris, *The Dioscuri, etc.*, p. 15.

[6] *Boanerges*, p. 310.

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solution which had already occurred to M. Salomon Reinach[1]. I have pointed out above that the hypothesis of the older school of mythologists, which saw in clouds the *tertium comparationis*, is unsatisfactory because this explanation really does not explain anything.

I have intentionally extended the data of bearing on the relationship of the birds with the Greek and Asiatic pantheon beyond the field of Dioscurism proper. Lada-Nemesis as well as Aphrodite Ourania and the Etruscan and Latin Juno are mother-goddesses, who stand for the principle of fertility, both animal and vegetable. This feature they have in common with the Heavenly Twins, and it is precisely for this reason that the former were made the mothers of the latter, just as the Asiatic Artemis, for example, is depicted with a multitude of breasts. For a reason not difficult to divine the water birds, swan, goose, and duck, always in touch with the one all important element of fecundity, were thought to be especially imbued with the fertilising powers. Hence it was that they were raised to the position of fertility daemons and later, stripped of their animal form, developed into anthropomorphic divinities, whose chief function remained the promotion of fecundity.

This conjecture is borne out by the rôle played by water-fowl in the beliefs and religious and magical practices of many backward races. The imitation of their cries will bring rain[2]. According to a legend from the Far East, the swan is a girl metamorphosed into the bird when it could not obtain water from its mother[3]. Similar beliefs prevail among the European peasantry. In the Tyrol a bathing goose means approaching rain[4]. At Sauerlach, Bavaria, a curious procession used to take place on Whit-monday called the *Water-Fowl*. The chief figure was a horseman enclosed in a huge swan's neck and head[5]. There can be little doubt that, like so many other Whitsuntide processions acted by the rural population of Europe, the *Water-Fowl* is essentially designed to promote the growth of the crops, and the swan's mask in particular is expected to bring down the desired rain. The old English superstition that the swan cannot hatch without a peal of thunder still points to the connexion of the bird with the sky and the thunderstorm[6]. In Iceland the nightly song of the northern swan indicates rain or thaw[7]. The cries

[1] *C.M.R.*, II, 51 ff.
[2] W. R. Halliday, *Greek Divination*, London, 1913, p. 257; Sir J. G. Frazer, *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, London, 1911. I, p. 288.
[3] O. Dähnhardt, *Natursagen*, III (1910), p. 402.
[4] *Zeitsch. d. Vereins f. Volksk.*, X (1900), p. 57.
[5] F. Panzer, *Bayerische Sagen und Bräuche*, I (München, 1848), p. 234.
[6] W. C. Hazlitt, *Faiths and Folklore*, II (1905), p. 576.
[7] L. Hopf, *Thierorakel und Orakelthiere in alter und neuer Zeit*, Stuttgart, 1888, p. 176.

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of geese announced an approaching storm, according to some ancient authors[1].

A word must be said about the relationship of the Valkyries to the supreme god of the Teutonic Olympus. We have seen that the Alaisiages were associated with the old Teutonic sky-god, whose daughters they doubtless were. This divinity was crowded out by Othin-Wodan during the first centuries of our era. We should therefore expect the new god to take over the attributes and perhaps also the family of the old. This is precisely what we find when the Norse documents make their appearance in the Middle Ages. Othin has appropriated unto himself the wolves which originally accompanied Tyr[2], he is the husband of the earth-goddess, originally doubtless Tyr's wife, and he has likewise attracted the Valkyries, formerly Tyr's daughters. Their elevation in rank, if such it can be called, to Hebes or female Ganymedes cannot be separated from the rise of the heavenly Valhal, which has nothing primitive about it.

But Tyr was not the god of the thunderstorm, he had lost this function on Thor in prehistoric times. Since the Heavenly Twins are also and primarily the sons or daughters of the thunder-god, we should only expect some of the Valkyries to accompany Thor. The case of Thorgerd and Irpa proves this expectation to be true.

In the quotation from the *Hákonarmál* given above I differ from J. Grimm and the editor of the *Corpus poeticum Boreale* in the translation of the line

Gǫndul ok Skǫgul sendi Gauta týr,

which is usually rendered by

The god of the Gauts sent Gǫndul and Skǫgul.

Thanks largely to the study of place-names we know now that Tyr was indeed a great god of fertility and the husband of Nerthus, the Teutonic Mother Earth, and that this ancient Tyr-cult has left numerous traces in Scandinavian heroic legend in the migration period[3]. I am therefore inclined to see in the line of the *Hákonarmál* a survival of a former stage, when Tyr was still the supreme sky-god and the Valkyries his daughters.

The conclusions of the foregoing study may be formulated as follows:

(1) The earliest extant evidence of the Valkyrie tradition are the ex-votos dedicated to the Alaisiages in the third century.

[1] Keller, *Thiere*, p. 297. [2] Cf. chapter vi of my *Studies*.
[3] Cf. especially Kemp Malone, *The Literary History of Hamlet*, I (Heidelberg, 1923), pp. 27–28, 118, 122.

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(2) The Valkyries show all the characteristics and fill all the functions of the Heavenly Twins, sons or daughters of the sky or of the thunder: they are fertility daemons, helpers in battle and at sea; in many instances a dual name has practically displaced their individual names, and their epiphany is accompanied by electric phenomena.

(3) They were originally believed to be white swans, a stage of religious development of which numerous survivals are found as late as the Viking Age. This swan-shape facilitated their becoming the heroines of Teutonic variants of the Fairy Wife tale.

(4) The reason for their swan-shape must be sought in the powers of fertility, that is, of producing rain, which is attributed to swans, geese and other water-fowl.

(5) The Mediaeval English vow on the swan is a late survival, indicating that, like the Greek and Roman Dioscures, the Valkyries had at one time been guardians of truthfulness.

(6) When Othin took the place of the ancient sky-god, they became associated with the new divinity.

(7) Their position in the warrior's paradise of the migration period and the Viking Age is late and the outcome of the social revolutions which swept the Teutonic world after the fourth century of our era.

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REVIEWS.

Introduction to the Survey of English Place-Names. Edited by ALLEN MAWER and F. M. STENTON.

The Chief Elements used in English Place-Names. Edited by ALLEN MAWER. (English Place-Name Society. Vol. I, Parts I and II.) Cambridge: University Press. 1924. xii + 189 and x + 67 pp. 21*s.*

Almost contemporary with the appearance of the eighteenth and last volume of *Norske Gaardnavne* come the first yearly publications of the English Place-Name Society, which cannot be too strongly recommended to historian and philologist alike. The serious study of English place-names may be said to date from 1901, when the late Professor Skeat published his *Place-Names of Cambs.*; for, though much excellent work had been done on individual names, there had been no systematic and scientific study of any considerable area. Skeat's method has been developed and extended, and in the last twenty years the place-names of a very considerable part of England have been investigated on sound lines, though not always with equal success. All the Northern Counties, except for the N. and E. Riding, have been studied and the E. and W. Midlands have been fairly well covered, while of the Eastern Counties and the South and West only Suffolk, Middlesex, Sussex, Berks. and Wilts. have been touched. But though so much had been done by individual effort, it became clearer and clearer that the collection and interpretation of the place-names of any considerable area demanded more than could be expected of a single scholar, and in 1923 the English Place-Name Society was instituted, with the blessing of the British Academy, to carry out the work. This was in large measure due to the untiring efforts of Professor Mawer, who was appointed director of the Survey of English Place-Names, and joint-editor with Professor Stenton.

The first yearly volume is for convenience' sake divided into two parts—a general introduction, to which several scholars, English and Swedish, have contributed chapters, and a list of the chief elements found in English place-names, for which Professor Mawer is alone responsible. The general introduction is most carefully planned and no one can question the fitness of any contributor for his allotted task. 'Methods of Place-name Study' is undertaken by Professor W. J. Sedgefield, the author of the *Place-Names of Cumberland and Westmorland*; 'The Celtic and the Scandinavian Elements' by Professor Ekwall of Lund, the author *inter alia* of the *Place-Names of Lancs.*; 'The English Element' and 'Personal Names in Place-names' by Professor Stenton, whose *Place-Names of Berks.* form a very small part of his services to the study; 'The French Element' by Professor Zachrisson

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of Uppsala, the author of *Anglo-Norman Influence on English Place-Names*; 'The Feudal Element' (which Dr Round regretfully abandoned owing to ill-health) by Professor Tait, President of the Society and editor of the valuable *Domesday Survey of Cheshire*, published by the Chetham Society in 1916; 'Place-names and Linguistic Studies' by Professor Wyld (joint-author of the *Place-Names of Lancs.* and inspirer of monographs on Derbyshire, Notts., Oxfordshire and Sussex) and his pupil Miss M. S. Serjeantson; and 'Place-names and Archaeology' by Mr O. G. S. Crawford, through whose efforts the Ordnance Survey Map bids fair to become an accurate record of archæological discovery as of topographical feature. The purpose of Part I is 'to state the present state of our knowledge and to indicate the lines along which the possibilities of further progress lie'; it does not claim to have said the last word on the subject. For that we must wait till the survey is complete—perhaps even longer. None the less it is immensely superior to anything of the kind in existence, though its value would have been materially enhanced by an index of place-names discussed in either part—notably those from counties to which there is as yet no trustworthy guide. Of all the chapters perhaps the most striking are those contributed by Professor Ekwall, whose previous monographs on *Scandinavians and Celts in the North-West of England* and *English Place-names in -ing* have shown what valuable aid toponymy may bring to history now that the unscientific method of etymologizing from modern forms has been abandoned. But there is really remarkably little to which a captious critic can take exception, unless it be in the chapter on 'Place-names and Linguistic Studies,' where Professor Wyld's views on the dialect of *Sir Gawain* have already been traversed by Mr E. V. Gordon in the 1914–24 *Year-book of the Viking Society*.

Part II is a very comprehensive list of the chief elements used in English place-names; the only interesting omission the reviewer has noted is GILDA, 'gild-brother,' the genitive plural of which occurs in Guilden Morden (Cambs.) and Gilmorton (Leics.). A few notes are appended:

Under ÆRN might have been cited Whithorn, *Ad Candidam Casam* of Bede. Under ĀNSTIG 'glossed as *termofilae*' should read 'glossing *termofilae* (=Thermopylae).' Under BĒAN might have been noted Barton-in-Fabis (Notts.) and Barton-in-the-Beans (Leics.), with which may be compared Leland's *Itinerary*, IV, 19: 'Bewixt Trent ripe and Melton many benes and peson, as yt is communely thorough al Leyrcestreshir.' Under BEARU the reference *Adbaruae, id est Ad Nemus, in prouincia Lindissi* (Bede, *E. H.* IV, 3) might have been cited. Under BŪR the reference (=lady's chamber) in the Chronicle 786 A might have been noted. Under EORÞ may be added to the list of place-names from *eorþburh* Arbury (War.), misinterpreted by Duignan, and Arbury Hill (*V. C. H. Northants.* II, 401). Under EYRR the definition 'sandbank' is liable to be misunderstood and is in any case hardly comprehensive enough. In Shetland the term *ayre* is in common use as an independent word and it may be of interest to summarise the various senses in which it is used: (1) a gravelly or sandy beach, e.g. Burgi Ayre in Mousa, Redayre in Sandsting and Sandsayre in Sandwick (Dunrossness); (2) a gravelly bank between a lagoon and the sea, e.g. the Ayre of Copister in South Yell and the Ayre between Brei Wick and the Loch of Clickemin (near Lerwick); (3) a gravelly isthmus some-

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thing lower and narrower than an *aith* (O.N. *eið*), e.g. Gluss Ayre in North Maven and the Ayre at Kirk Ness in Whalsay; (4) a gravelly spit of land running out into the sea, e.g. the Ayre of Birrier in Mid Yell and North Ayre at Swinister in Delting.

FOX-HOLE is not first recorded in M.E.; there are four references to O.E. FOX-HOL in the *Supplement to Bosworth-Toller*.

In the case of -INGTŪN the reviewer, who has more than once worked through Birch's *Cartularium Saxonicum*, would have been glad to see Professor Mawer emphasize here, as in his *Place-Names of Northumberland and Durham*, the fact that where the -INGTŪN form is found in early O.E. documents there is no need to assume that the genitive plural inflexion -A has invariably been lost. There is not a single example of -INGATŪN earlier than 946, and it shows a wilful blindness to the evidence to deny that in O.E. -ING can be used as a genitival suffix such as the Latin -IUS (e.g. in *Campus Martius*) and the O.H.G. -INC found in the names of the Latin *Modus qui et Carelmanninc*, *Modus Liebinc* and *Modus Ottinc* (Müllenhoff and Scherer, *Denkmäler deutscher Poesie und Prosa aus dem* VIII.–XII. *Jahrhundert*, Nos. 19, 21, 22). He would suggest moreover that the O.E. sword-names in -ING, *Hrunting* (*Beow.* 1457 ff.), *Mimming* (*Waldere*, A 3), *Nægling* (*Beow.* 2680) and (if Chadwick's interpretation of *Beow.* 1142 ff. be accepted) *Hūnlāfing* are similarly adjectival forms derived from the name of a previous owner and equivalent to **Hruntan lāf* (cf. O.N. *Hrotti* found in one of the verses in *Gautreks Saga*, c. 4), **Mimman lāf* (cf. the sword *Mimungr* in *Piðriks Saga*, also the work of Velent, whose master had been called Mímir; the *gladium...a Mimingo, siluarum Satyro, possideri* of Saxo, Book III; and *North* and *South Mimms* discussed in Skeat's *Place-Names of Herts.*) and **Nægles lāf* (cf. the first element of e.g. the Somersetshire *Nailsborne*, which occurs in the form *on Nægelesburnan* in B.C.S. 550; and O.N. *Nagli* found in *Naglastadir*, now *Naglestad* in Norway).

Under LUNDR Reginald of Durham's explanation—*nemus paci donatum*—is important and should have been included.

Finally it may be suspected that in some cases O.E. TRĒO(W), 'tree,' is used in the sense of 'cross,' as the Welsh name of Oswestry (*Croes Oswallt*, cited in Plummer's *Bede*, II, 152–3) would suggest.

BRUCE DICKINS.

EDINBURGH.

English Place-Names in -ing *of Scandinavian Origin.* By R. E. ZACHRISSON. Uppsala: Almquist och Wiksells. 1924. 130 pp.

Some English Place-Name Etymologies. By R. E. ZACHRISSON. (*Studier i modern Språkvetenskap* IX.) Uppsala: Almquist och Wiksells. 1924. 34 pp.

Some English Place-Names in a French Garb. By R. E. ZACHRISSON. (*Mélanges de Philologie offerts à M. Johan Vising*, pp. 179–201.) Göteborg: Blanders Boktryckeri. 1925.

In the first-named of these three pamphlets Dr Zachrisson makes an expedition into the boggy land of the *-ings*. In his main thesis, that some of the place-names containing the element *-ing* are of Scandinavian origin, he doubtless has the support of most students of English place-names; but it is true that there is a tendency to minimize Scandinavian influence in such names, and Dr Zachrisson's consolidation of the position is useful, especially in the detailed work on difficult names. But he also concludes that 'the *ing*-suffix seems to have been productive as late as the tenth century.' Even with 'seems' this statement is too positive, as

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there is not enough evidence to give *-ing* even a semblance of life then. It is possible to produce forms of names in which *-ing* appears for the first time in the tenth century or later, but in these *-ing* is due to confusion with a similar ending, as in Twining, Gloucs. (*Bituinæum* 814 B.C.S. no. 350), in which *-ing* has replaced the worn-down form of the dat. pl. ending, just as it has replaced *-en*, *-in* in Yeavering (*Gefrin* in Bede) and Chelsing (formerly *Chelsen*). *-ing* might possibly be a living suffix in the tenth century in Scandinavian use, but this qualification is not made. Dr Zachrisson is likewise too positive in his conclusion that 'the suffix [*-ing* or *-inga*] has a possessive force indicating collective (not individual) ownership.' There are names in which *-ing* is most naturally interpreted as indicating ownership by an individual, and no argument against such an interpretation is given; on the contrary, Dr Zachrisson himself admits that *Bisceopingdene* may mean 'a dene that was part of the bishop's land' (p. 128).

The second pamphlet deals with the etymology of place-names discussed in Dr Zachrisson's well-known book *Anglo-Norman Influence on English Place-names*. It contains some interesting and acute interpretations, but at times interpretation suffers from the incompleteness of the material collected. For example, it is said of Slingsby, Yorks. that 'early spellings with *i*, *e* point to O.W.Sc. *Slyngr* rather than to a hypothetical *Slǫngr*, *Slengr* (Björkman, *Namenkunde* 77).' Three forms spelt with *i* are quoted (one wrongly: for *Selingesbi* read *Selungesbi*), one with *e*. From a more complete collection of forms, however, one finds that in the earlier records (before 1250), forms with *e* occur in eleven documents and forms with *i* in four. Thus Björkman's etymology is justified. Similarly, earlier forms of Scarborough than those of the thirteenth century might have been quoted. This name has an interesting history which has been missed: the identity of Skarði the viking founder is given in *Kormáks saga*, Chapter 21, and Robert of Brunne also tells that he was a hero of English romance.

The third pamphlet discusses the etymology of the names Diss, Goxhill (Lincs. and Yorks.) and Jevington, and some names of parallel formation. Dr Zachrisson derives them from O.E. *dic* 'ditch,' *Gauksleah* 'Gauk's lea or clearing,' *Gefricingatun* 'homestead of the descendants or people of Gefric' (a personal name recorded only once). The peculiar developments of these names which can be seen in the modern forms are accounted for by Anglo-Norman influence. Dr Zachrisson shows great ingenuity in his interpretation of these difficult names; his etymology of Goxhill, however, is not entirely satisfactory. The element *leah* is rare in Scandinavianized areas such as Lincolnshire, and it is difficult to parallel the combination with a Scandinavian personal name. The second element of the name is more probably Scandinavian: it might be O.N. *ljá* 'grass for cutting as hay.'

E. V. Gordon.

Leeds.

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Handbuch der mittelenglischen Grammatik. I. Teil. *Lautlehre.* Von RICHARD JORDAN. Heidelberg: Carl Winter. 1925. pp. xvi + 273. 6 M. 30.

That a convenient handbook of M.E. grammar has long been needed by advanced students, is obvious to remark; if Dr Jordan's second part (Formenlehre) is as good as the first, they have what they want. Morsbach's grammar is, as Dr Jordan says, a torso; Luick's is yet incomplete and not a separate entity; Wright's is most useful, but elementary. Dr Jordan's book is clear, up-to-date, and interesting. The author does not merely compile, condense, and arrange for us the work of others, though we should have been grateful to him for doing this; but he continually gives us his own views on vexed questions, referring us at the same time to those places where we shall find opposing theories set forth. Dr Jordan treats separately the Phonology of fifteenth-century English; I find this convenient. His treatment of Romance borrowings is particularly clear and useful. I would add the following to the Corrections and Additions on pp. xv and xvi: p. 2, Hall's *Selections from Early Middle English*, 2 vols., Oxford, 1920, should be added; and I might here say that Dr Jordan does not refer to A. B. Taylor, *On the History of O.E. ēa, ēo, in Middle English* (*M.L.R.*, Jan. 1924); or to Miss Serjeantson's *Dialectal Distribution of certain Phonological Features in M.E.* (*Eng. Studies*, Amsterdam, 1922).

Pp. 65 and 150: *burd* = 'maiden,' etc., is probably *not* from O.E. *brȳd* (see *N.E.D.*) but < O.E. **byrde* = 'embroideress' (see *Review of English Studies*, I, p. 210).

P. 112 § 104: *awel, aul*, in the *Ancren Riwle* etc., does not mean 'awl' (*'Ahle'*), but 'hook.'

P. 138 § 146, n. 4: The Göttingen MS. of *Cursor Mundi* also shows such spellings as *brohute* for *brohte, dohuter* for *dohter*, etc.

P. 145 § 158: Read *'gossip < gossib'* for *'gossib < gosep'* (cf. § 211).

P. 200 § 225: Read '(afrz. Freies ę̄ < vl. *a*)' for '(....vb. *a*).'

P. 212 § 239 n.: Read (Gaw.) for (Gew.).

Why don't English and German scholars agree to use the terms '$\bar{æ}_1$' and '$\bar{æ}_2$' in the same sense?

CYRIL BRETT.

CARDIFF.

The Grail and the English 'Sir Perceval.' By A. C. L. BROWN. (Reprinted from *Modern Philology*, Vol. XVI, pp. 553 ff.; Vol. XVII, pp. 361 ff., Vol. XVIII, pp. 201 ff., 661 ff., and Vol. XXII, pp. 79 ff., 113 ff.) Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press. 1919–24. 117 pp.

In this series of articles from *Modern Philology* Professor A. C. L. Brown makes use of evidence from the English poem in attacking once more the problem of the origin of the Grail. They are to be considered as notes made on the voyage rather than as a final report—

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the original conclusion seems to have been extended in scope during the progress of the investigation—and to this must be ascribed certain rather abrupt transitions in the argument.

After establishing the independence of *Sir Perceval of Gales* with respect to Chrétien de Troyes' *Conte du Graal*, Professor Brown shows that on some of the points on which the English poem differs from the French it is in agreement with Ulrich von Zatzikhoven's *Lanzelet* and that the latter clearly shows its descent from a story of a destined hero under fairy control. Therefore, he argues, since *Sir Perceval* and *Lanzelet* are manifestly parallel in construction in those portions dealing with the hero's youth and accomplishment of his destined task, the English poem must derive ultimately from a similarly motivated fairy-control story; on this basis he reconstructs the original plot of *Sir Perceval*. Next he adduces parallels of theme from the Finn stories—in particular from *Macgnimartha Finn* which, though found only in a late MS., dates back to the twelfth century and has a dozen incidents in common with *Sir Perceval*—and points out one or two instances of possible traces of an Irish origin being preserved in the English poem. After comparing his reconstructed plot with this Irish story and showing how the latter serves to explain many details in the former, he concludes that the English poem derives ultimately from an Irish story parallel in development to that of Finn and that the main incidents common to it and its associated Old French romances are Celtic in origin. A further investigation shows that we are concerned with a theme which is essentially the same as the central theme of the stories of the *Tuatha de Danann*—the fight between Lug and Balor—and that the gold cup in *Sir Perceval* was originally a talisman around which the whole action of the story must have centred. Just as Finn and other heroes took over attributes and possessions from the older lords of faery in Ireland, so did Arthur in Wales; hence he must have had among his other undoubted talismanic possessions a cup of plenty about which tales doubtless existed—of one of which *Sir Perceval* is a much rationalised version—and hence too that connexion between Arthur and the Grail of which traces remain. Further the gold cup in Chrétien—corresponding to that in the English poem—must also have been originally a talisman. What then was the nature of Chrétien's source? 'Our evidence shows that [it] was a tandem story and that the two parts were discordant variants of the same theme.' 'Our hypothesis is that the author [of this source] prefixed to a Grail story...a story that resembled *Sir Perceval* and told of a cup of plenty.' The *Elucidation* which appears at the head of the Mons MS.—though it does not particularly explain the stories which follow—belonged originally to a lost Gawain book in which it must have been clear that the Grail was similar in nature to those fairy cups mentioned in this introductory poem, i.e. a cup of plenty; the English *Sir Perceval* represents very largely 'the source of the first part of Chrétien's *Conte du Graal*' and 'the cup in it is a cruder form of the Grail': therefore 'proof that the Grail was primarily of Celtic origin is convincing,' for 'it is impossible to imagine how a fairy cup of plenty became attached

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to the oldest form of the Grail story, unless the latter was at one time recognised to be itself a cup-of-plenty story.'

Though in his demonstration of the independence of *Sir Perceval* Professor Brown is avowedly making use of parallels noted by other scholars and going over common ground, a little more care in presentation would have rendered his thesis of an ultimate Irish origin for the English poem still more convincing. It is disconcerting, to say the least, to read on one page that 'nobody would assert that W[olfram] was influenced by the lost French original of *Sir Perceval*' (M.P. XVI, 554) and then a few pages later—of an earlier text—that 'the lost French romance upon which *Sir Perceval* is founded may be conjectured to be old enough to have been known to the author of *Lanzelet*' (M.P. XVI, 563). In each instance theoretically possible relations only are under consideration. Then, too, there is a disturbing element in the final discussion—a feeling that the argument is proceeding in a circle. If the conclusion that the cup in *Sir Perceval* is talismanic in origin is valid—and the proof of this seems certain—it follows that Arthur was in possession of such a cup and it is unnecessary to assume that Arthur must have had a fairy cup of plenty because he had inherited other objects of talismanic nature. Further since the loss of the Grail leads to an enchantment of Arthur just as does the loss of the gold cup in *Sir Perceval*, and since there are traces of an older form of the story in which Arthur was lord of the Grail, it is reasonable to conclude that the Grail must have been originally much more of a cup of plenty than it is in the extant romances; the *Elucidation* is evidence of such a state of affairs and thus indirectly confirms the theory. Such appears to be the argument implicit in Professor Brown's concluding sections, but it would have gained considerably in force had it been presented more clearly.

ALEXANDER BELL.

PETERBOROUGH.

The Folewer to the Donet, by Reginald Pecock. Now first edited from Brit. Mus. Roy. MS. 17 D ix, with an Introduction on Pecock's Language and Style by ELSIE VAUGHAN HITCHCOCK. (Early English Text Society. Original Series. No. CLXIV.) London: H. Milford. 1924. pp. lxxx + 264. 30*s.*

Reginald Pecock's *Folewer* is a sequel to the *Donet*, and was designed for more advanced readers, who had already mastered the 'schort compendiose report' of the moral virtues given in the earlier book. It is a fuller and more learned account of these moral virtues, and an exposition of the natural and intellectual virtues. Part II is a particularly ingenious defence of Pecock's classification of the moral virtues in his Four Tables.

In the Editor's Preface the *Folewer* is described as 'a storehouse in the "comoun peplis language" of many of the favourite scholastic ideas of mediæval Europe.' The book is full of philosophical interest; nor

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can one over-estimate the importance of the fact that at this date such a book could be produced *in English*. For the *Folewer* is not a mere text-book of philosophy and theology: it is English literature.

Pecock's English deserves close study. In the Introduction the Editor examines his language, style, and vocabulary. She refutes the assumption that Pecock wrote the so-called 'Oxford dialect,' and produces evidence showing that there are few differences between his language and what may be called the 'London dialect' of the day.

The strong verbs are fully listed and compared with the corresponding series in Old English and Chaucer. This sound piece of work will be appreciated by philologists, and is indeed a worthy addition to the *Ablaut* studies inaugurated by Bülbring and his school.

The section on Pecock's style and vocabulary does him justice for the first time, while it has been kept free from taint of partizanship.

As in the *Donet*, the text is summarized in the Editor's marginal gloss in a form suitable for rapid reading by the general student; and a detailed Glossary, Table of Contents, and General Index have been provided.

Dr Elsie Hitchcock's trustworthy and scholarly method of editing is already known to students of the *Donet*.

J. H. G. GRATTAN.

LONDON.

The Life and Poems of Nicholas Grimald. By L. R. MERRILL. (*Yale Studies in English*, lxix.) New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press; London: H. Milford. 1925. vi + 463 pp. $ 4.50.

The life of Grimald here presented is of some interest and value. It is shown that he came of a family long settled in Huntingdonshire, and was not the son of the Grimaldi notorious as an agent of Empson and Dudley. There seems too to be little doubt that, after being a friend and helper of Latimer and Ridley, he proved a weak brother in days of persecution and perhaps betrayed his former associates. His abilities as a scholar and humanist are however beyond question, and it seems clear that the Oberammergau play has its source in Grimald's *Christus Rediuiuus*.

Unfortunately as an editor Mr Merrill is very far from satisfactory, owing partly to a defective knowledge of Latin and partly to a general want of scholarly accuracy. His texts swarm with errors, and can never be trusted.

In Grimald's Latin letter, pp. 39–41, reproduced from Lansdowne MS. 2, 'tu apte' (l. 7) should be 'tuapte,' 'animi' (l. 13) 'amici,' 'in' (l. 21) is repeated, 'esse' (l. 22) should be 'futurum esse,' 'expuerent' (l. 24) 'expuerunt,' 'ist' (l. 31) 'est,' 'studiosiss.' (l. 33) 'studiosis,' 'iustii' (l. 34) 'iusti,' 'cumque' (l. 42) 'cunque,' 'opporteret' (l. 45) 'oporteret,' 'nimium' (l. 51) 'nimiumque,' 'nominatum' (l. 52) 'nominatim,' 'quod' (l. 55) 'quod ego,' 'elaboratis' (l. 60) 'elaboretis,' 'i.' (l. 62) should be expanded to 'id est,' 'studiosiss.' (l. 64) 'studiosis,' 'prevenire' (l. 65) 'pervenire,' 'unacum' (l. 67) 'una cum,' 'quibuscumque' (l. 70) 'quibuscunque,' 'adjumentatorum' (l. 73) 'adju-

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tamentorum,' 'intigerrime' (l. 76) 'integerrime,' '4' (l. 77) '4°,' 'Grimoaldi' (l. 78) 'Grimoaldus.' The last mistake is especially serious as suggesting that Grimald used the Italian form 'Grimaldi'

After the introductory matter Mr Merrill prints the texts of the two plays *Christus Redivivus* and *Archipropheta* with an English translation on the opposite pages, then Grimald's 'Shorter Poems' from the first edition of *Tottel's Miscellany*, six 'Miscellaneous Poems' found in other books, and some Notes.

A very odd appearance is given to the Latin texts owing to the mark of contraction found in the originals being printed occasionally as –, and more frequently as ⏑. Thus on p. 92 we have 'eosdĕ,' 'nūquam,' 'tamē,' 'retractandŭ,' 'parturiebā.' The mark in the original books is ~, which when worn sometimes resembles ⏑. But Mr Merrill's treatment is most unscholarly and disfiguring: take for example p. 102 festinădum agendum' que ['agendúmque'], or p. 182 Sic' cine; p. 120 Hunc' cine honorē addidisti? ô horrĕdŭ atq; nefariū scelus; p. 118 Quă (= quam) signis, quă meritis, quă admirădis rerŭ miraculis...eueheret.

The accuracy of the text is again most questionable. I have only collated an odd page or so, but the results were grievous. Thus on p. 268 'uice' is printed 'unice,' 'Supplices' 'Supplicies,' 'Anteambulonem' 'Ante ambulonem,' 'voluptatibus' 'volaptatibus,' 'sceleribus' 'scleribus,' 'posito' 'positu,' 'coniugi' 'conijugi'; on p. 336 'ô succe' 'ô succo,' 'ministras' 'ministrat' (emended in a note to 'ministras'), 'repetat'q;' 'repetaq́'; on p. 306 'Palæstinas' 'Palæstinos,' 'Adite duo, meo rogate nomine' 'Addite duo, me rogate nomine,' 'homunculum' 'houmnculum,' 'fluctuo' 'fluctus.'

Obviously erroneous forms are left in the text as p. 278 'tretra,' while the emendations recorded are often very doubtful, as that of 'uiciorum' to 'uiciarum' on the same page. Here too 'me' is misprinted 'ne' while 'assectis' takes the place of 'cum asseclis.'

As a translator Mr Merrill is loose and at times misleading, e.g. on pp. 94, 95, 229.

The English poems are printed with no less carelessness.

Poem	2, l. 20	'fromwhere'	for 'somwhere'
	l. 45	'eate'	„ 'ease'
„	3, l. 15	'upon you'	„ 'upon'
„	7, l. 11	'ylfwading'	„ 'ylswading'
„	8, l. 8	'it'	„ 'let it'
	l. 20	'measures'	„ 'measure'
„	9, l. 7	'doth'	„ 'do'
„	11, l. 12	'beam'	„ 'leam'
„	13, l. 6	'their'	„ 'ther'
	l. 13	'causes'	„ 'causes lo'
„	15, l. 9	'found'	„ 'sound'
„	18, l. 5	'the mooneths'	„ 'the mooneths, the weeks'
„	19, l. 5	'what,'	„ 'what?'
		'sincs'	„ 'sins'
„	20, l. 2	'his'	„ 'to his'
„	22, l. 2	'price.'	„ 'price'
„	29, l. 2	'the Frenchman'	„ 'Frenchman'

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Poem 31, l. 1	'life is'	for	'life'
„ 33, l. 9	'what'	„	'that'
l. last but one	'featfull'	„	'feastfull'
„ 34, l. 6	'Lest'	„	'Leste'
	'afterall'	„	'afterfall'
l. 7	'Saturniam'	„	'Saturnian'
„ 35, l. 19	'Phyrgian'	„	'Phrygian'
l. 46	'seemed'	„	'seemd'
l. 48	'schoold'	„	'schools'
l. 73	'Nicholas'	„	'Nicolas'
l. 87	'By'	„	'But'
„ 36, l. 22	'you sire'	„	'your sire'
l. 28	'Caesars'	„	'Cesars'
„ 38, l. 29	'mettyng'	„	'meetyng'
„ 39, l. 2 from end	'flock'	„	'stock'
	'gryzley'	„	'gryzely'

In the Miscellaneous Poems:

Poem 42, l. 4	'mostrum' for 'nostrum'		
l. 13	'instos' (so in the original) should apparently be 'infestos'		
l. 15	'munera' omitted before 'cœlo'		
l. 18	'clara' omitted before 'tenenda' (printed 'tenĕda')		
l. 26	'dissimulare' for 'dissimulante'		
„ 43, l. 11	'q'	„	'q̃'
l. 20	'E doctus'	„	'Edoctus'
„ 44, l. 8	'rotteth'	„	'rottith'
l. 11	'abatieth'	„	'abatith all'
l. 13	'wastlich'	„	'wastith'
l. 14	'raygyng'	„	'ragyng'
l. 15	'Ryghte'	„	'Ryght'
l. 17	'defaysyng'	„	'defasyng'
l. 23	'bewitchid'	„	'beewitchid'
l. 25	'fancies'	„	'fās̄ies'
l. 27	'foules'	„	'soules'
l. 35	'her'	„	'if her'
l. 38	'seeke'	„	'seewe'
l. 47	'orels'	„	'yea orels'
	'crye'	„	'trye'
l. 48	'was'	„	'way'
l. 50	'Whyle'	„	'Wylt'
l. 53	'abode'	„	'abrode'

It is unfortunate that since Mr Merrill prepared his book, it has been shown by Mr Hoyt Hopewell Hudson of Swarthmore College (*Modern Language Notes*, XXXIX, p. 388) that of Grimald's contributions to *Songes and Sonettes* here given Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 22, 23, 30, 37, 39, 40 are translations of poems by Beza (no. 5 is printed as such in T. Kendall's *Flowers of Epigrammes*, 1577), while no. 19 is a free adaptation of another[1]. This discovery must raise a doubt about Grimald's other contributions and seriously affect our view of him as an original poet.

G. C. Moore Smith.

Sheffield.

[1] My attention was called to Mr Hudson's paper by Professor Carleton Brown.

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The Death of Christopher Marlowe. By J. LESLIE HOTSON. London: Nonesuch Press. 1925. 76 pp. 7*s.* 6*d.*

Dr Hotson's new facts about Marlowe's death have already received much attention from scholars. The fundamental documents which he has unearthed are (*a*) a Chancery writ and return containing a certificate by the coroner of the verge of his inquisition into the circumstances of the death, and (*b*) the enrolment of a pardon by the crown to the man whose hand struck the fatal blow. The tracing of these records, with the clue of a name found by chance in a calendar, is a praiseworthy as well as a fruitful bit of research, and shows a natural *flair* for the handling of archives, although it is necessary to call attention to certain errors in transcription or extension, which an independent examination of the documents by Professor Moore Smith, with the help of an assistant-keeper of the Public Records, has disclosed. Thus we have '*ue*' (frequently) for '*e*,' 'sacr*u*m' (frequently) for 'sacr*amentu*m,' 'quartij' (pp. 29, 36) for 'quarter*ij*,' '*Regina per*dona' (p. 34) for 'De *per*don*acione*.' These trifles need not disturb our confidence in the substantial accuracy of Dr Hotson's work, or our gratitude for his patience and acumen. He has proved that the name of Marlowe's slayer was neither bare Ingram, as William Vaughan has it, nor Francis Frezer, as the Deptford register has it, but Ingram Fryser, that the coroner's jury considered Marlowe the aggressor, and that the fray arose out of a quarrel about a reckoning in a small room in the house of Eleanor Bull, widow, with a table and a bed on which Marlowe lay, and in the presence of two witnesses. There had been a dinner and a quiet afternoon in the garden and a supper, in company. The record gives no confirmation to the gossip of Francis Meres about the rivalry of Marlowe and his opponent in a 'lewde loue.' That is as it may be. When there is a duel and a woman in the case, coroner's juries have always had a knack of not discovering it. But romance will be served, and some of Dr Hotson's readers seem inclined to substitute a political for an amorous intrigue, and to suggest that Marlowe, whatever the jury thought, was put out of the way because he knew too much. I think Dr Hotson is probably right in his theory that Marlowe, whom the record calls Morley, is the same Christopher Morley whom the Privy Council recommended for a University degree in 1587, as one who 'had done her Majestie good service, and deserved to be rewarded for his faithfull dealinge.' Both Marlowe and Fryser were in relations with Thomas Walsingham, a cousin of Secretary Walsingham, in whose hands the threads of so much underground 'service' of Elizabeth lay. Dr Hotson has found out a good deal about the career of Fryser, which is not reassuring. Of the two witnesses of the fray, one, Nicholas Skeres, was certainly a ruffian. The other, Robert Poley, had been an agent of Walsingham in discovering or contriving the participation of Mary of Scots in the Babington plot of 1586. About him, perhaps, a little more might have been said, for he was certainly still an intriguer in 1593. In 1587 he had fallen into disfavour with the government on

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suspicion of a connection with certain libels against the queen, and on an uncertain date in that year he wrote to the Earl of Leicester (*S. P. France*, xvii, 26) repudiating the charge, claiming to have had offers of service through Thomas Walsingham and the Secretary, and asking for employment in discoveries. On 25 November, 1587, he also wrote to the Secretary (*S. P. Dom. Eliz.* ccv, 49) about one Andrews, a prisoner in the Tower, who might throw light upon the secret practices of the Jesuits. Whether he got employment then, I do not know. He was in trouble again on 7 January, 1589 (*S.P.D.* ccxxii, 13, 14), when Recorder Fleetwood was examining charges against him of making lewd speeches against Walsingham, of attempting to persuade one William Yeomans and his wife to Popery, and of eloping with Mrs Yeomans. But from 1591 to April 1595 he is obscurely traceable in the spy business again (*S.P.D.* ccxxxviii, 140; ccxlvii, 28; *Hatfield MSS.* iv, 142, 156, 200, 466; v, 8, 26), apparently in the service of Sir Thomas Heneage—he is called 'Pistol's man,' whatever that means, in a cipher of 2 December, 1594 (*Hatfield MSS.* v, 26)—and certainly acting as a channel of communication with Michael Moody, another instrument of Walsingham's machinations of 1586, who was now also in Heneage's service as a secret agent in Flanders. Even the great Lord Burghley sent to Heneage through Robert Cecil on 23 May, 1592 (*Hatfield MSS.* iv, 200), to know 'where Poly is, that my L. might speak with him.' By 7 April, 1595 (*S.P.D.* ccli, 98), Poley had made the Netherlands too hot for him. Heneage died in this year, and probably Poley passed into the service of Robert Cecil. But he must have given renewed reason for suspicion, for on 17 December, 1600 (*S.P.D.* cclxxv, 141), he writes to Cecil, describing his searchings into the proceedings of the Jesuits, 'since you sequestered me from your service.' In July 1601 he was in trouble for an attempt to smuggle into the country his cousin, George, son of Richard Cotton of Bedhampton, Hants, a boy of fourteen, who had been for two years a student at St Omers. Lord Cobham, the warden of the Cinque Ports, stopped the boy at Dover, and asked Cecil to consider what action should be taken with Poley, who seemed repentant, and 'you haply may know how to make use of his services' (*Hatfield MSS.* xi, 216, 278, 302). The last I know of Poley is that he wrote again to Cecil on 18 July, 1602 (*Hatfield MSS.* xii, 230), sending information about the Jesuits received from Robert Barrois, a priest, and saying 'How, half offended, you said to me I never made you good intelligence, nor did you service worth reckoning, is the cause I have not since presented myself with offer of my duty, although I much desire my endeavours might please you, my necessities needing your favour.' Evidently those present in the room when Marlowe died were an ambiguous company. But we have not the actual depositions at the inquest, and in their absence there is not much ground for taking the verdict of the coroner's jury at anything but its face value.

E. K. CHAMBERS.

LONDON.

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An Introduction to the Study of the Shakespeare Canon. By J. M. ROBERTSON. London: Routledge. viii + 494 pp. 25*s.*

The Disintegration of Shakespeare. By SIR E. K. CHAMBERS. London: H. Milford, for the British Academy. 1924. 22 pp. 1*s.*

In these two works criticism ranges itself in opposed forces on the battlefield of the Shakespearian canon. Mr Robertson, energetically sceptical, and Sir Edmund Chambers, carefully conservative, illustrate the fact that criticism, like most things, is swayed by temperament. There is a certain piquancy in the task of reviewing these two pronouncements together, seeing that each is largely concerned with an attack on the writer of the other.

An Introduction to the Study of the Shakespeare Canon is not altogether new. It is an expanded revision of *Did Shakespeare write 'Titus Andronicus'?* which appeared in 1905. The intention is that it should serve as a statement of critical principles and as an example of a critical method to be applied to many, or all, of the accepted plays. It is thus an Introduction to the two volumes of *The Shakespeare Canon*, already published, which deal with *Henry V*, *Julius Cæsar*, *Richard III*, *Two Gentlemen*, *Richard II*, *Comedy of Errors*, and *Measure for Measure*, and indeed to all Mr Robertson's well-known critical works on Shakespeare.

The most important addition is perhaps the Prolegomena of 40 pages in which Mr Robertson, in his familiar, trenchant manner, attacks the 'traditionalist' view which maintains the Shakespearian authorship of *Titus*, and the methodology of certain critics. His main offensive is directed against Churton Collins, Baildon, and Chambers. His mode of attack is not lacking in self-assurance, and for that very reason one is apt to array one's sympathy against him; but it must be admitted that in this skirmish he remains master of the field. He is doubly equipped, with a keenly logical mind and a vast store of scholarship readily at command. It is doubtful whether any other critic before him has approached the text of Shakespeare with a memory (for not even the most admirably arranged card index would suffice) stored more richly with verbal knowledge of the works of Shakespeare's contemporaries. His method is overwhelming. Proceeding from a study of all Shakespeare's contemporaries in drama, he scents Marlowe or Kyd in this scene, in that he detects Peele or Greene. Where other critics can cite a few instances of verbal similarity, he will adduce two or three times as many, which may establish or reverse the earlier argument.

Mr Robertson is aware of the danger of this method, and of its limitations. Frequently he expresses a caveat against the supposition that mere verbal resemblance between passages in different plays proves identity of authorship. Further he realizes that 'correspondency or compatibility of style in the larger sense—diction, manner, degree of pregnancy, concision and force, cadence, point, movement' are more important tests. There is also the question of æsthetic content which must be borne in mind. In considering the authorship of any work we

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are bound to ask ourselves whether it is the kind of thing which we should expect from the mind of the author so far as we have studied it in other works. This argument is a very natural one in the case of *Titus*, and it seems hard to understand how so many critics have brought themselves to believe that such a foul orgy of lust and bestiality accords with what we know of Shakespeare from the main canon of his work.

This consideration has been insufficient in the past to persuade critics; but Mr Robertson has surely proved his case. To some it appeared that he had done so when the first edition of his book was published; but tradition dies hard. It is, however, to be supposed that orthodox criticism will eventually, if not at once, reject *Titus Andronicus*.

What is less certain is that Mr Robertson will be followed in his ascription of the work to other writers. He attributes much of the play to Peele, and sees the hands of Greene and Kyd, and, to a less extent, of Marlowe, in the rest. He believes that the play is a revision, or even a revised redaction; and he assigns the extant version to the year 1593. It is impossible to discuss the argument in detail. It is very long and closely woven. He himself holds the argument so clearly in his own mind that the mass of facts and the many argumentative by-paths give him no trouble, but it is a stiff task to keep up with him. It is not easy to see how the argument could be shortened to advantage; but one wishes that Mr Robertson's style were better calculated to help the reader along a path where every step has to be picked out carefully.

Mr Robertson is a model of patient thoroughness. In order to establish his case he works diligently through a large number of Elizabethan plays, especially those of doubtful authorship. He may find a parallelism between *Titus* and *The Spanish Tragedy* and another with *Arden of Feversham*. If he can establish Kyd's authorship of *Arden* (and this he reasonably takes as proved) he is on firmer ground for maintaining that Kyd was concerned in part of *Titus*. In addition to the direct bearing of this elaborate study on the problem of *Titus*, it is a very valuable contribution to the study of Elizabethan drama at large. Whether or not his conclusions are all equally valid, he has thrown much needed light on the authorship of such plays as *King Leir*, *The Troublesome Raigne*, *Selimus*, *Edward III*, *A 'Larum for London*, *A Warning for Faire Women*. A great deal of this appeared in the first edition, so there is no need to speak of it at length. New material has, however, been embodied, and, although here and there this has led to a modification of opinion, generally it reinforces.

Sir Edmund Chambers is obviously distrustful of the whole method. He admits his conservatism quite frankly. 'I come to accept Shakespeare, not to praise him.' He is genuinely alarmed by the iconoclasm of Mr Robertson, and his mistrust of his methods is evidently provoked not a little by fear for the consequences. In the short space of a British Academy lecture he has not scope for detailed reasoning, or for utilizing the store which his great learning has at command; and consequently there is an inevitable lack of weight in his rebuttal. Sir Edmund deals

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with Mr Robertson's methods generally. He apparently capitulates on the *Titus* question. At any rate he refuses to dispute that point, on the ground that the issue has become wider. The most effective criticism he makes is with regard to Mr Robertson's use of statistical verse tests. Mr Robertson is prone to depend too heavily on them. His most dangerous practice, as Sir Edmund rightly points out, is to apply them to single speeches and scenes. Even if we do accept the validity, in argument as to date, of the percentage of feminine endings in a whole play, we are not justified in expecting the proportion to be spread homogeneously through the play.

Mr Robertson has very rightly accused criticism of vagueness and lack of foundation in fact. He therefore goes to the text and strives to establish scientific criteria of judgement on a detailed analysis. Seeing what the inductive method has contributed to the advancement of knowledge in the realm of natural science, he wants to apply it to literary criticism. Within limits this is unquestionably sound. In the main he realises these limits, but where he does not he needs checking. In so far as he has applied a check and uttered a warning against excessive application of this method, Sir Edmund Chambers has done good service to scholarship. But Mr Robertson is not to be dismissed by a reference to 'his Marlowe and Chapman complexes.'

Sir Edmund also criticizes the work of Professor J. Dover Wilson. His main argument deals with the theory of 'continuity of copy' which he regards as the foundation of Professor Wilson's critical edifice. This he finds it difficult to accept. Although prepared to admit the indisputable fact of the condition of the *Sir Thomas More* MS., he 'feel[s] some doubt whether the case of *Sir Thomas More* is altogether typical.' In face of the evidence and arguments which have been adduced by Professor A. W. Pollard feeling is not sufficient. When, however, Sir Edmund cites facts from his great fund of knowledge of the practice of the Elizabethan playhouse and its relations to the Revels Office, he commands attention. In this connexion he makes an important point with regard to the comparatively small number of revisions recorded on the occasion of revivals. But, as he admits, his evidence is late; and its significance is rather doubtful. After showing that 'Henslowe's record, therefore, bears very little testimony to any widespread practice of revising plays upon revival,' he assures us that he does not 'overlook the possible difference in methods between Shakespeare's company and the Admiral's.' And he cites, as belonging to the former, two plays, *The Malcontent* and *Mucedorus*, in both of which 'the revision took the form of inserting scenes, not of stylistic rehandling.' Surely this is to overlook one essential difference. If the Admiral's company wanted revision for a revival an outsider must be employed for the job, and paid. From what we know of Henslowe such a practice was likely to be followed sparingly. If however a play of Shakespeare's were to be revived, Shakespeare was there himself to undertake any revision which seemed advisable. Here was no case of a commercially minded Henslowe who was going to expend no more time or money than was necessary

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to make the new show attractive. At best the arguments adduced on this point are negative. Professor Wilson has made certain deductions from a mass of evidence collected from the text itself. He has always avoided a dogmatic presentation of his theories; and he would probably be the first to admit that they are not all completely satisfactory. It is a sign of the healthy state of Shakespearian studies that the 'new criticism' is being discussed seriously from both sides by some of the ablest and most learned critics in England and abroad.

A. E. MORGAN.

SHEFFIELD.

De Roman in de 18e Eeuw in West-Europa. Door J. PRINSEN. Groningen: J. B. Wolters. viii + 540 pp. 15 fl.

The number of English scholars who read Dutch with fluency is comparatively small, and Professor Prinsen can hardly expect the attention to be given to this large work among us which it deserves. Possibly also the fact that it is made out of lectures, and covers ground that is familiar to us, will diminish the desire to make its closer acquaintance. But there is much that we may learn from it. To put it at the lowest, we might be tempted to turn to it to get light on the share of Holland in the evolution of the modern novel; and although Professor Prinsen has not room to say a great deal about his own writers, what he does say is suggestive and helpful. It is clear we cannot afford entirely to ignore, as we are accustomed to do, the reflection of our eighteenth-century fiction in the Dutch mind.

The work suffers from a certain discursiveness of treatment, and a lack of system. It falls into two distinct parts, the first third of the volume being devoted to an introduction which roams widely, and often with seeming irrelevance to the history of the novel, over the literary and philosophic ideas of the eighteenth century and of earlier and even later periods. In the remaining two-thirds the author settles down to the business in hand—still, however, with considerable reluctance to keep within bounds, for a 'Voorgeschiedenis' takes us far back into the past. The main theme of the book is the history of the European novel from *Robinson Crusoe* to Jane Austen; and in describing it thus, I would indicate that the English novel comes in for much the larger share of attention—from the European standpoint perhaps a disproportionately large one. Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister* is disposed of, for instance, in less than five pages, while the novels of Smollett occupy nearly thirteen. But Professor Prinsen is particularly at home in our literature; and his review of our great novels is full of understanding; thus his general attitude cannot but awaken a responsive chord in the English reader. His sympathetic criticism of Jane Austen will be particularly appreciated, for she is a writer of difficult accessibility to the continental mind. Professor Prinsen is familiar, not merely with the novels themselves, but also with all the relevant literature on them;

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here, I daresay, the English reader, looking for fresh ideas and seeking rather Professor Prinsen's judgment than those that are familiar to him, would have liked a little less reliance on his English 'authorities.' The accounts of the novels are interspersed with lengthy extracts, which are not always well chosen; at least, they do not always prove what the critic would like them to prove. Moreover, the English texts are, for the most part, very carelessly printed and bristle with misprints. English, as well as foreign proper names are often strangely mutilated; indeed, one gets the impression that the correcting of the proofs had been left to a printer's reader whose knowledge of languages and literatures did not extend far beyond his own.

A general criticism of Professor Prinsen's attitude to his theme as a whole might be that he views it too exclusively from a 'looking forward' standpoint: what interest him in all these eighteenth-century novels and what he picks out for particular commendation, are just those elements in them—the realistic depiction of nature, delicacy of character-drawing, psychological or emotional subtlety—which were of significance for the future. This way of looking at the literature of the past makes lectures on it attractive to a modern audience; but when a literary historian applies the measuring-tape of a later age to a literary period, some disturbance of the proportions is bound to occur. I think this is frequently the case here; it behoves a critic of the eighteenth century to show more consideration for what the eighteenth century itself regarded as the merits of its books.

The general section of Professor Prinsen's book I have read with very real pleasure: it deals, as I have indicated, very discursively with literary, political and philosophical thought. There is much in it that is debateable; but this is to be accounted to it as a virtue; for it suggests reflection and discussion. His conception of Romanticism, for instance, or of the evolution of Renaissance ideas, may not find favour in minds attached to the traditional dogmas; but they are most seriously worth thinking over. From them emerges a logically developed, if not, of course, entirely novel conception of literature as a continuous evolution in which the past merges into the present and the present into the future; where artificial partition walls of literary movements and 'schools' disappear. In asserting his views Professor Prinsen is inclined, however, to go too unwarily to work: he accepts too readily as proven the conclusions of others that are sympathetic to him; even when in the mind of the originator these conclusions have only hypothetical value. Here more discriminating criticism would sometimes have been desirable. In conclusion, my review of Professor Prinsen's work is necessarily the criticism of a foreigner; the Dutch reading public is to be congratulated on possessing a work which places in so sympathetic a light the great works of European fiction outside their own literature.

J. G. Robertson.

London.

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Cambridge Anglo-Norman Texts. Edited by O. H. PRIOR. (*Poem on the Assumption.* Edited by J. P. STRACHEY; *Poem on the Day of Judgment.* Edited by H. J. CHAYTOR; *Divisiones Mundi.* Edited by O. H. PRIOR.) Cambridge: University Press. 1924. 8vo. 66 pp. 7*s.* 6*d.*

Ce modeste petit volume est le premier fruit d'une entreprise que tout étudiant de l'anglo-normand et aussi de l'ancien français a dû souhaiter de voir inaugurer. L'Anglo-Norman Society de Cambridge se propose d'étudier et de publier les nombreux manuscrits, œuvres littéraires, documents historiques, proverbes, recettes de cuisine et de médecine, tout ce qui intéresse l'étude de l'anglo-normand, qui se trouvent dans les différentes bibliothèques des collèges et de l'université de Cambridge. Le travail sera confié à des érudits ayant l'entraînement philologique nécessaire pour mener à bien leur tâche. Le but immédiat de la Société est la publication de textes qui fourniront des matériaux par le but final, une étude de l'anglo-normand à la fois plus large et plus approfondie que celle qu'il a été possible d'entreprendre jusqu'à présent.

Ce premier volume nous est donné comme un échantillon et comme un projet; les observations qui y servent d'introduction sont donc présentées par l'éditeur général de la série, M. Prior, sous toutes réserves; elles consistent surtout à soulever certaines questions et à attirer l'attention des travailleurs sur des pistes à suivre. Ceci posé, M. Prior, pour sa part, en reproduisant la matière d'un récent article paru dans la *Romania*, prend nettement position. Pour lui la clef de la plupart des problèmes que présente l'anglo-normand se trouve dans l'étude des dialectes anglais qui ont évolué côte à côte avec la langue des envahisseurs. Pour M. Prior la langue indigène aurait agi au moins autant sur la langue des conquérants que celle-ci sur l'anglais, et les irrégularités singulières de langue qui caractérisent l'anglo-normand ne s'expliqueraient plus par l'influence, plus ou moins grande chez les différents auteurs, des dialectes du continent, mais par l'évolution normale des dialectes anglais contemporains. Voilà, certes, un champ d'expériences qui ne peut manquer d'être fructueux. Malheureusement les limites d'espace très étroites que s'est imposées M. Prior ne lui ont pas permis de développer des idées qui mériteraient d'être discutées et qui, faute de discussion, risquent de paraître quelque peu arbitraires. La question de la pénétration anglo-normande (pp. xii, xiii), par exemple, mériterait un examen moins rapide ou tout au moins des renvois en notes aux sources. Celle de l'influence des dialectes anglais est tranchée par M. Prior aussitôt que posée. Celle de l'influence du rythme poétique anglais sur la versification anglo-normande est également traitée de façon sommaire. Cette question du rythme poétique est la partie du travail de M. Prior qui nous paraît la plus intéressante. C'est un fait évident que le rythme d'une langue est bien ce qu'elle a de plus caractéristique, de plus persistant et de plus difficile à saisir ou à rejeter à volonté; on sait, par exemple, qu'un Français habitant l'Angleterre, mais s'efforçant de pratiquer même exclusivement sa propre langue, se

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prend bientôt à la parler avec le rythme anglais. Mais prouver jusqu'au bout la thèse de M. Prior est autre chose. M. Prior, qui évidemment a poussé loin ses recherches dans ce sens, nous donnera sans doute un jour d'autres preuves; nous avouons, en attendant, que les observations intéressantes que renferme ce petit volume ne nous paraissent pas concluantes. M. Prior se borne, en effet, à résumer (p. xvii) d'après des manuels connus, les caractéristiques les plus saillantes de la prosodie anglaise du moyen âge et à reproduire un certain nombre d'exemples anglais de ce rythme. Il conclut (p. xviii): 'Thus our poets merely applied their native rhythm to French verse when they wrote lines of seven instead of eight, eleven instead of ten syllables'; et il cite ensuite deux exemples de vers en langues mixtes (latin-français et anglais-français) qui ne prouvent rien et douze vers du poème de Benoît de S. Auban sur Thomas de Canterbury qui pour M. Prior sont 'evidently iambic' mais qui nous paraissent, à très peu de chose près, parfaitement conformes au système français de versification. Trouverait-on d'ailleurs un poème anglo-normand tout entier où le rythme anglais soit manifeste que cela ne prouverait toujours pas la thèse de M. Prior. Qu'il y eût influence anglaise, c'est ce qui ne fait pas de doute; expliquer ainsi toutes les irrégularités de la poésie anglo-normande c'est ce qui nous paraît bien difficile. Car M. Prior veut que la littérature anglo-normande, très riche à côté de la pauvreté littéraire indigène, soit un apport anglais et ne soit française de langue que, pour ainsi dire, malgré elle. Cette préoccupation amène des raisonnements qui nous paraissent douteux: par exemple (pp. xxi-xxii) on pourrait aussi bien conclure de l'anecdote citée par M. Prior, qu'il fut rare qu'un marchand ne sût pas assez de français pour faire son commerce. De même il nous paraît illogique de voir à la fois dans l'anglo-normand une *langue intruse*, réservée tout au plus à l'usage d'une classe peu nombreuse (donc tendant plutôt à se stabiliser) et de la voir évoluer rapidement sous de fortes influences anglaises. On se demande, enfin, si c'est ce 'nationalisme' chez M. Prior qui expliquerait l'origine germanique attribuée (p. 2) au mot *sanz* du vers 18 du poème sur l'Assomption?

Les règles adoptées pour l'édition des textes sont, de même, marquées de quelques 'insularités.' Celles qui gouvernent l'emploi d'accents nous paraît peu claires. Pourquoi, par exemple, p. 23, v. 247 veu, p. 41, v. 183 oies, etc. ne prendraient-ils pas la diérèse habituelle...à moins que ce soit pour marquer le rythme anglais? Est-ce aussi pourquoi M. Prior imprime p. 53, v. 651 la forme *awm* pour *avum*? Et ne vaudrait-il pas mieux lire ce vers: 'Issi si l'avum prest'? Le vocabulaire aussi est loin d'être parfait. Bon nombre de mots y manquent, d'autre part on trouve p. 66, comme s'il s'agissait de deux formes différentes: 'uverant, A. 15: to exercise; uveré, A. 135, disposed.'

Nous nous permettons de signaler quelques corrections qui nous paraissent s'imposer:

p. 21, vers 192, pour *le* ciel, lire *el* ciel.

p. 23, v. 237, supprimer 'derichief' (cf. v. 257 plus bas où il est à sa place après le même mot).

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p. 30, v. 6, supprimer *e* (cf. v. 4 où il est à sa place).

p. 33, vv. 135–6, note 4, traduire: regretting their former reasoning (i.e. attitude).

p. 49, v. 466 se relie au vers 465 et se traduit: by which they breathe.

p. 53, v. 623, lire: iii jours i a d'errure.

Nous admettrons charitablement que la forme *nimeins* (p. 17, v. 64) pour *nuneins* est une erreur d'impression.

Les lecteurs français seront tentés d'adresser une reproche à l'University Press de Cambridge, c'est de faire trop beau—et trop cher. Il est vrai que M. Prior s'adresse surtout au public anglais et comme nous sommes convaincus de la justesse de l'idée qui préside à son œuvre, celle d'attirer aux erudits qui s'occupent de l'anglo-normand la collaboration des érudits anglais, nous nous bornerons à louer son entreprise et à lui souhaiter le succès qu'elle mérite.

E. C. Fawtier.

Verneuil-sur-Avre (Eure).

Illustrations to the Life of St Alban in Trin. Coll. Dublin, MS. 3. i. 40. Reproduced in Collotype Facsimile by the care of W. R. L. Lowe and E. F. Jacob with a Description of the Illustrations by M. R. James. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1924. 39 pp. and 54 pl. 42*s*.

In the case of the above work it is difficult to see which is most deserving of praise: the care which Messrs Lowe and Jacob have lavished on the reproduction, the learning of Dr Montague James or the enterprise and beauty of the craft shown by the Clarendon Press.

To all students of the civilisation of thirteenth-century England, whether their main interest be the French language spoken at that time, or the knowledge of social history for which the lives of saints offer so inexhaustible a source, or the history of medieval art, this reproduction of the Dublin MS. is of the very greatest value.

The book comprises an introduction of 39 pages containing a description of the MS. and of the 54 beautiful plates, and Mr Jacob's account of the two plates of John Dunstable's *Hymn to St Alban* from the Modena MS. (Este vi, H. 15).

The monastery of St Albans had no more fertile writer than Matthew Paris who, in addition to his more strictly historical work, is the accredited author of the lives of St Alban, St Edward and the Archbishops of Canterbury St Thomas and St Edmund. Matthew is noted also as a designer and executor of manuscripts. We have the statement that he 'vitas SS. Albani, Thomae et Edmundi conscripsit et depinxit elegantissime.' The beauty of his work so far as St Alban is concerned is now made accessible by this publication; Dr James has published the life of St Edward for the Roxburghe Club (1920), and fragments of the life of St Thomas have been published in heliogravure by the Société des anciens Textes français (ed. P. Meyer, 1885); the MS. of the life of Edmund Rich of Canterbury does not seem to have been preserved, but

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a plain copy of it exists in the Welbeck MS. belonging to the Duke of Portland (see *Modern Language Quarterly*, 1911, p. 476). The writer of the present review has long had an edition ready of this life, and in his paper read before the Royal Society of Literature in February, 1923 (see *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, 1924, p. 141), stated that Matthew Paris in this life of St Edmund declares that he has written the life of Edmund in two languages, i.e. in Latin and French. This statement should decide the authorship of the Latin life of Edmund in *Cotton MS. Julius* D. VI, which Dom Wilfred Wallace in his *Life of St Edmund* (Kegan Paul, 1893) declared to have been written by Eustace, a monk of Christ Church, Canterbury. The truth must be that Matthew, as was indeed his wont, wrote over the story of Eustace, thus making it possible for him to claim the authorship of this life.

In the Dublin MS. the life of St Alban is told in alexandrines and only the rubrics are octosyllabic, whereas the life of Edmund and of Thomas are in lines of eight syllables. The present writer is inclined to think that Matthew did also write the alexandrines, as there are curious deviations in both types of lines which are similar: an excess of enjambement and catalectic lines.

One could wish that exact measurements of the MS. had been given. Dr James calls it a small quarto; Dr Atkinson calls it a quarto 10×7; surely it would be better to give measurements in millimetres of page and of illustration. Such exactness would render comparison possible of MSS. suspected of belonging to a certain monastery. The scriptorium of each monastic house had presumably templates for cutting its parchment, and consequently MSS. of exact similarity of size, other things being equal, might be ascribed to one and the same scriptorium. But one is very disinclined to cavil with a work which is of such great merit, and in which the student of language, the archæologist, the lover of costume and the historian will all find matter of great interest.

A. T. Baker.

Sheffield.

The Translator of Dante. The Life, Work and Friendships of Henry Francis Cary (1772–1844). By R. W. King. London: Martin Secker. 1925. 8vo. 372 pp. 21*s*.

'Mr Cary, the Dante man,' as Charles Lamb called him, 'the mild and modest Cary' portrayed by Thomas Hood, has found a sympathetic and well-equipped biographer. Mr King has given us a scholarly and interesting volume in which Cary himself, one of the least assuming of men, appears as a singularly winning and lovable character from when as a youth he sat at the feet of the 'Swan of Lichfield'—quite a thrilling experience for a young poet, we gather, in spite of what now seem that lady's manifest absurdities—to when, his 'great national

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work' (as Wordsworth called the translation of Dante) completed, he passed away with 'A Word for Bores,' a quaint essay in the manner of Elia. As the sub-title indicates, Cary's somewhat uneventful life was illuminated by notable friendships, the story of his relations with Charles and Mary Lamb being particularly charming. The rather unpleasant episode of the rivalry with Panizzi and Cary's resignation from the British Museum is handled with impartiality by Mr King. He has made a slight slip with respect to Panizzi's early life (p. 261). The first professor of Italian in the University of London did not take part in the rising of the Carbonari in 1820 (which was mainly confined to the kingdom of the Two Sicilies), but was involved in the conspiracy of Modena in 1822; he fled to escape the notorious 'Processo di Rubiera,' and was condemned to death as contumacious. Of the burial in the Poets' Corner in Westminster Abbey, Mr King well says:

> Public opinion at the time certainly endorsed the action of the authorities in giving Cary a place among the immortals; but very few perceived the true significance of the honour paid to this obscure clergyman by the almost fortuitous benevolence of an Archbishop who had always been glad to do anything in reason for a friend. But I think Cary, had he known, would have understood; and he would have been well pleased. For in the casual way in which the national spirit so often goes to work, England, almost unconsciously, was doing honour to Dante in burying among her own great poets the man whom one of them had called 'Dante's English Reincarnation.' To be remembered as the interpreter to Englishmen of Dante and his Italy, this was all the honour Cary wished for. This he has obtained: 'It is an ample fame' (pp. 293-294).

It was largely due to Coleridge that Cary's translation of the *Divina Commedia* captured the reading public of the day. Few, I take it, would now subscribe to the enthusiastic praise of Ruskin: 'If I could only read English, and had to choose, for a library narrowed by poverty, between Cary's Dante and our own original Milton, I should choose Cary without an instant's pause.' But Mr King—in the excellent critical chapter that closes his book—makes abundantly clear how its substantial merits far outweigh its defects, and maintains, not unreasonably, that it is superior to all subsequent attempts to render the poem into English verse. His analysis of the 'learned simplicity of the diction,' emphasised by Coleridge, is particularly good. In the translation of the Ulysses narrative—which Mr King justly singles out for special praise—it is noteworthy that Cary gives a correct rendering of 'diretro al sol' (*Inf.* XXVI, 117), which the majority of subsequent translators have completely misunderstood. Mr King himself, however, is slightly in error when he says that the Greek hero is 'restored to Penelope after all the adventures which followed the fall of Troy' (p. 309). One of the curious features of Dante's version of the story is that Ulysses never returns to Ithaca, but undertakes his last voyage immediately after leaving Circe. We welcome Mr King's book as a valuable contribution to the history of Italian studies in England.

EDMUND G. GARDNER.

LONDON.

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Luis de Leon. A Study of the Spanish Renaissance. By AUBREY F. G. BELL. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1925. 394 pp. 30*s.*

Frère Luis de Leon: Poésies Originales. Traduites et annotées par ADOLPHE COSTER. Chartres: Lester. 1923. v + 58 pp. 12 fr.

Mr Bell has written a most valuable book: it enhances the reputation of its subject. Luis de León was quite recently the subject of a memoir by the late Professor Fitzmaurice-Kelly: in Spain we note the remarkable studies of Fray Gregorio de Santiago Vela, and in France the able researches of M. Adolphe Coster, yet amid all this activity Mr Bell's freshness, humanism and direct observation give his work a peculiar, and for English readers a paramount, interest. We have known for some years—ever since the conclusion of the *Portuguese Literature* and *Bibliography*—that he had devoted himself to the works of the great Augustinian poet, his progress being marked by a brilliant succession of essays on León's friends and contemporaries, Arias Montano, Sepúlveda, el Brocense, and Sigüenza, here collated to form a remarkable picture of the Humanism of Spain. The result of these years of devotion is the publication of the completest and most varied study in English of any Spanish writer. The kernel of the book is the series of renderings of León's original lyrics: but in them and behind them Mr Bell sees the vernacular treatises, behind the Spanish writings the Latin, and in all the life and experience of Luis de León. This leads to some extremely happy observations. For example, the lyrics of Luis de León contain few notes of colour, but they are not therefore colourless (p. 237), for they are suffused with the white light of perfectly blended colours, which are found isolated in the lower temperature of Luis de León's prose; or again, from the contrast between the activity of the poet's life and the apparent passivity of his verse, Mr Bell happily deduces that the latter is not a doctrine of sloth, but an aspiration after the mental calm necessary for a life of action. The poet, professor, humanist, theologian, philosopher and political thinker is seen to be a typical product of the University of Salamanca in its Age of Gold, conditioned by the Ximenesque reform of morals and by the culture of the Spanish Renaissance: nor can a student approach the Siglo de Oro with more pleasure and profit than by following Mr Bell through his chapters on Spain and the Renaissance, Spain and the Reformation, the University of Salamanca, Luis de León in Childhood, Student Years, as Professor, in the Cells of the Inquisition, in his Sure Haven (Portus Quietis), along with his Character and Ideas, his Poetry, his Prose and his Political Thought. The elaborate appendices contain admirable verse-renderings of some of the original lyrics, three bibliographies (I. General bibliography for the Sixteenth Century in Spain and Portugal. II. Works referring to Luis de León. III. Works of Luis de León), a chronological table for the political and cultural history of the Sixteenth Century, a list of the references in Luis de León's works, and an Index of ten pages. Mr Bell has an infallible *flair* for the vivid moments of the dullest documents; he is singularly happy in

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creating an atmosphere. He clothes his facts in the garment of literature, drawing especially on contemporary novels. He has, above all, actually enjoyed Luis de León's poetry, has actually visited the scenes of his life, some of which are recalled for us by the six excellent photographic illustrations here reproduced. Thus we know personally León's companions and foes, the brilliant circle of La Flecha, its table-talk, León's chivalrous partisanship and random suspicions, his haunts and his manners. His birthplace and boyhood are revived in a description of Belmonte, full of charm and a soothing coolness, and another highly wrought page describes his taking off. We need not apologise for quoting the fine description of La Flecha, than which no better commentary exists for the *Descansada Vida* and half a dozen famous passages in the *Nombres de Cristo*:

> By the house a weir sounded perpetually into the night, and a tiny island opposite (now reached through the mill) was wooded with willow and poplar. A beautiful view showed wide reaches of the Tormes, deep blue as living sapphire, with the soft green of hedges of poplar and willow beyond, and far in the distance the faint snows along the summit of the Sierra de Gredos, from which the Tormes flows. A little further along the road, on its other side, was the garden and orchard with its fruit-trees and avenue of vines and planes and a tiny thread of icy water falling. Behind it is a hill (*the* hill: 'del monte en la ladera'), thyme-scented, and on the one side is a glimpse of the blue curve of the Tormes, 'hinchiendo bien sus riberas,' on the other rise the magnificent towers of Salamanca's cathedral and San Esteban, its houses hidden from sight (pp. 135–6).

There is no lack of scholarship in Mr Bell, as all readers of this periodical well know, but his characteristic virtues are rarer and more precious than scholarship. Their value as scholarship and literature has already been recognised in the proposal for a Spanish translation of *Luis de Leon*.

To give a satisfactory critique of this work would require a review of Macaulayan dimensions, so that one must restrict oneself to details. In the orthography, accents have been applied as by Professor Fitzmaurice-Kelly in the *Oxford Book of Spanish Verse*, viz. sparingly before Moratín and then regularly as now prescribed by the Spanish Academy. But there is no resultant norm: *Agostín* but *Martin, Núñez* but *Perez, Alcalá* but *Leon, Córdoba* but *Avila, Alvaro, ordenes menores*. May we humbly petition the *Revista de Filología Española*, which has authority in these matters, to regulate the gap between the accentless middle ages and the too accented present? It would then be more easy to urge our literary press to print more Spanish and less Esperanto in articles on Spanish subjects. The passage on the cultural influence of the Sephardim (p. 34) could have been more emphatic, while it is a little too daring to suggest that the *Quixote* existed in 1585 even as an idea (p. 37). The defence of mortmain (p. 54) is not more than a comparison of evils; the account of humanism and scholasticism in Spain is too conciliatory, for surely there was a battle and a defeat, or, if not, what do Vives' polemics signify? It is a difficult subject for Englishmen, owing to our national willingness to overlook the Spanish evidence; still more difficult and dark is the topic of the

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influence of authoritarianism on science, which Mr Bell does well to raise. The 'black legend' of Spain, which Mr Bell finds in the Cambridge Histories, has been shown by M. E. Martinenche to be a compound of the half-lights and prejudices of French writers of the eighteenth century, and especially of Voltaire, who rejoiced in rash assertions about the Inquisition. Yet the Inquisition was welcome and applauded in Spain, it was considered a safeguard and its censure courted in matters of doubt; while, on the other hand, Spanish thinkers and writers use all boldness, and were more likely to be burned in Geneva or London than in Valladolid. The persecution of the Inquisition affected only 'a group of professors suspected of being of Jewish descent, and of doubting the verbal inspiration of the Vulgate—Luis de León, Grajal, Martínez, Gudiel, Sigüenza, Arias Montano' (p. 50), and its 'persecution of Santa Teresa, San Juan de la Cruz, Juan de Ávila (arrested in 1532), Mariana, Fray Luis de Granada, and a few more was not of a very serious nature' (p. 57). But what a list for piety and learning! What was the cost of 'persecution' in the warping of a noble nature through apprehension, bitterness and blind suspicion we learn from León's case (pp. 139–40). The mischief of fundamentalism in Salamanca, Aberdeen or Tennessee is that it empowers the clerical mass to impose mediocrity, and the Inquisition effectively armed the mass minds of León de Castro and the other accusers of Luis de León. That authoritarianism imposes mediocrity may be inferred from the preface of the *Nombres de Cristo*, which would have been worthy of the *Areopagitica* had it dared to complete its first syllogism. The case of Luis de León is the more worthy of attention in that his genius is not speculative but expository. But, wherever the truth lies, the Voltairean *légende noire* can no longer pass among us for scholarship.

An attentive examination of Mr Bell's translations, collated with M. Adolphe Coster's prose renderings, raises the suspicion that of the best and most lucid of Spanish poets we have as yet neither (1) the canon, nor (2) a chronology, nor (3) a text, nor (4) an interpretation. M. Coster's conclusions follow too soon after an important series of discoveries of bibliography and sources, and he seems to us to ride his evidence too hard. The canon of the lyrics has always been nearly perfect; we doubt whether M. Coster is right in rejecting *Del Mundo y su Vanidad*, and the authenticity of recently discovered pieces is, no doubt, still *sub judice*. The chronology is more difficult. A manuscript of the Escorial contains the *Descansada Vida* without the most characteristically 'Leonine' verses, which are added in the margin by another hand (a glance at the facsimile does not make that as clear to me as to M. Coster). The French critic will have it that the poem refers to the retirement of Charles the Fifth to Yuste in 1557. Yet he accepts the last verse:

> A la sombra tendido,
> de yedra y lauro eterno coronado,
> puesto el atento oído
> al són dulce, acordado,
> del plectro sabiamente meneado,

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of which the plain prose is: 'I (the speaker) wish to devote myself to contemplative poetry in a company of musicians.' Was that the motive that León would dare to presume for Charles the Fifth? It is surely autobiographical. Similarly, one who has enjoyed the poem, and noticed how much of his pleasure depends on the detail of the contrast between the picture of the contemplative life (the *granja* of La Flecha) and that of the man of the world (described as a sea voyage and shipwreck), will surely consider that, if the additional verses are not by Luis de León, they must be by a greater than León, which is impossible in Spanish poetry. It is not necessary to delay the poem *De la Avaricia* until after the Spanish conquest of Portugal, simply on account of its Portuguese allusions and the epithet 'amiga' applied to the Moluccas. Salamanca had many Portuguese students and maintained friendly professorial relations with Coimbra, while any land is 'friendly' to man when it is fertile. Again, the harshly conventional *Nacimiento de Tomasina* and the deeply personal *Noche Serena* need not be classified together simply on account of a common interest in Ptolemaic astrology; both may be indebted to Barrientos' commentary on the *Somnium Scipionis* without that fact authorising any deduction more than that they are both later than 1570. The poem *Del Conocimiento de Sí Mismo* dates itself:

diez años ha que soy convaleciente,

but what was the illness? M. Coster considers that the illness was the world, shed on profession in the Augustinian order, and that this remarkably mature poem was composed by a poet of twenty-four summers. Mr Bell does not pronounce clearly (p. 240) on the chronology of Luis de León's lyrics, but shows an evident desire to postdate as far as possible evidently mature poems. Was Luis de León a poet of fluctuating inspiration, as in M. Coster's chronology, or is there a progressive acquirement of mastery? The documents do not seem to me so conclusive as to exclude the possibility of a closer conformity between aesthetic values and chronology. The classical translations are admittedly immature and the work of a student, and next them one sets the biblical renderings. Certain poems, of an objective cast of thought and making no advance on the style of Garcilaso, deal with national history, occasional subjects, and moral commonplaces; they are strongly marked by the influence of Horace, are of unequal value, but rise to the perfection of form but not of thought in poems addressed to Portocarrero between 1568–72. The poems of persecution refer to the imprisonment of 1572–6. In the last place there are poems of reconciliation, in which the influence of Horace is evident still, but his objectivity abandoned: they are subjective, and aspire to calm and rest after sufferings, with a strong tinge of neo-Platonism. It seems very hard to place these poems before the imprisonment or the objective ones after, for León's experience during five years cannot have failed to influence his attitude towards the problem of human malice and evil.

For his text Mr Bell cites the *Oxford Book of Spanish Verse* whenever possible, but frequently follows quite different readings. M. Coster's

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researches into sources sometimes explain phrases that are doubtful in the Castilian (e.g. 'de Leda el parto'—'Ledae filii'), and both translators notably advance the exegesis of the poems. It is still, however, possible to give different renderings of a line or phrase, e.g. 'do no podrá subir la postrer llama' (*A Grial*), or the variants 'Liceo' and 'Lyeo' in *La cana y alta cumbre*, entitled once by Mr Bell (p. 240) *La calva y alta cumbre*.

WILLIAM J. ENTWISTLE.

GLASGOW.

Heldendichtung, Geistlichendichtung, Ritterdichtung. Von HERMANN SCHNEIDER. (*Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*, herausg. von ALBERT KÖSTER und JULIUS PETERSEN, I.) Heidelberg: C. Winter. 8vo. xvi + 532 pp. 20 M.

Within the last decade two complete histories of Old High German literature have made their appearance, the one by G. Ehrismann, 1918, the other by H. von Unwerth and Th. Siebs, 1920. These were followed in 1922 by the first sections of two presentations of Middle High German literature planned on very large lines, by G. Ehrismann, who, so far, has only covered the Early Middle High German period, and by F. Vogt, whose work extends to the early lyric of knighthood ('Minnesangs Frühling'), and the pre-classical and classical epic of the 'Blütezeit.' Under these circumstances the question may be asked, was there sufficient room and justification for another history of these periods?

Professor Schneider's book forms the first part of a comprehensive history of German literature, the planning and distribution of which amongst a number of collaborators is due to the Leipzig professor A. Köster, who died shortly before the present volume appeared. He desired, as the 'Gedenkwort' by the new general editor, J. Petersen, informs us (p. v), that:

> das Werk kein blosser Leitfaden oder Grundriss werden, sondern auch darstellerische Reize anstreben soll. Am liebsten haben wir uns als Lesepublikum die Welt der Studierenden gedacht und alle diejenigen, die nach einer erhöhten Bildung streben. Vor dem allgemeinen kulturellen Hintergrunde soll sich das literarische Leben der einzelnen Epochen im Bilde abspielen, wobei natürlich die Literatur, die künstlerische Zwecke verfolgt, durchaus im Vordergrunde steht.

The wisdom which led Köster to select Professor Schneider as the writer of the first volume of this ambitious undertaking is to be applauded. For it must be said at once—and here lies the answer to our question—that Schneider combines simplicity and perfect lucidity of style with remarkable independence of judgment. In short, he has written a book inspired by a deep and sincere love for his subject, and based on sound historical and philological knowledge. It is a thoroughly trustworthy and, at the same time, attractive guide to students and those 'die nach einer erhöhten Bildung streben.' And it is also a welcome gift to the

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academic teacher, who will find in it more than one new and stimulating point of view. The author has made throughout a judicious use of the literature on the subject and gives an excellent presentation of the political and cultural background, which provided the possibility or, at least, a strong impulse for the creation of new literary forms.

One might have expected that Professor Schneider, to whom we are indebted for many valuable contributions to the history of the 'Heldendichtung,' would have yielded to the temptation of laying a disproportionate stress on this aspect of the literature, as for instance Kelle overcharged his history of Old High German literature with his personal predilections; but this is not the case. Schneider treats with complete impartiality everything, whether it be the poetry of laymen (*scop* and minstrel), of monks in the early days, or of the knights in the 'Blütezeit'; even the period when German poetry appeared only in Latin dress or that of the decadence of knightly poetry after 1250, receives its full measure of attention. Thus the balance and harmony are nowhere disturbed.

In his Preface, Schneider emphasises the right of the literary historian to subjective judgment. It is interesting to see how he exercises this right in acting as an apologist for some poets who have usually received scant or only qualified praise. I think of his appreciation of the original *Muspilli*-poet (pp. 73 f.), and more particularly of the author of the Old Saxon *Genesis* (pp. 81–83), an estimate with which I fully agree. On the other hand, I cannot help feeling that the literary model of the latter poet, the author of the *Heliand*, has been treated somewhat too severely. Finally, I would refer to the unstinted praise of the art and aesthetic aims of Gottfried von Strassburg, where, however, Schneider has a predecessor in F. Vogt, *op. cit.*, pp. 316 ff. On the other hand, there is his severe judgment on Ulrich von Lichtenstein, pp. 429 ff. Certain limitations are imposed on Schneider's book (Preface, p. xii) by the plan of Volume II of the series. Thus the 'bürgerliche' literature, in spite of the promising beginnings in the thirteenth century (*Meier Helmbrecht*), is ignored; nor is there any description of the short tale in verse or the beginnings of the German drama. The rise of a literary German prose in this century is only occasionally touched upon, as well as the re-awakening of religious poetry about and after 1250 (cp. pp. 302 ff.).

To A. W. Schlegel, Schneider owes his three keywords: 'Heldendichtung, Geistlichendichtung, Ritterdichtung,' under which he groups his material simply and lucidly. In accordance with this plan, Book I deals in three chapters with the 'Vorliterarische Dichtung.' Here the 'Heldendichtung' is the centre round which the pre-literary poetical expression is grouped; it is the only poetical form of the period of which we have a reasonably clear and living idea, and the only form which played an integral part in later German literature. New and suggestive is Schneider's view of the original composition of the *Hildebrandslied*. He holds that it goes back as far as the seventh century, and that a High German Spielmann some time before 800 gave in great measure the originally Bavarian (?) lay its extraordinarily mixed form—one of our

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greatest philological puzzles—with a view to popularising it in Low Germany. This is at any rate a workable hypothesis. Some Anglo-Saxon traces in the formation of letters in the only existing copy do not justify the theory of Anglo-Saxon influence; for they throw, of course, no light on the nationality of the scribes at Fulda about 815 (pp. 38 and 470 f., i.e. the notes (pp. 465–515) which discuss, besides the literature on the subject, several interesting points supplementary to the text). In his discussion of other poetic forms of this period (pp. 3–12), Schneider shows admirable caution and restraint. It is pleasing to see that he maintains 'Liebeslied' to be the original meaning of the much disputed 'winileod,' and that he holds to the original view of the *Merseburger Charms* being of heathen origin (pp. 46, 472). To the literature on the Charms should be added F. Wrede, *Zu den Merseburger Zaubersprüchen* (*Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie*, XIV, 1923, p. 85).

Book II, 'Geistlichendichtung (Althochdeutsche und frühmittelhochdeutsche Zeit),' consists of six chapters, of which the last gives an account of the 'Spielmannsepik.' This is included here because the 'book-epic' of the clerics prepared the way for it, but as Schneider points out, it does not owe its origin to translations (cp. the *Alexanderlied* and *Rolandslied*), nor to mere aggregations like the *Mittelfränkische Legendar* or *Kaiserchronik*, but it grew organically, like most of the 'Heldenepen,' from older short lays. As an exception to this mode of growth, Schneider quotes (p. 187) *Herzog Ernst*, the origin of which he would like to place in Bavaria. For several reasons I would rather think of the Brunswick court of Henry the Lion. Of the many other valuable points in this book, I would only call attention to the characterisation of Otfrid (pp. 83–92): 'Er ist der erste lebendige Mensch, den uns unsere ältere Literaturgeschichte kennen lehrt, und einer der liebenswürdigsten'; and to the excellent general account of 'Das Zeitalter der Weltflucht' (pp. 122–144), where Schneider incidentally (p. 144) refutes the exaggerated claims of 'sprachmelodische Forschung.'

Book III, 'Ritterdichtung (Mittelhochdeutsche Blütezeit),' a good half of the work, comprises eleven chapters, of which the first two and the last form a valuable framework to the rest. The former describe the historical and social background which made the poetry of the knights, both epic and lyric, possible; they show us also the poets at work, the production and distribution of the mediaeval book, the activity of the scribes, and the audience before whom the epics, or parts of them, were recited, and the songs sung. The last chapter clearly sums up the various aspects of the astonishingly rich poetical life of the great period, and ends with an outlook on the 'bürgerliche' period of the succeeding centuries. Within this framework the great literary and aesthetic movements of the age of chivalry are dealt with: the 'vorklassische, klassische und nachklassische Epos'; the 'Heldenepos' so richly tinged by the colours of chivalry—in this chapter is especially to be noticed Schneider's views on *Kudrun* and on *Ortnit* and the *Wolfdietrich* (A) epics (pp. 351–359); the lyric ('Vagantendichtung, Minnesang und Spruchdichtung'), preceded (pp. 371–384) by interesting sections on the

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political, social and religious conditions in south-western Europe, which, together with the influence from Arabic Spain, called to life the troubadour lyric; on the differences between that lyric and the German Minnesang; and criticism of the Liederhandschriften, our principal sources of this poetry, etc. I can only dwell on a few points. In dealing with the Kyot question (pp. 280 f.), Schneider assumes that Wolfram's source, beside Chrestien's *Conte del Graal*, was an entirely lost and unknown poem, from which he took the oriental conception of the Gral and the genealogy of the Gral company; but which could hardly have contained the life of Parzival, possibly, indeed, no Parzival at all. I confess that I find it difficult to reconstruct a continuous story with Gahmuret, Herzeloyde, Titurel, Amfortas, Feirefiz[1], but no Parzival. I prefer to think that Wolfram, interested in everything and especially in fantastic and semi-learned matters, obtained from knightly visitors (Anglo-Normans among them), pilgrims, chaplains, physicians (Moorish Jews?) at the Eisenach and Wildenberg courts sufficient material to allow him, together with literary reminiscences (Veldeke, Eilhart?), to create what goes beyond Chrestien's *Perceval* fragment in his work. But whatever Wolfram's source (or sources) outside of Chrestien may have been, he took the secret of it with him to his grave. We must be satisfied at present to have a stratum of antique-oriental elements distinguished from one of Celtic-French elements (cp. also F. Vogt, *op. cit.*, p. 277). I conclude my survey by drawing attention to the chapter on the 'altheimische Minnesang,' that is, the early lyrics of the knights (pp. 385–389). Their originality and independence of Romance songs is stoutly maintained[2], and a much greater influence of this poetry on Walther (p. 409), Neidhart (p. 419), Hiltbold von Schoengau and Neifen (p. 451) is claimed than is usually conceded. Schneider's characterisation of the 'höfische Dorfpoesie' is also admirable, and the direct influence of its chief representative, Neidhart, on the poets of his own and later times, is carefully estimated (pp. 416–422).

R. PRIEBSCH.

LONDON.

Die deutsche Literatur der Aufklärungszeit. Von ALBERT KÖSTER. Heidelberg: C. Winter. 1925. xi + 298 pp. 10 M.

The death of Albert Köster is a great loss to German literary scholarship. His valuable work on Schiller's activity as a translator and adapter of foreign dramas, *Schiller als Dramaturg* (1891), is a classic; a 'Programm' on *Die allgemeinen Tendenzen der Geniebewegung* (1913) was most stimulating in its new outlook upon this important chapter of

[1] That Wolfram well understood the meaning of this name is clear from the words of Kundrie (*Parz.*, 317, 9): 'jâst beidiu swarz unde blanc | der künegin sun von Zazamanc.

[2] Classical (Ovidian) influences are now suggested by J. Schwietering, *Einwirkung der Antike auf die Entstehung des frühen Minnesangs* (*Zeitschrift für deutsche Altertum*, LXI, 1924, pp. 61 ff., and especially 75 f. Their presence is doubtful in the earlier poets (Kürenberg, etc.), but we miss a word about them in Schneider's treatment of Heinrich von Morungen's art, pp. 398 ff.

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German literature; and an edition of Schönaich's *Neologisches Wörterbuch* (1906) showed Köster to have been equally at home in the 'Barockzeit.' The present work was to be part of a larger *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*, planned in 1906, of which the first volume to appear has been reviewed in the preceding pages. More capable hands to undertake the literary history of the eighteenth century could scarcely have been found. Only five chapters were completed at the author's death, and these are published by the new editor, Julius Petersen, upon whom the continuation of the history now devolves. Köster's five chapters, to which are appended the 'Programm' referred to above, take us from the reforms of Gottsched, 'who attempted to systematise German literature on the basis of Wolffian philosophy,' to the losing fight of the expiring 'Aufklärung' with the new forces which Herder had set in motion. They thus present a connected story of the development of German letters during most of the eighteenth century, and there is little sign of broken threads or missing transitions.

It is evident that the main directives of German literature have long been settled; the field has been worked over so often that it can yield little that is new. And perhaps it is the striving to be original at all costs that has misled so many modern German critics to present literature as a philosophy rather than as an art. Köster's book is singularly free from any such confusing tendencies: he does indeed present the problems with their cultural and philosophic background, he emphasises, as is the modern wont, the history of ideas rather than the development of single authors, but nowhere does he descend to mere 'Begriffsspielerei,' we are spared disquisitions on the 'Polarität' of this or that author. The literary interest predominates, as it should, throughout. Moreover, we find in this work of Köster's that virtue of form (rare in German scholarly work) which we in England like to associate with literary criticism. Köster's presentation of his subject is often a work of art in itself: his style is clear-cut and vivid, the book is a joy to read. He has perhaps no striking discovery to record, but his forceful presentation of old facts is striking; he was obviously a man of large culture and wide reading and had absorbed the spirit of the eighteenth century to a remarkable degree. The book is full of good things; of brilliant *aperçus* which open up new vistas to the reader, jog his memory or sharpen his gaze. He is singularly free from literary or political prejudice: 'Wir Deutschen sehen seit Generationen jene klassische Kunst der Franzosen durch die Brille, die uns Lessings Kritik aufgesetzt hat. Das muss überwunden werden.' His summing up of Gellert as a 'lascivious nature' who found it hard to mortify the flesh, explains much of the questionable subject-matter of *Die schwedische Gräfin* and some of the Fables. He brings out very clearly the pusillanimity of the 'Bremer Beiträger,' shows that their secession from Gottsched was only half-hearted and that they were not the daring innovators that is sometimes supposed, that, in fact, they only published the first cantos of the *Messias* in their journal after much hesitation and considerable trepidation as to the result. On the other hand, Lessing hardly comes in for

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his fair share of attention; as the chief 'Aufklärer' of Germany he deserved more than a bare forty pages (out of 298) in a book professedly devoted to the movement. The lack of a bibliography is due no doubt to the unfinished state of the work; it is all the more to be deplored as the author must have cast his net widely: his constant references to painting, to music, to architecture, to social problems, show him to have been thoroughly at home in the cultural setting of the period. His reference to 'das neue Reizmittel des Kaffes' as being partly responsible for the morbid sentimentality of the age is distinctly suggestive. That the use of the drug was taken seriously by the eighteenth century is proved by Bach's famous Coffee Cantata or Goethe's condemnation of the beverage in his correspondence with Frau von Stein. It is most instructive and, for the Germans, surely a source of consolation, to reflect with Köster that in the eighteenth century 'Die Musik war an Ausdrucksfähigkeit ihrer Schwester, der Poesie, um mehr als ein Menschenalter vorausgeeilt.' The book is indeed full of such suggestive phrases: 'Ramler ist während seines ganzen Lebens ein Hemmschuh gewesen'; 'Lessings feines Rapier hat sich in der Faust des norddeutschen Draufgängers (J. H. Voss) in einen derben Eichenknüppel verwandelt.' It deserves a place on the shelves of every lover of German literature.

L. A. WILLOUGHBY.

SHEFFIELD.

SHORT NOTICES.

Dr Ewald Rothstein's dissertation, *Die Wortstellung in der Peterborough Chronik mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des dritten Teils gegenüber den beiden ersten in Bezug auf den Sprachübergang von der Synthese zur Analyse* (*Studien zur englischen Philologie*, LXIV. Halle: M. Niemeyer, 1922. viii + 108 pp.), is exceedingly thorough and painstaking. Its scope is fully indicated in the title; but it is only when one has examined its pages filled with columns of statistics, that one can form an adequate notion of the almost terrifying amount of labour that its deceased author has put into his work. Many of Dr Rothstein's calculations are interesting, as well as valuable as examples of mathematical precision. For instance, he tells us that in Parts I and II of the *Peterborough Chronicle* (c. III, 7–31) there are 261 'headed' sentences ('Sätze mit Spitze,' i.e., beginning with an adverb or adverbial clause) and 272 'unheaded' sentences. The statistics relating to the absence and presence of inversion in these two classes of sentences are as follows: I. 'Unheaded' sentences: Direct order (uninverted), 267 (= 98·2 °/₀); Inverted, 5 (= 1·8 °/₀). II. 'Headed' sentences: Direct order, 58 (= 22·2 °/₀); Inverted, 203 (= 77·8 °/₀). But for Part III of the *Chronicle*, written only a generation later in the N.E. Midland dialect, the statistics are as follows: I. 'Unheaded' sentences: Direct order, 78 (= 87·6 °/₀); Inverted, 11 (= 12·4 °/₀). II. 'Headed' sentences: Direct order, 25 (= 33⅓ °/₀); Inverted, 50 (= 66⅔ °/₀). The general results arrived at by Dr Rothstein are

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very much what one might have expected, but it is useful to have them worked out with such meticulous care. Though only about a generation intervenes between the earlier and later part of the *Chronicle*, the latter shows a very decided approximation to the normal order of words. This is apparent in the decrease of inversion in sentences beginning with an adverb or adverbial phrase; in what the author terms 'the linguistic transition from a synthesis of the members of the sentence based upon the order of perception to an analysis which arranges them in logical order'; and in the manifest tendency towards a regular and fixed order in the arrangement of the logical predicates, particularly in the position of the objects in relation to the verb.

S. J. C.

A Huguenot refugee, Claude de Sainliens, settled in England about 1568, anglicised his name to Claudius Hollyband and took pupils in French and Italian. For their benefit he published a series of English and French Dialogues, modelled on the famous Latin dialogues of Vives, and representing very vividly scenes of the English life of the day. He was followed by another Frenchman, Peter Erondell ('Hirondelle'), whose *French Garden: for English Ladyes and Gentlewomen to walke in* (1605) carried the reader into higher social circles than those to which he had been introduced by Hollyband. Miss M. St Clare Byrne has had a happy idea in drawing on these dialogues of Hollyband and Erondell for the pictures of school-life, home-life, shopping etc. which she gives us in *The Elizabethan Home* (The Hazelwood Books. London: Fredk. Etchells and Hugh Macdonald. xiv+95 pp. 12*s.*6*d.*). The book, illustrated by cuts taken from the Roxburghe Ballads, is beautifully produced, the Introduction, Bibliographical Note and Glossary give the dialogues a scholarly setting, and the dialogues themselves are so skilfully contrived as to present a tableau of school- and home-life in Elizabethan times perhaps unique in its vivid actuality.

G. C. M. S.

In his *Shakespeare in France: Criticism. Voltaire to Victor Hugo* (London: Published for the Shakespeare Association by H. Milford, 1925. viii + 170 pp. 10*s.* 6*d.*) Mr C. M. Haines has given us a book which is a pleasure to read. He has not, it is true, brought forward any new facts of importance, nor has he taken much trouble to scrutinise and verify those he found recorded by his predecessors; but it is hardly the business of a prize essay—and the present work was awarded the Harness prize at Cambridge in 1922—to concern itself with meticulous problems of research. Mr Haines has little to say of the earliest knowledge of Shakespeare in France, although there is still a good deal of interest to glean. He accepts, for instance, too readily Jusserand's claim that the manuscript entry in the catalogue of the King's Library by Nicolas Clément is a testimony to seventeenth-century interest in Shakespeare; it is merely a repetition of a statement which occurs in a review of Collier's *Short View* in the *Mémoires de Trévoux* of April 1704. The article in the *Journal littéraire* was not written by De La Roche. It might have been well, too, to reconsider the stereotyped assertions concerning

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Voltaire's indebtedness to Shakespeare in his plays. The question of *Zaïre* was discussed recently in these pages, and it can hardly be said that the ghost of Ninus is 'derived obviously from *Hamlet*.' Mr Haines is not, however, concerned with Shakespeare imitations, but with Shakespeare criticism. But it is sometimes difficult, as he realises when he comes to Ducis, to keep the two aspects of Shakespeare in France apart. On the later Romantic period, when the relations of French literature to Shakespeare become more complicated, he might have said a great deal more; but his estimates of individual criticisms, as Guizot's, are excellent. His book may be recommended as an inviting introduction to a subject of serious interest to students both of French and English literature.

The fortunes of *Othello in France* (*Bibliothèque de la Revue de littérature comparée*, vol. XXI. Paris, É. Champion. viii + 197 pp. 15 fr.) are the subject of a careful piece of academic research by Miss Margaret Gilman. No other Shakespearean drama provides better opportunities for a study of this kind. *Othello* has left an interesting trail behind it on the literature of France—including one great name, De Vigny's—and still more on the music of the nineteenth century. In view of this, and of its essentially Latin theme and character, it is of some psychological interest why it should not have enjoyed greater popularity in France—'as a stage production it has met,' Miss Gilman tells us, 'with the greatest resistance'—than has been the case. Thus her investigation opens up wider avenues of comparative study which might be worthy of further exploration. Her general conclusion is that 'on the whole, the prose translations of *Othello* are as satisfactory as one could hope for,' but 'the poetical translations have been only moderately accurate and in general none too poetic.'

J. G. R.

In *The History of John Bull* (Amsterdam: H. J. Paris, 1925. iv + 250 pp.), Dr H. Teerink has for the first time reprinted the famous pamphlets in the form in which they appeared in 1712, and prefaced them with a searching investigation into their character and authorship, written in admirable English. He finds that part of the work was written before December 1711, but that new material was introduced into pamphlets 2, 3, 4, and that pamphlet 5 was entirely new. The pamphlets were published on March 6, March 18, April 17, May 9 and July 31, 1712. On the greatly disputed question of authorship, Dr Teerink finds that there is hardly a page which does not show some trace of Swift's hand, and in spite of his definite assertions of Arbuthnot's authorship, it is probable that Arbuthnot did no more than suggest the idea of the work, and that its execution must be assigned to Swift.

G. C. M. S.

Students of Defoe and Swift will learn much from W. Gückel's and E. Günther's investigation, *D. Defoes und J. Swifts Belesenheit und literarische Kritik* (*Palaestra*, CXLIX. Leipzig: Mayer und Müller, 1925.

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117 pp. 9 M.). Dr Gückel had begun the work on Defoe when he met his death on the battlefield in March 1918: his task was completed and the work on Swift added by Dr Günther. The sections on the reading of the two writers are carefully and skilfully put together: they give us not merely a list of the books which there is reason to think Defoe or Swift had read, but the reader's judgment of the books wherever it is expressed. In the case of phrases like *vinum dæmonum* (also used by Bacon in his Essay *Of Truth*), *ex traduce, in foro conscientiæ, quinta essentia*, though original sources are given, it is admitted that Swift may have got them from common usage. There are some mis-renderings of English titles, e.g., 'G. Buckingham' (as the author of *The Rehearsal*) p. 49, 'Lord F. Bacon' p. 55, 'des Herzogs W. Hamilton' p. 58; and the author of the paper on Dean Swift's Library should surely be 'Le Fanu,' not 'Fanu' (p. 41 and *passim*). The highly compressed chapters on the literary criticisms of Defoe and Swift are of interest, but that on Swift is vitiated by the mingling of Swift's serious statements with others which their context would show are purely ironical.

G. C. M. S.

Years ago, the late Oswald Külpe expressed to me his surprise that we in England should be so strangely indifferent to our rich eighteenth-century literature on æsthetics and literary theory; even still no publisher has been venturesome enough to supply us with a series of reprints of such works. Our German colleagues have seen their opportunity. In 1920 Professor Hans Hecht gave us a handy reprint of Daniel Webb's *Remarks on the Beauties of Poetry* (1762), with an excellent introduction of over fifty pages (Hamburg: H. Grand), and now Dr H. M. Flasdieck of the University of Göttingen has published, if not a reprint, an analysis of the Rev. John Brown's *Dissertation on Poetry and Music* (1764) (Halle: M. Niemeyer, 1924. viii + 145 pp. 5 M.), preceded by a judicious account of Brown's other work, which has been hampered a little by the author being unable to visit the British Museum when writing it. The analysis, to which are appended extracts from the criticism of the work in the *Monthly Review*, is excellently done, and will lighten the labour of the student. Dr Flasdieck does not concern himself, any more than Professor Hecht in his edition of Webb, with the investigation of sources. He is, indeed, at some pains to justify his omission; the significance of the *Dissertation*, he holds, does not lie in the rightness or wrongness of niggling details; but in its large deductions, its theory of the common origin of song, verse and dance; in its application of the comparative method and of ethnology to the interpretation of primitive poetry. These are the thoughts, which, passing on to Herder, became factors in the new European outlook on literary origins and literary evolution. It may not matter much whether Brown drew for this or that detail from Scaliger or Vossius; but the genesis of the big ideas is surely an important matter. Something, for instance, might have been said on Brown's indebtedness for his basic idea to the chapter on Religion in Lafitau's remarkable work, *Mœurs*

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des sauvages amériquains, comparées aux mœurs des premiers temps (1724), which is quoted at length by Brown in his third section; and again, he could hardly have been ignorant of Batteux. For the student of purely English æsthetic ideas Brown's anti-Shaftesbury polemic is of greater importance than the *Dissertation*. A study of Shaftesbury's share in English æsthetic thought is, it might be added, a crying need; as matters stand, we are much better informed about his influence in Germany. On p. 43, in a note to the section of Dr Flasdieck's book dealing with Brown's two plays there is an odd slip in a writer who has so thorough a knowledge of our literature: *The Way of the World* is attributed to Otway.

J. G. R.

Boswell wrote his *Life of Johnson* by the aid of the Notebooks in which day by day he had recorded Johnson's sayings and anecdotes told of him. These Notebooks were for the most part destroyed by Boswell's family after his death. One fortunately escaped and is now in the possession of Mr R. B. Adam of Buffalo. By Mr Adam's permission this has now been edited by a distinguished Johnsonian (who is content to sign the Preface with the mere initials 'R. W. C.') as *Boswell's Note Book 1776–1777, recording particulars of Johnson's early life and communicated by him and others in those years. Now first published from the unique original in the collection of R. B. Adam, Esq., with the corresponding passages from the first edition of the life printed on opposite pages* (London: H. Milford, 1925. xxv + 63 pp. 3*s.* 6*d.*). It is needless to say that the Editor does his work to perfection and that the little book gives us a surprising insight into Boswell's literary methods.

G. C. M. S.

Dr Paget Toynbee has edited, as few but he *can* edit, the *Reminiscences Written by Mr Horace Walpole in 1788 for the amusement of Miss Mary and Miss Agnes Berry*, giving the text for the first time without excisions. To this work he has added Walpole's *Notes of Conversations with Lady Suffolk*, never printed before, the 'Notes' being to a large extent the source of the 'Reminiscences.' The quarto (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924. 176 pp. 7*s.* 6*d.*), of which 500 copies have been printed, is a delight to the eye and contains beautifully executed reproductions of George Dance's drawing of Walpole and Jervas's painting of Lady Suffolk.

G. C. M. S.

Mr Benjamin Bissell gives a useful and readable account of a side-track of literature in his study *The American Indian in English Literature of the Eighteenth Century* (*Yale Studies in English*, LXVIII. London: H. Milford, 1925. x + 223 pp. $2). The Indian is depicted now as a monster of cruelty, now as a model of stoical endurance, now as the Noble Savage to whom civilized man is but a foil. We see him in his native wilds; we see him brought over to London to plead his wrongs

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to the English Government. The literature which deals with him is not generally of a high order; but it was worth while to bring its pictures into a single gallery.

G. C. M. S.

One may well discuss together *The Letters of Thomas Gray. A Selection*, edited by John Beresford (*World's Classics*. London: H. Milford, 1923. 2*s*.), and *Selected Letters of Charles Lamb*, edited by G. T. Clapton (*English Classics*. London: Methuen and Co., 1925. 2*s*.). Mr Beresford's selection of 221 letters includes about one half of Gray's surviving correspondence. He indicates, in his brief introduction, some of the characteristics illustrated in the letters and draws special attention to passages which seem to him to refute Sir Edmund Gosse's criticism that Gray 'misses, in common with most men of his time, the one great charm of the literary character at its best, namely, enthusiasm for excellence in contemporaries.' For this lack of enthusiasm Gosse is inclined to blame the chilly air of the eighteenth century, just as Arnold blamed it for his failure to 'speak out.' Although Mr Beresford proves, what few would deny, that Gray's opinions of his contemporaries often show discrimination and insight, he hardly succeeds in proving that he is enthusiastic about many of them. Like all good letter-writers, Gray betrays his moods to his friends; and it seems doubtful whether a man, who was so often the prey of low spirits, 'the prettiest insipid company in the world,' would have been an enthusiast in any age. When he analyses his own temperament he notices not only 'a sensibility to what others feel,' but also a 'love of truth and detestation of everything else.'

Mr Clapton's selection contains fifty admirably chosen letters of Charles Lamb. Nearly half the volume is occupied by the Introduction and Notes. Lamb once wrote to Coleridge: '"Tis the privilege of friendship to talk nonsense, and to have her nonsense respected.' His whimsical fancy would have been diverted by the anticipation of his 'nonsense' being elucidated in an annotated edition; but Mr Clapton has used his knowledge with so much skill and sympathy that he has avoided the pitfalls of pedantry. His notes are pertinent and concise. Especially welcome are the details of Lamb's friends, such as Dyer and Manning, who, through the letters, have become friends of our own.

E. B.

Dr Kurt Horn of Danzig, in the course of preparing his *Studien zum dichterischen Entwicklungsgange D. G. Rossettis* (*Normannia*, v, 1909), came into personal touch with the poet's brother. He has now published a careful critical study of the latter in *William Michael Rossetti: sein Leben und sein Werk* (*Zeitschrift für französischen und englischen Unterricht*, XXIII, 1924).

G. C. M. S.

Professor Karl Wildhagen deserves the thanks of Englishmen for his study, *Der englische Volkscharakter: seine natürlichen und historischen*

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Grundlagen (Leipzig: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft, 1925. viii + 224 pp. 4 M. 50). His wide reading and exact historical knowledge are combined with a discriminating sympathy, and give him an insight into our national character such as few foreigners have possessed. He holds that that character has persisted since the fourteenth century: that its main marks are energy of will or pushfulness, the craving for social bonds, 'ein Wille zur Gemeinschaft,' and an understanding of reality—practicality and a disposition to compromise. For the causes which have produced this character the author turns to the struggles in which Englishmen had to engage in early times against external enemies and internal tyranny, and to the influences exerted by the sea, by an insular position, by sports, and by Calvinism. By quotations from Fitzstephen's description of London in the twelfth century he shows the love of sports of different kinds of the Englishman of that age, and he does not allow, as some have contended, that Calvinism had the effect of completely changing the English character. He writes very sensibly and fairly on the charge of 'cant' which has been the favourite weapon of hostile critics. No two people will absolutely agree as to the predominant features of the national character—still less as to the causes which have produced them; some may think that the last fifty years have changed it essentially; but no estimate is likely to come nearer to the truth than Dr Wildhagen's. I could only wish that he had tempered the charge of 'brutality' (seen in a fondness for dangerous games and the cockfighting, bear-baiting, etc., of the past) by some acknowledgement of the kind treatment of animals which, I believe, is a national characteristic, the early abolition of duelling, and the readiness with which Britons 'forget and forgive.'

G. C. M. S.

German schoolmasters are now required to give as practical a turn as possible to their Modern Language teaching and consequently to deal with the contemporary phenomena of foreign literatures, rather than with the classics of the past. They have complained that in this new direction of their work, they have received little help from the Universities. It is to remove this reproach that Professor H. Spies of Greifswald has written *Kultur und Sprache im neuen England* (Leipzig: G. B. Teubner, 1925. xvi + 216 pp. 6 M.). Professor Spies has studied contemporary phenomena in England, especially as reflected in novels and newspapers, with great care, he has a sharp eye for new turns of speech, and he has mastered the literature of his subject. The result is a book which will serve its purpose excellently, and which contains little that an Englishman can pick holes in, and much that he will find instructive. The tone, if not warmly sympathetic, which would be too much to expect, is to a high degree objective. I doubt, however, if the founding of the Entente cordiale in 1904 (p. 34) had any special influence on our literature or language. Probably French writers were more read in the 'eighties and 'nineties than they have been lately. The word 'innuendo generally implies some hidden malice, so that the account of it on p. 190

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is hardly correct. I should like German schoolmasters to know that the proposal for a uniform Grammatical Terminology (p. 112), i.e., for making English grammar as much like Latin grammar as possible, has now lost the support of the English Association. Professor Spies makes a slip in speaking of Lord Morley of Blackburn as 'Lord John Morley' (p. 138), in giving the place of Sir Sidney Lee's address as the 'East India College,' instead of the 'East London College' (p. 149), in referring to the late Professor Moorman as still with us (p. 152), and in dating Mr Conrad's death 1923 instead of 1924. The original revival of *Everyman* was not due to Germany. Is it right to say (p. 155) that Shelley's rime, 'name: time,' gives him a place in the Cockney School? The present-day Cockney pronunciation of these vowels does not go back to Shelley's day, and the vowels in a Cockney mouth do not rime.

G. C. M. S.

A third edition has appeared this year of Professor K. Warnke's *Les Lais de Marie de France* (*Bibliotheca Normannica*, III. Halle: M. Niemeyer, clxxxiv+344 pp. 16 M.). With this work the names of H. Suchier, A. Tobler, G. Paris and A. Mussafia will always be connected, while other scholars still living have helped to perfect the present edition. The comparative notes contributed by R. Köhler have been revised and supplemented by Dr J. Bolte. The text of the *Lais* and the glossary have also undergone careful revision. A section of the introduction is devoted to the theories of M. Foulet on the conventional meaning of the words *breton* and *lais*, and the view that Marie knew little or nothing but the name of the real Breton *lais*, in which the word *lai* is said to be an expression of musical, not literary, technique. The effect of Marie's use of the word on Thomas and the Tristan legend ('le bric-à-brac arthurien') is also examined, and its possible reflection in the *lais* sung by Iseult and the harping attributed to Tristan. The author does not find himself in agreement with the view of M. Foulet that the *Lais* of Marie are the poetic treatment of older, independent *contes* which share only the name with the Breton harp-songs; Marie is too sincere and loyal a writer to make such a view credible. Goethe's words in the *Tag- und Jahreshefte* are recalled, in which he mentions having read Marie's poems in 1820 among other French books, and after a reference to Joan of Arc, adds: 'Ebenso werden die Gedichte Mariens von Frankreich durch den Duft der Jahre, der sich zwischen uns und ihre Persönlichkeit hineinzieht, anmutiger und lieber.'

F. C. J.

Arturo Farinelli, as every reader knows, has a special devotion for the study of the cultural relations between the various nations, a study which for him is no mere philological erudition, but a religion: 'il mio vangelo di umanità e di fratellanza dei popoli.' His *Divagazioni erudite: Inghilterra e Italia, Germania e Italia, Italia e Spagna, Spagna e Germania* (Turin: Bocca, 1925. viii + 479 pp. L. 38), a collection of elaborate reviews which document and supplement the works

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from which he starts, are so characteristically packed with details that they are not always easy reading. They deal with these 'rapporti spirituali' between the Latin and Germanic nations at certain epochs: 'Inghilterra e Italia nel secolo della Rinascita sino a Shakespeare,' 'La poesia latina degli umanisti germanici,' 'La Spagna nella vita italiana durante la Rinascenza,' 'I Tedeschi nel giudizio degli Spagnuoli sino all' alba del Romanticismo.' While all four are full of interesting and curious matter, the most important is the third. The author, no doubt justly, claims to be the original protagonist of the idea—represented also by Croce in the volume under review and more recently (with special reference to the political history of the south of the peninsula) in his stimulating and illuminating *Storia del Regno di Napoli*—that the traditional phantasm of 'una Spagna corruttrice,' the generally accepted view that the corruption and degeneration of Italy in the latter part of the Renaissance, and more particularly during the seventeenth century, were chiefly due to the influence of Spain and the result of Spanish domination, must to a large extent be abandoned. This essay of Professor Farinelli's covers a wider period than is implied by its title, and is frequently as vivid as it is 'erudite.'

E. G. G.

Is Catalan a dialect of Provençal or a Hispanic language? The conflict of competent opinion is set forth in the introduction to W. Meyer-Lübke's *Das Katalanische: seine Stellung zum Spanischen und Provenzalischen* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1925. 191 pp. 6 M. 50). He has subjected the characteristic features of the three languages to a detailed examination in phonology, morphology, composition, syntax and vocabulary, arriving at the conclusion that 'das Lautsystem des Katalanischen durchaus galloromanisch, nicht iberoromanisch ist' (p. 149). By the aid of place-names he then proceeds to explain the historical causes of Catalan particularism in the face of both Spanish and Provençal. He finds that Tarraconensis was romanised largely through the colonies of discharged legionaries, and so received a large rural population of Latin speech, similar to, and fortified by relations with the Provincia; while in Betica and further Spain an intense urban population was surrounded by a rustic population of non-Roman speech. When Latin spread from the towns to the country in Betica, it was thus more grammatical and conservative than that which had undergone unimpeded evolution in the mouths of the Roman farmers of Tarraconensis. The Catalan speech obtained its distinguishing marks during the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries, and was further removed from Spanish by ecclesiastical boundaries, by the Visigothic kingdom of Southern France and Eastern Spain, and by the institution of the Marca Hispanica. Though not a formal grammar of Catalan, the work involves in its plan the examination of every salient feature of interest, a task to which Meyer-Lübke brings unrivalled authority and experience; its citations give a well-deserved publicity to the patriotic toil of the Catalan philologists, such as Griera, Barnils, Par, Montoliu and other collabo-

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rators in the *Atlas linguistique de Catalogne* and the *Diccionari de la Llengua Catalana*. The style is crabbed, and the innumerable contracted references make the argument always hard to follow.

W. J. E.

The very prominent position occupied by the Spanish language in the curricula of the schools and colleges of the United States may be attributed to the bias of transatlantic imperialism, the hope of trade, and the enthusiasm of its professors. Among these a distinguished part is played by the Director of Modern Languages in the secondary schools of New York, Mr Lawrence A. Wilkins, who has brought together an imposing combination of educational authorities, Spanish, Spanish-American and North American, in support of his Instituto de las Españas en los Estados Unidos, New York. The Instituto is concerned with social amenities, clubs, propaganda, circulating libraries, professorial interchange, and the publication of pamphlets and monographs dealing with affairs of Hispanic interest. Some of the latter, in virtue of the co-operation of the University of Columbia, are intended as contributions to knowledge. In *The Supernatural in Early Spanish* ($1.00) Mr F. Callcott summarises in the American tongue the miracles or other supernatural happenings recorded by Alfonso X in the *Cantigas de Santa María* and (to a lesser extent) those of the *Primera Crónica General*. If we may judge by a fragment of biography that has slipped into p. 154, this essay has served as a thesis in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the Ph.D. It shows steady class-work and has a handsome bibliography, but the author does not go beyond précis and classification, shuns exegesis, and has only a second-hand acquaintance with scholarship. It is unfortunate, in view of the limited range of Mr Callcott's educational qualifications, that he should have been advised to undertake a mediæval subject, or that, having gained his academic end, he should have given it to the press. As well as the bibliography, there is an Index of Proper Names which includes, not only those of the text, but also the profuse gratitude of the preface, so that, for instance, 'Todd, Henry Alfred' (from the preface) has as much his place as 'Devil, The.' Mr Callcott's own contributions are marked by an extreme *naïveté*, and he opines that his 'careful examination of the supernatural aspects of the beliefs and practices of Spain as reflected in the literature of a given period will contribute to a better understanding of the problems involved.' The 'problems' are not specified. In the *Romantic Dramas of García Gutiérrez* ($1.00) Mr Nicholson B. Adams studies the author of *El Trovador* and *Simón Bocanegra* in a manner that should gain him a welcome from students of Spanish Romanticism. His book is eminently readable, and the writer seems to be happy in the authorities he has consulted, in his use of relevant literature in Spain, France and Italy, and the sane and reasoned conclusions he has drawn. The dominant quality of the book is that rarity—an excellent feeling for proportion. In *Martín Fierro, an Epic of the Argentine* ($1.00), Mr Henry A. Holmes is in the territories of the late W. H. Hudson and Mr Cunningham-

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Grahame. It belongs, perhaps, rather to sociology than to letters. A five years' residence in Buenos Aires and a cultured curiosity qualify Mr Holmes to treat José Hernández's *Martín Fierro*, the finest work in the 'gaucho' tradition, in intimate connection with the society and history of the Argentine pampa. His hero is 'the "good outlaw," romantic, melancholy, excellent guitarrist and singer, with his superb horse and the trusty weapons which wellnigh invariably turn to flight his pursuers' (p. 63), and the mise-en-scène—'the corral, the *tranquera* (gate), the low *rancho* with thatched roof, the *pulpería*, inevitable store-saloon, the ombú-tree, the out-door fires, round which sit the gauchos sipping Paraguayan *mate*, the *china* (wife) of Fierro, with bright colored dress and gracefully knotted kerchief, the guitar, the songs and dances, the love scenes and the fights' (p. 66). The solid bonds which Mr Holmes forges between *Martín Fierro* and life are more eloquent in support of its claim to literature than the strange assortment of authorities and precedents—Homer, *Mío Cid*, the *Nibelungenlied*, Cervantes, Addison, Voltaire, W. P. Ker, the Encyclopædias, Larousse's dictionaries, etc.—whereby he seeks to demonstrate its right to be called epic. Among the parallels adduced in the last chapter we have most liking for that of Robin Hood.

W. J. E.

In spite of M. Vendryes' depreciation of 'la construction si lourde "ich werde kommen"' (*Le Langage*, p. 119), Miss Mathilde Kleiner has devoted a whole monograph, *Zur Entwicklung der Futur-Umschreibung Werden mit dem Infinitiv* (*University of California Publications in Modern Philology*, XII, 1, 1925, $1.25), to its early history in Alemannic and praises it on the ground that the concept of futurity is thereby 'genauer gefasst' than elsewhere. A comprehensive survey of the other Germanic languages (omitting Frisian) shows the unique position of High German in elaborating the construction, for a somewhat similar 'expanded' tense with *verta* in Old Norse cannot be historically related. The future significance of a combination between the present tense of *werden* and a present participle gradually emerges in Alemannic in the twelfth century and continues in vogue till the fifteenth century at least. From the thirteenth century onwards the participle finds an even stronger competitor in the infinitive, which spreads in East Alemannia quicker than in Alsace, until it wins decisively in the period 1375–1450. As Alemannic conserves medial and final dentals, the substitution of the *-en* forms for *-ende* cannot be due to phonetic erosion of the latter, but rather to the general confusion introduced into speech-consciousness by the three forms of the dative infinitive: *-enne*, *-ende* (not uninfluenced by Latin gerunds) and uninflected *-en*. The change could be expressed in a proportion *ze sprechende* : *ze sprechen* :: *werde sprechende* : [*werde sprechen*]. Kurrelmeyer's work of 1904 is criticised on the ground of the distorted picture his own over-statistical method produces. Clark's dissertation on the periphrastic tenses is not mentioned, nor (for obvious reasons) W. Keller's article on *Keltisches im englischen Verb* in the

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Anglica, recently presented to Professor Brandl. It is to be hoped that further work may now be done on the other dialect regions.

W. E. C.

Two academic theses from the field of Germanic philology have reached us. J. Knight Bostock's *Albertus Brixianus in Germany* (London: H. Milford, 1924. 123 pp. 5*s*.), completed for the Ph.D. of London, contains full texts of a Middle High German prose translation of the treatise *De Doctrina Dicendi* and a poetic version of 971 verses of the *Lere* (Part I based on the *Doctrina*, Part II on the *Liber Consolationis et Consilii*, and Part III on an unidentified theological treatise on marriage), together with the opening and concluding passages of the Middle High German *Lere und Underweisung* and *Melibeus*. A full commentary and notes (together occupying two-thirds of the whole work) discuss in a thorough and workmanlike way the edited and excerpted texts, usefully summing up our knowledge of Albertus and the German versions and supplying full data for fixing the time and place of each production and the relation of the several MSS. to each other. Style and metre are also treated and the numerous parallels adduced in the notes indicate wide and discriminative reading. The thesis reflects the high standard achieved by the London Ph.D. course in German. The other book, a piece of research work from the University of Glasgow by Isobel A. Knowles, *Vom Fëgfûr*, by Aegidius Tschudi, edited from the original manuscript (254 pp.), cannot claim more than a brief mention, as it consists almost exclusively of a close transcript of a hitherto unpublished manuscript. Only great enthusiasm and staying-power could have helped the authoress over the arid patches of her text, and she deserves credit for that. The linguistic notes at the end can hardly be of much utility. A much fuller documentation and discussion would have been necessary to bring out real points of interest, viz., the place of the treatise in relation to Tschudi's other works, and the relation of Tschudi's language to that of his Swiss contemporaries. It was a good plan to give Latin equivalents as well as English in the select glossary.

W. E. C.

Professor Chr. Sarauw has followed up his helpful studies on the comparative phonology of the nuclear Low German dialects with a second volume of *Niederdeutsche Forschungen*, entitled *Die Flexionen der mittelniederdeutschen Sprache* (Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. *Hist.-philologiske Meddelser*, X, 1. Copenhagen: A. F. Høst, 1924. 284 pp. 9 kr.). He draws his abundant material from legal and historical books and documents, as well as from sermons, the Lübeck Bible of 1494 and the poetic literature. Disregarding the modern dialects on the ground of our imperfect knowledge of their inflections, as well as their relative unimportance for his task here (as against the phonology), the author delimits his field still more specifically by excluding Low Franconian and East Frisian, and concentrating his attention on the 'Stammland.' He not only gives a clear and full account of the Middle Low German declensions and conjugations with their anomalies, differing from Behaghel and Wrede by tracing the plural *-s*

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to the influence of French mediated by Dutch, but also provides a most welcome introduction to word-formation in the Low German nouns, verbs, pronouns, adverbs, etc., and discusses the use of certain verbal auxiliaries. Thus the treatise fills in gaps necessarily left by Professor Lasch's standard grammar. The author inspires confidence by the rigour of his methods and the broad and firm bases of his inductions.

W. E. C.

Mr R. D. Waller writes to us from the University of Manchester with reference to Mr R. W. King's article on *Italian Influence on English Scholarship and Literature during the Romantic Revival* in Vol. XX, pp. 295 ff.:

Mr King says that 'Frere's attempt at recapturing in a poem completely independent as to story the spirit of Pulci was very successful.' That there is much of the spirit of Pulci in *Whistlecraft* might be disputed, were there room here to do so, but, in any case, *Whistlecraft* is certainly not independent as to story. From the *Morgante* Frere drew the main idea of his last two cantos, the feud between the monks and the giants who persecute the monastery from a neighbouring mountain. The theme is developed differently, but its origin is indisputable. In those stanzas of the continuation quoted in the *Memoir* of Frere (1874, pp. 168 f.) the conception of Morgante himself appears in the clumsy young half-tamed giant Ascopart. A more difficult issue is raised by Mr King's note on p. 303. The bibliography of *Whistlecraft* is a matter of some complexity. Cantos I and II were issued three times in 1817–18 (though Murray complained on June 16, 1818, that he had not yet sold 500 copies. See *Memoir of J. Murray*, I, p. 393). I am inclined to doubt whether Cantos I to IV were actually published together in 1818—if they were, it is unlikely that they were entitled *The Monks and the Giants*. I have been unable to trace any complete edition earlier than 1821, although in that year editions called third and fourth were published. The present Mr Murray has kindly examined the old ledgers for me and finds no record of the 1818 complete edition, and I have discovered no announcement of it in contemporary periodicals. The title *The Monks and the Giants*—which really applies only to Cantos III and IV—makes no appearance in the 'third edition' of 1821, while in the 'fourth' it appears seemingly for the first time. It was relinquished in the Bath edition of 1842 and in the *Collected Works*, but reappeared in subsequent reprints. Mr King says of Rose that in 1816 he published *The Court and Parliament of Beasts*. This adaptation of Casti's *Animali* appeared anonymously in 1816 with the title *The Court of Beasts*. In 1819 it reappeared slightly altered, with Rose's name, and with the full title given by Mr King. One other point: Mr King says that when Gabriele Rossetti fled from Italy and came to England in 1824, he was befriended by J. H. Frere. This is true but misleading. Rossetti went first to Malta, where Frere had been living since 1821, and it was there that they met. Frere provided the Italian poet with introductions which stood him in good stead on his arrival in England. The relations of the two men are dealt with by Festing, *J. H. Frere and his Friends*, 1899.

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NEW PUBLICATIONS.

September–November, 1925.

GENERAL.

AUDIAT, P., La biographie de l'œuvre littéraire. Esquisse d'une méthode critique. Paris, É. Champion. 25 fr.

CHEKHOV, A., Letters on the Short Story, the Drama, and other Literary Topics. Ed. by L. S. Friedland. London, G. Bles. 12*s.* 6*d.*

CROCE, B., Poesie und Nichtpoesie. Bemerkungen über die europäische Literatur des 19. Jahrh. Übertragen von S. Schlosser. Vienna, Amalthea. 6 M. 50.

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Volume XXI April, 1926 Number 2

THE MODERN LANGUAGE REVIEW

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL EDITED FOR THE MODERN HUMANITIES RESEARCH ASSOCIATION

BY

J. G. ROBERTSON

G. C. MOORE SMITH

AND

EDMUND G. GARDNER

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON: FETTER LANE, E.C. 4

CHICAGO: THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
(AGENT FOR THE UNITED STATES)
BOMBAY, CALCUTTA AND MADRAS: MACMILLAN & CO., LTD.
TOKYO: THE MARUZEN-KABUSHIKI-KAISHA

Price Seven Shillings net

Annual Subscription, 25s net post free; in United States
$6.00 (*single copies* $1.75 *each*)

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN

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BARTHOLOMEW YONG, TRANSLATOR.

BARTHOLOMEW YONG[1] is known as the translator of three works, Montemayor's *Diana* with its two continuations, a work of immense influence[2], the fourth book of Guazzo's *Civile Conversation* (1586), and Boccaccio's *Fiametta* (1587). The *Diana*, though completed in 1583, did not see the light till 1598.

Nothing in Yong's work indicates that he possessed more than a passing interest in literature. A Catholic and man of affairs he attracted little notice among his contemporaries, and the literal fashion in which he produced his translations leaves only a faint impression of his personality. The career of this painstaking and faithful translator has been therefore buried in obscurity, and the *Dictionary of National Biography* leaves us in ignorance of his year and place of birth, of the family to which he belonged, of his religion and of other details of his life and surroundings. The investigations[3], of which the results are seen in the following pages, at least add substantially to our knowledge of the man.

A statement by Joseph Hunter[4], known to the *D.N.B.* biographer, gives us our starting-point:

> There is a Bartholomew Yonge in one of Pynson's Pedigrees in Harl. MS. 1754 to whom[5] arms were granted in 1602 by Sir Wm Segar, viz. 'Gules, a fess Or, and in chief three lions rampant of the same'...who may seem to be the same person [i.e. the translator] and the rather, as this Bartholomew Yonge had a younger brother, named Thomas, who was a traveller in foreign parts. Bartholomew and Thomas were sons of a Gregory Yonge of the county of York, by two different mothers, and they had sisters married to Holman, Evelyn and Morris.

The Harleian MS. describes Gregory Yong as 'of the county of York,' but it is evident that the following entries in *A Register of all the Christninges Burialles and Weddings within the Parish of Saint Peeters upon Cornhill*[6] refer to the same man and his family:

> 1560 Augu 24 Christning of Bartholomey Yong sonne of Gregory Yong
> 1561 Decem 20 Christning of John Yong sonne of Gregory Yong grocer

[1] The name is found spelt in different ways, Yong, Yonge, Young, and Younge. The spelling Yong occurs in his translations, and is adopted here for that reason.

[2] I hope to publish later my studies of the influence of the *Diana* in England, namely upon Sidney's *Arcadia*, Shakespeare's *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *Twelfth Night*, and *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, and Fletcher's *Philaster*.

[3] For some valuable collaboration in my inquiries I am indebted to Professor Moore Smith.

[4] *New Illustrations of Shakespeare* (1845), I, p. 193.

[5] The grant of arms was made to Bartholomew's father, Gregory Yong.

[6] Ed. by Granville W. G. Leveson-Gower (*Harl. Soc. Publ.* 1877).

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1562 [156$\frac{2}{3}$] Februa 28 Christning of Annes Yong daughter of Gregory, grocer
1565 Septem 12 Satterday Christning of John Yong sonne of Gregory Yong
[Dr McKerrow points out that the 12th Sept. 1565 was a Wednesday and that '12' in the printed register should probably be '22.']
1566 [156$\frac{4}{7}$] Februa 17 Christning of Mary Yong daughter of Gregory Yong
1570 August 24 Christning of Susanne Yong daughter of Gregory Yong
1571 Dec. 30 Sonday Christning of Steuen sonne of Gregory Yong grocer
1573 [157$\frac{3}{4}$] Jan. 14 Thursday Christning of Kathern Yong daughter of Gregory
1579 August 16 Sonday Christning of Thomas Yong sonne of Gregory Yong, Grocer, the childe was born the 10th day beeing Monday.

1563 Sept. 10 Burying of Margaret Yong the wif of Mr Gregory Yong
1563 Sept. 12 Burying of Susan Yong daughter of Mr Gregory Yong
1578 Julie 2 Wedinsday Buryed Steven Yong sonne of Mr Gregory Yong
1578 October 20 Monday Buryed Mary Yong daugh: of Gregory Yong Grocer
1610 June 11 Gregorie Younge Grocer dwellinge att the corner house of the north side of Leaden hall streete.

1583 June 2 Sonday: Wedding of George Hollman[1] sonne of Richard Holman, grocer And Jane Yong daughter of Mr Gregory Yong Grocer, a maiden
1590 October 19 Monday: Wedding of Robert Eueling sonne of George Eueling; And Susan Yong daughter of Mr Gregory Yong of London Grocer
1593 May 27 Sunday Wedding of John Morris one Fishstreet hill: And Katherine Yong a maiden daughter of Mr Gregory Yong Grocer, by Licence.

From these data we can say that Gregory Yong of the Company of Grocers of London, living in the parish of St Peter's, Cornhill, by his first wife Margaret (buried 10 Sept. 1563) had the following children: Susan (buried two days after her mother[2]), Jane (married 2 June 1583 to George Holman), Bartholomew (christened 24 Aug. 1560, St Bartholomew's Day), John (chr. 20 Dec. 1561) and Annes (or Agnes) (chr. 28 Feb. 156$\frac{2}{3}$); and by his second wife Susan or Susanna [Webb][3], widow, as will appear, of one Parker, the following: John[4] (chr. 12 Sep. 1565), Mary (chr. 17 Feb. 156$\frac{4}{7}$, bur. 20 Oct. 1578), Susan (chr. 24 Aug. 1570, mar. 19 Oct. 1590 to Robert Evelyn), Steven (chr. 30 Dec. 1571, four days after St Stephen's Day; bur. 2 July 1578), Kathern or Katheryn (chr. 24 Jan. 157$\frac{3}{4}$; mar. 27 May 1593 to John Morris), Thomas (b. 10 Aug.; chr. 16 Aug. 1579).

[1] The son of Richard Holman of Godstone in Surrey. He is said to be 'of London,' marrying Jane daughter of 'George' Yong of London, as his second wife (first wife, 'Allice daughter of Ric. Stapers of London'). By the second marriage he had ten children, of whom the eldest son was named Gregory (see *Visitations of Surrey, 1530, 1572, 1623* (London, 1899), Harl. MS. 1561, Harl. Soc. Publ. 43). Arms were granted to George Holman of London in 1606 by Camden (see *Grantees of Arms*, Harl. Soc. Publ., 1915).

[2] At first sight one might suppose the mother had died after giving birth to Susan, but this is made impossible by the fact that 'Annes' had been born in the January (St Agnes' day is Jan. 21st) or February preceding.

[3] That Susan was born Webb seems clear from Harl. MS. 5887 fo. 66^b which gives the arms of 'Gregorie Young' (granted in 1609) quartered with 'Webb of London decended from Oxon.'

[4] It is possible that the elder John had died, but by no means certain, as it was not uncommon at this time to give two sons the same name.

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We find then that Bartholomew Yong was the eldest son of Gregory Yong, a member of the Grocers' Company[1], who, as will be seen later, had been born at Bedale, Yorks., who now lived in his own house in London where Cornhill runs into Leadenhall St, and who before long had acquired landed property at High Ongar, Essex.

But this is not all. It is clear that Gregory Yong was a younger brother of a distinguished Catholic recusant, Dr John Young[2], who under Queen Mary had been Master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, Regius Professor of Divinity, and Vice-Chancellor of the University. In June 1574 permission was given for Dr Young then 'prisoner in the Marshalsey' to enjoy some liberty upon the bonds of Roger Hool and Gregorie Younge grocer, citizens of London[3]; and in June 1580, as we shall see, Bartholomew Yong is described as 'the nephew of Dr Yonge imprisoned for papistry[4].'

Bartholomew Yong was thus brought up in a household which conformed outwardly to the Church as established under Elizabeth—he and his brothers and sisters were all baptized at their parish church—but a family of which the head at least was attached to the religion of Rome. All must have been deeply concerned in the sufferings of the prisoner-uncle whose earlier life had been so distinguished. Bartholomew was nearly 14 when on 17th June 1574 the Privy Council, accepting the bonds of Roger Hool and Gregory Yong 'for his good behaviour, and shall not intermeddle in matters of religion against her Majesties lawes but be alwaies forthcoming,' gave order that Dr Yong, prisoner in the Marshalsey, 'might enjoy some libertie within that Citee or in sume place there about till Allhallontide, or suche tyme as they shall see lawfull cause to the contrarie[5].' Possibly the prisoner spent his months of freedom in his brother's house. He was back in the Marshalsey before 17 April 1575 when the Privy Council directed that if proper sureties and bonds were found, Dr Yong 'shold be licensed to go to the Bathe to recover his helth to return by Michaelmas next[6].' Two years later (28 July 1577), a serious attempt was made to bring over four dis-

[1] A reference to Gregory Yong is found in *State Papers, Domestic*, Elizabeth, vol. CCXLIV, 1591–1594, p. 313, where there is mentioned a bond by Philip Corsini, a foreign merchant, and 'Gregory Yong, grocer of London,' not to sell certain pepper and other goods, taken at sea in a Venetian ship without a licence from the Queen or arbitrators mentioned. The copy of the letter is endorsed, February 11, 1593.

[2] The *D.N.B.* knows nothing of Dr Young's birthplace or of his relationship to Bartholomew Yong.

[3] *Acts of the Privy Council*, 13 June 1574.

[4] *State Papers, Foreign, 1579–80*, pp. 308–9.

[5] *Acts of the Privy Council*, 13 June 1574.

[6] *Ibid.*, 17 April 1575.

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tinguished recusants to the English church, Dr Yong, Dr Harpesfield, Dr Watson (deprived Bishop of Lincoln) and Dr Feckenham, each being committed to the care of some English dignitary, 'by his meanes and gentle perswasions' to be conformed to the present state of Religion. Dr Yong, however, was deaf to the arguments of his host, the Dean of Canterbury, and on 18 Feb. 157⅞ the attempt was abandoned.

> For so muche as their Lordships understand that their good meaning in that behalf can take no effect in him, it is nowe ordered that he shall be delivered under safe keeping in to the Prison of her Majesties Bench, there to remayne till furder order shall be taken with him[1].

He was still in the Queen's Bench prison in 1580, but was removed that year to Wisbeach castle, where he is said to have died in October[2].

We know nothing of Bartholomew Yong's school-years, and it is highly interesting that when we next hear of him at the age of 20 he is travelling abroad on business given him by his recusant uncle shortly before the latter's death.

Sir Henry Cobham writes from Paris to Walsingham on 17 June 1580[3]:

> Two young men are come hither who left Spaine about the beginning of May, one called Richard Parker, the other Bartholomew Yonge, sons of Gregory Yonge, grocer, of London and of his wife's first husband. Bartholomew Yonge is the nephew of Dr Yonge imprisoned for papistry, and was sent by him into Spain on purpose to have gone into Italy upon the doctor's direction. He had conference with the Duchess of Feria, being recommended by a privy token from his uncle.

Very significant is the intimation of Yong's business in Spain. Undoubtedly Yong was an ardent Catholic: that he was at no time in residence either at Oxford or at Cambridge—for orthodox gentlemen usually attended one of the universities—, that he was commissioned by a Catholic uncle to go to Spain, and lastly, that he was in touch with the Duchess of Feria (Jane Dormer), all afford evidence to this effect. One may gather from Cobham's letter that the ambassador recognized the desirability of keeping an eye upon the two youthful Catholics; hence the details of their visit and of their identity. The Duchess of Feria was influential in urging Philip of Spain to assert his claim to the English throne by an invasion of England. The year 1580 was a critical one in Anglo-Spanish relations. Thus it is highly probable that Yong was intimately concerned in the political affairs of the two countries. Little wonder that he spent two years in Spain without hearing of its most popular romance, the *Diana* of Montemayor, an admission he makes in the preface to his translation.

[1] *Acts of the Privy Council*, 28 July 1577, 18 Feb. 157⅞.
[2] Cooper, *Athenae Cant.*, I, 428.
[3] *Calendar of State Papers (Foreign)*, *1579–80*, pp. 308–9.

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The preface 'to diuers learned Gentlemen and other my louing friendes' written in 1598[1] commences, 'About nineteene yeeres past (curteous Gentlemen) comming out of Spaine into my natiue Countrie.' (For 'nineteen' he should perhaps have said 'eighteen,' as he had been in Spain till May 1580.) He then, as he tells us, spent 'welny three yeeres in some serious studies and certaine affaires.' These years were spent at the New Inn[2] and at the Middle Temple to which he was admitted on the 19th May 1582. The entry runs:

Mr Bartholomew Younge, late of New Inn, gent., son and heir-apparent of George [*sic*] Younge of London, merchant... Bound with Messrs Richard Dudley and Peter Watson[3].

In the following year Yong's name appears again in the records of the Middle Temple[4]:

1583, 26 Oct. Mr Robert, second son of John Pascall of Badue [Baddow] Essex. Bound with Messrs Richard Skidmore and Bartholomew Younge.

He took his part in the entertainments for which the Inns of Court had been long famous. One remembers that the first known performance of *Twelfth Night* was given at the Middle Temple in February 1601, and that Evelyn in his *Diary* speaks of the revels of the Middle Temple as an old and riotous custom. Yong in the dedication of his *Diana* to Lady Rich writes:

But as certaine yeares past (my Honorable good Lady) in a publike shewe at the Middle Temple...it befell to my lot in that woorthie assembly, unworthily to perform the part of a French Oratour by a deducted[5] speech in the same toong.

We know no more of Bartholomew Yong's connexion with the Middle Temple. He had perhaps been drawn from the pursuit of law to that of literature. He had met a friend who urged him to make literary use of his knowledge of Spanish. At the end of 1582, as he tells us:

it was my goodhap to fall into the companie and acquaintance of my especiall and good friend Edward Banister of Idesworth in the Countie of Southampton Esquier; who perceiuing my remissenes in the said language [Spanish] persuaded & encouraged me earnestly, by some good translation to recall it to her former place: And to that intent he gaue me the first and second Part of *Diana* of *Montemayor* in Spanish, which Booke (though I had beene two yeeres in Spaine) till then

[1] The dedication to Lady Rich is dated November 28, 1598.

[2] See Wm. Herbert, *Antiquities of the Inns of Court* (London, 1804). To the four Inns of Court were attached a number of Inns of Chancery to which students came either from the Universities or from Grammar Schools. The New Inn was attached to the Middle Temple. Here students were tutored in the elements of law preparatory to entering the Middle Temple. Sir Thomas More was at one time resident at the New Inn.

[3] *Middle Temple Records*, I, p. 250. Peter Watson was another Yorkshireman, from Knightstanford (Knight Stainforth), admitted 11 Feb. 158½.

[4] *Ibid.*, I, p. 262.

[5] ?='derived,' 'not original.'

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I neuer saw nor heard of; whose friendly care and desire to preuent so great a losse, and to preserue so great an ornament in me, I confesse was the chiefe and principall cause (and therefore the onely credit) of this translation, whereby I recouered that toong againe that lay (as it were) smothered in the cinders of obliuion[1].

Edward Banister of Idesworth was also a Catholic. He had been admitted to the Middle Temple on 7 Feb. 156$\frac{0}{1}$ as 'Edward Banyster son and heir of Edward Banyster of Eddsworthe, Hants[2]' and 'into Mr Leucknours[3] chamber.' The name of 'Mr Bannystere' appears again in the records on 5 Feb. 156$\frac{2}{3}$, 12 May 1564, 1 June 1565, 24 May 1566 and 28 Jan. and 2 Feb. 15$\frac{69}{70}$, while on 27 April 1610 we have the admission of 'Mr Edward, son and heir of Edward Banyster, late of Idsworth, Hants, esq. deceased.' Yong's friend had died in 1606[4].

Hunter[5] calls attention to the neglect which Edward Banister has received, stating that:

> At a time when there was little attention to the arts in England, he brought to our shores statues and paintings and other works of curious art with which to adorn his house at Idsworth... His connexion with Spain leads me to suppose that he is the same person as an Edward Banister, who is mentioned in the will of Jane Duchess of Northumberland in 1553, the lady having herself much to do with Spain and the Spaniards in the court of Philip and Mary. She speaks of him as belonging to her wardrobe and says that he is qualified to serve any person in that capacity.

There are many references in the *State Papers* to the recusancy of Edward Banister of Idsworth[6].

Yong's translation of Montemayor's *Diana*, executed in 1582 or 1583, was still unpublished when the translator undertook new tasks, turning now from Spanish to Italian. Guazzo's *Civile Conversation* appeared in English in 1586, its fourth book translated by Yong, and Boccaccio's *Amorous Fiametta*, also translated by Yong, in 1587. Finally the *Diana* with its two continuations, one by Alonzo Perez, the other by Gaspar Gil Polo, appeared in handsome folio in 1598.

Guazzo's work was greatly read in the sixteenth century. There

[1] Ward's statement (*Cat. of Rom. in Dept. of MSS. B. M.*, I, p. 791) is erroneous. Yong 'tells us that it [the *Diana*] had been begun nineteen years and finished sixteen years before,' 1598, the date of publication. Taking Yong's statement literally, he completed the translation in the year 1582, the year in which he met Banister, who suggested the work to him.

[2] *Middle Temple Records*, I, p. 131.

[3] The pedigree in *Harl. Soc. Publ.*, LXIV, p. 20, shows that Edward Banister's great-grandmother was 'Jane, da. of Roger Lewknor.'

[4] *Vict. Hist. Hampshire*, III, p. 107.

[5] *Op. cit.*, II, p. 194.

[6] J. G. Underhill (*Spanish Influence in the England of the Tudors*, 1899), mentions Banister's possible relation with the Duchess of Northumberland and adds that a 'Banister' is mentioned in the correspondence of Sir Thos. Chamberlain, English Ambassador to Spain under Elizabeth: likewise that a 'master Bannister' appears in the *State Papers, Spanish*, as one of the secretaries to the Duke of Norfolk. This last, however, was Lawrence Banister (*Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, Addenda, 1566-79, p. 377).

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were four French translations of it, one by G. Chappuys, who assisted Colin in translating Montemayor's *Diana* (Lyon 1580, 8vo), one by Belleforest (Paris 1582, 8vo), and two others, one of 1592 (Lyon 16mo), the other of 1598 (Paris 16mo). Gabriel Harvey possessed an Italian edition (Venetia 1581). Crane writes (*Italian Social Customs of 16th Century*, p. 396):

> The *Cortegiano*, the *Galateo*, and *La Civil Conversazione* were the three popular handbooks of manners in Italy, and their vogue in other countries served to introduce Italian customs and manners, and powerfully to mould society. After Guazzo no other writer on social manners arose in Italy in the sixteenth century.

He says further that Book IV (the Banquet) is the most important. That Yong had a hand in introducing this work to England is significant of his interests and of his place as a translator.

Italian court customs were greatly influential in moulding the *Diana* of Montemayor, and Shakespeare is said to have taken hints for his *Twelfth Night* from the *Civile Conversation* (Morton Luce, *Rich's Apollonius and Silla*, p. 89). The title of the translated work runs: *The Civile Conversation of Stefano Guazzo, written first in Italian, divided into four books, the first three translated out of French by G. Pettie... The Fourth translated out of Italian by B. Young. London, 1586*, 4°[1].

Next year appeared the *Amorous Fiametta*, printed by I. C. for Thomas Gubbin and Thomas Newman. Its long title ends: 'Fyrst written in Italian by Master John Boccace...and now done into English by B. Giouanno del M. Temp.' [B. Yong of the Middle Temple]. The translator's whim of thus italianizing his name deceived Warton, who writes in his *History of Engl. Poetry*, III, p. 467: 'Boccace's Fiametta was translated by an Italian who seems to have borne some office about the court.' The book was dedicated by its publisher, Newman, to Sir William Hatton (originally Newport), (nephew and heir of Sir Christopher Hatton, the Lord Chancellor), who had been knighted by Lord Leicester in the Low Countries in 1586. Newman writes:

> being greatly indebted to my honorable good Lord [Sir Christopher] by duety, for the first payment I offer although not mine owne labours, to you his honours worthy nephue this small pamphlet...translated by M. Bartholmewe Young of the middle temple.

He adds oddly enough that the translation is 'something unsavery for want of skil.' The date 'Il decimo l'Anno terzo d'Aprile, 1587' should perhaps read 'Il decimo terzo d'Aprile l'Anno 1587.'

Meanwhile we do not know in what circumstances Yong was living

[1] There was a later English translation, London, 1737, 8vo.

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or whether he was married. His father wrote in his will[1] in 1604 that he had already advanced to his children what he thought sufficient,

and especiallie my sonne Bartholomew as by assurance to him made of lands and otherwise as by a wryting under my hand and seale testifying the payment of diuers somes to him amounting to...a more greater portion then I haue giuen...amongst all the rest of my said children.

Gregory Yong's gifts to his son were probably made before 26 March 1595 when the former was party to a deed[2] between himself and Suzan his wife on the one part and [his sons-in-law] Robert Evelyn of London, gent. and John Morrys, citizen and haberdasher of London on the other part by which Gregory and Suzan Yong transfer to R. E. and J. M. property in High Onger, Essex (a messuage called Harding, 16 acres, land called Brooks Roden, 13 acres and land called Swanning, 14 acres, which they had purchased of John Penruddocke in 1578) to hold for the use of Gregory and Suzan during their lives and then to pass to their son Thomas and his heirs, or (in default) to their son John and his heirs, or (in default) to Suzan Evelyn and Katheryn Morrys and their heirs, or (in default) to the right heirs of Gregory Yong. It will be observed that Bartholomew is not a beneficiary, and that the children mentioned are all of Gregory's second marriage: further that Thomas, the younger brother, has preference over John.

The deed is interesting as showing that Gregory Yong had property at High Ongar, inasmuch as Bartholomew's dedication of the *Diana* to Lady Rich, 28 Nov. 1598, is dated from 'High Onger in Essex.' Either Bartholomew was then his father's guest, or he also had property at High Ongar. It seems that this district is the one in which one should search for further traces of him.

By a second deed[3] of 30 Aug. 1597 between Gregory and Suzan Yong of the one part and Robert Evelyn and George Kyrbye of London, gentlemen, of the other part, Gregory and his wife transfer to R. E. and G. K. the house etc. they occupied in the parish of St Peter upon Cornhill, to hold for the use of G. and S. Yong during their lives and then to pass to Thomas Yonge and his issue male, or (in default) to John Y. and his issue male, or (in default) to Katheryn Morrys for her life and then to her son Gregory Morrys and his issue male, or (in default) to Thomas Yong (one of the sons of William Y., brother of Gregory) and his issue male, or (in default) to all the daughters and issues females of Thomas Y., son of Gregory, or (in default) to ditto of John Y., or (in default) to ditto of Katheryn Morris, or (in default) to the next heirs and assigns of Gregory Y.

[1] P.C.C. 70 Wingfield. [2] Close Roll 1503. [3] Close Roll 1574.

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We note that Suzan Evelyn and her children are not included, and Bartholomew is again not mentioned. In this year 1597, as I am kindly informed by Mr Hickman Barnes, Clerk of the Grocers' Company, Gregory Yonge was Master of the Company. He had been a Warden in 1587.

The year 1598 saw the publication of the *Diana*: 1600 that of *England's Helicon*, an anthology containing twenty-five poems of Bartholomew Yong, all taken from the *Diana*. Mr Bullen[1] declares that Yong is the one very distasteful poet of the *Helicon*. 'The selections are made for the most part with such excellent taste that the constant occurrence of Young's name can only be explained on the assumption that he was a close friend of the indulgent editor.'

Yong's friendship with Edward Banister had not abated. The latter's will, dated 27 March 1600, contains, as Hunter writes[2], the following clause:

> The first leaf of this my will is written by my loving friend Mr Bartholomew Yonge, which he wrote for me during my sickness, and the last leafe is mine own hand, when I finished my will since my sickness.

Hunter adds:

> He gives Yonge four angels for a ring and bequeaths to him and two other persons certain property 'to be bestowed for the benefit of his soul.' This last clause seems to show that both the testator and Yong were of the old profession of religion.

Hunter means that both men were Romanists.

On the 21st Feb. 160⅘ Gregory Yonge made his will[3]. Describing himself as citizen and grocer of London, he desired to be buried in the church of St Peter's in Cornhill 'near my loving friend Mr Thomas Gardner in the south side of the quyer.' In words already quoted he declared that none of his children should have any share of his goods, as he had already advanced to them what he thought sufficient, especially to his son Bartholomew. He stated that he was bound to Robert Smith, of London, gent. in the sum of £1000 with condition for the payment of £600 to the use of Suzanna his wife. He bequeathed to the poor of the hospital in Bridewell £5, to the poor of Christ hospital 40*s.*, to the poor prisoners in Bedlem 10*s.*, to the poor of St Peter in Cornhill 40*s.*, to the poor brethren of the Company of Grocers £5, to Gregorie Younge[4], son of William Younge, if living, £5, to Suzan Webb[5],

[1] *England's Helicon, a Collection of Lyrical and Pastoral Poems*, ed. A. H. Bullen, 1899.
[2] *Op. cit.*, I, p. 193.
[3] P.C.C. 70 Wingfield.
[4] Doubtless his godson.
[5] Perhaps his wife's niece and godchild.

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dau. of Geo. Webb, dec., £6, to Gregory Holman, son of George Holman, at 21 or marriage, £3, to 'euerie other of the children of the said G. H.... that he had by my daughter Jane,' 20*s.*, to John Salmon his sister Hellen's son, 20*s.* and remission of debts, to Susan Webb, dau. of Geo. Webb, dec., married in the city of Bath to one Parker[1], £3, to Alice Perret, his sister's daughter, wife of Thos. Parret, 10*s.*, to his sister's son Geo. Kirkbie, £5, to Richard Parker his son-in-law (i.e. step-son), £3, to every of R. P.'s children, 20*s.*, to every of the children of his sons-in-law Robert Evelyn and John Morris, at 21 or marriage, £5, 'to the poor people of the towne of Beedall in Richmondshere where I was borne...and the poorest people of the towne of Askewe in the same shere, 40*s.* to be paid to the parsons and churchwardens of Beedall and Askew[2],' to Christofer Kirkebye, £4, and to every of his children, 10*s.*, to his neighbour John Harris, citizen and innholder, £3, 'to the said Bartholomew Younge my sonne £3 to make him a ringe to weare for my sake,' and the residue to 'Suzanna my wife...my sole executrix.' He appoints as overseers his brother-in-law Mr Robert Smith and his son-in-law John Morris to whom he leaves £3 apiece. He bequeaths his lands at High Onger and his house in the parish of St Peter in Cornhill according to the indentures of 1595 and 1597 already referred to.

On 14 Feb. 160$\frac{5}{6}$ Gregory Yong and his wife purchased for £60 from Geo. Sandforde a barn and two inclosures known as Barne Crofte and Mangeprise in Southweylde (Southweald, near Brentwood), Essex[3].

On 10 Nov. 1609, as before stated, Gregory Yong of the county of York received a grant of arms from Sir William Segar, viz. 'Gules, a fess Or, and in chief three lions rampant of the same' with the crest 'Out of a crown O an Ibecks head A armed horned and tufted O[4].'

In 1610 Gregory Yong died 'att the corner house of the north side of Leaden hall streete' and was buried on 11 June in St Peter's, Cornhill. His will was proved by Suzanna his relict on 11 July.

In the same year, by an indenture made 5 Oct. and ratified on

[1] The testator's wife had been also married to a Parker.

[2] Bedale and Ascough are only separated by a stream. Whittaker (*Hist. of Richmondshire*, 1823, II, p. 12) says that the following inscription is found in Bedale church: 'Hic jac^{t} Ric'us Yong qui obiit v^{o} April^{s} MDLXXXIII et Eliz^{a} vxor defuncta x^{o} Sept. MDCXIX quorum aia'bus indulgeat Deus.' The Catholic form of the inscription is noticeable. Perhaps Richard Yong was a brother of John and Gregory.

[3] Close Roll 1808.

[4] See *Grantees of Arms*, Harl. Soc. Publ. 1915: Harl. MS. 1724; Harl. MS. 5887 fo. 66^{b} gives the arms of Gregorie Y. quartered with Webb of London; Add. MS. 12225 fo. 124^{b} gives the arms in English and Latin ('In campo sanguineo fasciam diagonalem auream & in Capite tres leones erectos ejusdem metalli'), and fo. 125: 'To Thomas Young then at Florence in Italy. Testificat of ye antiquity of his Family & yt he was borne in ye North of England & of ye above s^{d} Arms & Crest, viz out of a Crown O an Ibeck A horns O.'

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15 Oct., Elizabeth Purvis of Much Totham, Essex, widow, sold to Bartholomewe Yonge of the Middle Temple, London, gent. for £20 'her messuage and orchard with three acres and a half of land...lying in Tolshunt Darcey [Tolleshunt Darcy] in the said county called Gyles garden which messuage and land the said Elizabeth had by the last will and testament of Matthewe Aylett her former husband[1].'

On this last occasion when we encounter Bartholomew Yong's name, he is buying land in Essex—fresh evidence of his continued connexion with that county. It seemed possible that he had settled at Tolleshunt Darcy and that his name would be found in the burial register of the parish. The Vicar (the Rev. R. V. O. Graves), however, who kindly examined the register for this purpose, writes that he drew a blank.

We are therefore still in the same uncertainty as Hunter who writes[2]:

> Wood supposes that a Bartholomew Yonge who died at Ashurst in Kent in 1621[3] was the poet; but it is perhaps equally probable that the 'Bartholomew Younge, gent.' who was buried out of Shire Lane at Saint Dunstan's in the West on Sept. 25, 1612, is the person.

Apart from the meagreness of his productions, it appears from the foregoing account that with Yong literature was only a pastime. By dedicating his translation of the *Diana* to Lady Rich, Yong acknowledges to Sidney's Stella that the romance was admired by her lover and imitated in the *Arcadia*. Only two years before Yong penned his dedication, there was a similar acknowledgement by Thomas Wilson, who presented to Fulke Greville a brief excerpt[4] of his translation of the *Diana*. The motives of the two translators seem identical, both translations being a tribute offered to the memory of Sidney, whose romance was permeated with the influence of its Spanish predecessor.

T. P. HARRISON.

AUSTIN, TEXAS, U.S.A.

[1] Close Roll 2021.
[2] *Op. cit.*, I, p. 193.
[3] The record reads: 'Younge, Bartholomew, Parish of Ashurst, Kent, Jan. 17, 1621, grant to Rebecca, relict.' Kentish Administration Grants extracted from the Act Books of the P.C.C. p. 14, *Archæologia Cantiana* (Tr. of Kent Arch. Soc.), London 1905.
[4] Reprinted by H. Thomas in the *Revue Hispanique*, Tome L, numéro 118, pp. 367–418, Dec. 1920.

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THE GOOD AND BAD QUARTOS OF 'ROMEO AND JULIET' AND 'LOVE'S LABOUR'S LOST.'

In their article for August 14, 1919, in the *Times Literary Supplement* Prof. Pollard and Prof. Wilson once and for all established the bibliographical connection between Q^1 and Q^2 of *Romeo and Juliet*. Their chief proofs for the connection lie in the common use of capitals, italics and spelling of Q^1 and Q^2 in II iv 40–46 and III v 27–32. A still better instance of the bibliographical connection is given by I iii 13–32.

Q^1.

Nurce: *Ile lay fourteene of my teeth, and yet to my teene be it spoken, I haue but foure, shee's not fourteene. How long is it now to* Lammas-tide:
Wife: A fortnight and odde dayes.
Nurce: *Euen or odde, of all dayes in the yeare come* Lammas *Eue at night shall she be fourteene.* Susan *and she God rest all Christian soules were of an age. Well* Susan *is with God, she was too good for me: But as I said on* Lammas *Eue at night shall she be fourteene, that shall shee marie I remember it well. Tis since the Earth quake nowe eleauen yeares, and she was weand I neuer shall forget it, of all the daies of the yeare vpon that day: for I had then laid wormewood to my dug, sitting in the sun vnder the Doue-house wall. My Lord and you were then at* Mantua, *nay I do beare a braine: But as I said, when it did tast the wormwood on the nipple of my dug, & felt it bitter, pretty foole to see it teachie and fall out with Dugge.*

Q^2.

Nurse. *Ile lay fourteene of my teeth, and yet to my teene be it spoken, I haue but foure, shees not fourteene. How long is it now to* Lammas tide?
Wife. A fortnight and odde dayes.
Nurse. *Euen or odde, of all daies in the yeare come* Lammas *Eue at night, stal she be fourteen.* Susan *and she, God rest all Christian soules, were of an age. Well* Susan *is with God, she was too good for me: But as I said, on* Lammas *Eue at night shall she be fourteene, that shall shee marrie, I remember it well. Tis since the Earth-quake now eleuen yeares, and she was weand I neuer shall forget it, of all the daies of the yeare vpon that day: for I had then laide worme-wood to my dug, sitting in the sun vnder the Doue-house wall. My Lord and you were then at* Mantua, *nay I doo beare a braine. But as I said, when it did taste the worme-wood on the nipple of my dug, and felt it bitter, pretie foole, to see it teachie and fall out with the Dugge.*

The evident connection between the two quartos is explained by Prof. Pollard and Prof. Wilson by assuming Q^1 to represent a transcript of an (unknown) dramatist's *Romeo and Juliet* partly revised by Shake-

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speare and with traces of the prompter's cuttings and a pirate's additions to make it up-to-date, while Q^2 represents Shakespeare's own manuscript as it looked after his second revision. This bibliographical connection is too slight to explain the common characteristics of the two quartos; in the passage just quoted the quartos are identical in their use of italics and capital letters and—with one exception—in their use of colons and full-stops. But more than this: the word *she* occurs seven times in the two passages, five times spelt *she*, twice spelt *shee* and *this in the same place*; *dug* occurs three times, twice as *dug*, once as *Dugge*, and *this is in the same place too*. This suggests a more direct connection between the quartos than the one assumed by the two scholars. Moreover, the text of Q^2 shows that common characteristics cannot be due to two different manuscripts, however close a connection there might be between them: in l. 15, Q^1 prints *Lammas-tide* in Roman, as it occurs in a sentence otherwise printed in italics. In Q^2 the sentence is likewise printed in italics and *Lammas-tide* in Roman; but as the hyphen is omitted we should expect *tide* to be printed in italics, in accordance with the general practice in Elizabethan printing-houses (cf. e.g. Lammas *Eue* in ll. 17 and 20). When we now find 'Lammas tide' it seems to indicate that Q^2 was printed from a text where *Lammas-tide* was printed in Roman and with the hyphen; in other words, the printing indicates that Q^2 was printed from Q^1. On turning to the rest of the text we find sure evidence of this. Wherever the Nurse speaks in Act I, her speeches have been printed in italics. Q^2 follows slavishly this method of printing up to I iii 95, where for the first time it prints one of the Nurse's speeches in Roman, *and this speech is omitted in* Q^1. In setting I iii 95 the compositor has discovered the mistake he had made in following Q^1 so closely, and, easy-going as he was, he did not break up the already set type but found it sufficient to leave off printing the Nurse's speeches in italics. According to Prof. Pollard and Prof. Wilson this typographical peculiarity has arisen from a common manuscript. The remaining speeches of the Nurse are, however, printed in italics in Q^1 and in Roman in Q^2. If a common manuscript had been the cause of the resemblances between Q^1 and Q^2 we should expect these to use italics to the same extent. They do not do this, and no other explanation is possible than Q^2 has been printed from Q^1.

The proofs for Shakespeare's second revision are then made insufficient. Before Q^1 could be used for printing Q^2, it must have been collated with an authentic manuscript and corrections and additions

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written in the margin, between the lines, or inserted on loose slips of paper. Q^1 must then have represented nearly the same difficulties to the Q^2 compositor as a Shakespearian manuscript crowded with revisions; only it would be so much the easier to set from as it was a book and not a manuscript. The compositor blundered now and then, as we should expect; he has printed verse as prose—in the case of the Queen Mab speech, he has inserted lines written in the margin in a wrong place—in I iv 64–65 and III iii 37–43, or he has printed lines which ought to have been omitted, III i 1–4, and consequently wrongly inserted the lines from the margin (II ii 185–189).

I have treated the Q^1-text as if it did not go back to a transcript of a half-revised Shakespearian manuscript, so I must point out why I consider the proofs for the existence of such a manuscript to be insufficient.

Prof. Pollard and Prof. Wilson's chief proof for the first revision is the difference in Q^1 of the spelling Capulet : Capolet, Cap*u*let being used in I i–II vi, and Cap*o*let in the remaining part of the play. But if instead of counting the acts and scenes, we count the sheets, we shall discover that Cap*u*let is used on A_3–D_4 and Cap*o*let on sheets E_1–K_4, i.e. throughout the remaining part of the play. The different method in counting would mean nothing if the quarto throughout were printed with the same type. But this is not the case. Up to E_1 one page of 32 ll. measures $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches. From E_1 (incl.) and onwards the pages contain 36 ll. and measure 5 inches. The change in types has always been noticed, and Prof. Pollard explains it in the usual way by assuming the two parts of Q^1 to have been printed simultaneously in two different presses[1]. This means again that two different compositors were at work on Q^1, and the variation between Cap*u*let : Cap*o*let is merely the difference between the spelling of two Elizabethan compositors. Prof. Pollard and Prof. Wilson maintain that Cap*u*let occurs in I i–II vi (= sheets A_3–E_2), and I maintain that it only occurs on sheets A_3–D_4: the reason is that the name does not occur at all on E_1 v–E_4 v, and that they treat Cap*o*let on E_1 r as irregular, an irregularity which they, however, do not explain. The second irregularity in the spelling of this name is found in the stage-direction to I i (A_3 r); the Cap*o*let here may be due to the difference between manuscript spelling and compositor spelling, Cap*o*let being that of the manuscript, and Cap*u*let that of the compositor. This would be in accordance with the well-known tendency of Elizabethan compositors, to substitute their own spelling for that of the manuscript, as discovered for us by Prof. Wilson himself.

[1] *Folios and Quartos*, p. 69.

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The two remaining proofs for a first revision are not as bibliographical as this one, and consequently they are a matter of belief. Nobody is able now to say why Shakespeare did not write sonnets for the last three acts of *Romeo and Juliet*; he may have felt disinclined to do so, or he may have found it to be unnecessary, or the sonnets may have existed, but were forgotten when Q^1 was collated with a manuscript for the printing of Q^2. Just as impossible is it to speak definitely about the difference between the version of Q^1 and Q^2 in IV ii 16–21. A comparison of the Q^1 with the Q^2 version may just as well show how flat the pirate of Q^1 could make a Shakespearian passage; as the superiority of Q^2 over Q^1 may prove Shakespeare's great genius compared with a lesser man, the author of the supposed ur-*Romeo and Juliet*. Towards the end of their article the two scholars suggest that the actor who took Capulet's part was identical with the pirate who transcribed and filled in the half-revised manuscript for Q^1. They base their theory on the transposition of a few lines, where Capulet anticipates what he has to say later on. But, as they point out, these lines have been taken from another of Capulet's speeches, and I suspect the worthy Capulet of having blundered on the stage, from whence the blunder has crept into the stenographer's note-book. There is, then, nothing which points to a revision, whether first or second; nothing which might suggest any other bibliographical connection between the quartos than that which I hope to have made clear, that Q^2 was printed from Q^1 collated with a manuscript.

In his introduction to the Griggs facsimile of *Love's Labour's Lost* Furnivall drew attention to the two different versions mixed together in Berowne's speech (IV iii 286–381). By disentangling he got what he called 'Shakespeare's First Sketch' and his 'Recast,' 'corrected and augmented' as the title-page of Q says. The question has been treated at large in The (new) Cambridge Shakespeare, and several new evidences for a Shakespearian revision are pointed out. The main evidences are fetched from the mixture of two versions in IV iii 289–362 and V ii 827–881. Before, however, claiming Shakespeare as the author of both versions it will be necessary to ask the question, whether the presumed first-sketches do read as Shakespearian first-sketches, if not, whether they in themselves suggest any other origin; and, finally, which origin is favoured by exterior (bibliographical) evidences.

In what follows the first-sketch is indented, for the rest the passage is a reprint of the copy in the British Museum. It will be noticed that ll. 296–298, 305–317, which in the Cambridge edition are printed as

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first-sketch and so implying that they ought to be left out of an edition of *Love's Labour's Lost*, are claimed as belonging to the final version.

Ber. O tis more then neede.
Haue at you then affections men at armes,
Consider what you first did sweare vnto:
To fast, to study, and to see no woman:
Flat treason gainst the kingly state of youth.
Say Can you fast? your stomacks are too young:
And abstinence ingenders maladies,
And where that you haue vowd to studie (Lordes)
In that each of you haue forsworne his Booke,
Can you still dreame and poare and thereon looke.
For when would you my Lord, or you, or you,
Haue found the ground of Studies excellence,
Without the beautie of a womans face?
From womens eyes this doctrine I deriue,
They are the Ground, the Bookes the Achadems,
From whence doth spring the true *Promethean* fire.
Why vniuersall plodding poysons vp
The nimble spirites in the arteries,
As motion and long during action tyres
The sinnowy vigour of the trauayler.
Now for not looking on a womans face,
You haue in that forsworne the vse of eyes:
And studie too, the causer of your vow.
For where is any Authour in the worlde,
Teaches such beautie as a womans eye:
Learning is but an adiunct to our selfe,
And where we are, our Learning likewise is.
Then when ourselues we see in Ladies eyes,
With our selues.
Do we not likewise see our learning there?
O we haue made a Vow to studie, Lordes,
And in that Vow we haue forsworne our Bookes:
For when would you (my Leedge) or you, or you?
In leaden contemplation haue found out
Such fierie Numbers as the prompting eyes,
Of beautis tutors haue inritcht you with:
Other slow Artes intirely keepe the braine:
And therefore finding barraine practizers,
Scarce shew a haruest of their heauie toyle.
But Loue first learned in a Ladies eyes,
Liues not alone emured in the braine:
But with the motion of all elamentes,
Courses as swift as thought in euery power,
And giues to euery power a double power,
Aboue their functions and their offices.
It addes a precious seeing to the eye:
A Louers eyes will gaze an Eagle blinde.
A Louers eare will heare the lowest sound.
When the suspitious head of theft is stopt.
Loues feeling is more soft and sensible,
Then are the tender hornes of Cockled Snayles.
Loues tongue proues daintie, *Bachus* grosse in taste,
For Valoure, is not Loue a *Hercules*?
Still clyming trees in the *Hesperides*.
Subtil as *Sphinx*, as sweete and musicall,

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As bright *Appolos* Lute, strung with his haire.
48 And when Loue speakes, the voyce of all the Goddes,
Make heauen drowsie with the harmonie.
50 Neuer durst Poet touch a pen to write,
Vntill his Incke were tempred with Loues sighes:
52 O then his lines would rauish sauage eares,
And plant in Tyrants milde humilitie.
From womens eyes this doctrine I deriue.
They sparcle still the right promethean fier,
56 They are the Bookes, the Artes, the Achademes,
That shew, containe, and nourish all the worlde.
Els none at all in ought proues excellent.
Then fooles you were, these women to forsweare:
60 Or keeping what is sworne, you will proue fooles,
For Wisedomes sake, a worde that all men loue:
Or for Loues sake, a worde that loues all men.
Or for Mens sake, the authour of these Women:
64 Or Womens sake, by whom we Men are Men.
Lets vs once loose our othes to finde our selues,
Or els we loose our selues, to keep our othes:
It is Religion to be thus forsworne.
68 For Charitie it selfe fulfilles the Law:
And who can seuer Loue from Charitie.

When read without the indented lines the passage becomes perfectly clear and sensible, free from any repetitions. The other version runs as follows[1]:

24 For when would you my Lord, or you, or you,
15, 25–27, 58 { Haue found the ground of Studies excellence,
Without the beautie of a womans face?
54 From womens eyes this doctrine I deriue,
56 They are the Ground, the Bookes the Achadems,
55 From whence doth spring the true *Promethean* fire.

65, 66 With our selues.
8 O we haue made a Vow to studie, Lordes,
9 And in that Vow we haue forsworne our Bookes:
67 It is Religion to be thus forsworne.....

Is it likely that this was Shakespeare's first sketch, remodelled, turned upside down, and later filled in with the indispensable lines, showing Berowne's train of thought? The passage reminds one suspiciously strongly of corresponding passages in the bad quartos. It resembles its pattern as e.g. I ii 10–97 in the quarto of *Henry V* resembles the corresponding speech in the Folio. Or, to take an instance from *Romeo and Juliet* itself, as III ii 86–127 of the bad quarto resembles the same passage in the good one. In short, it reads like a typical instance of a pirate's work, made up from incomplete notes, eked out by a not too good remembrance of a performance. The pirate has remembered two lines from the beginning of the speech, made a muddle of the middle

[1] The figures in the left-hand margin give the number of the corresponding line in the first-printed version.

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part of the speech, and got the correct words towards the end. The line 'With our selues'—which is treated in the Cambridge edition as if it were the end of a line instead of the beginning—is a remnant of ll. 61–69. The piratical version evidently contained something more, which the Q compositor has left out.

The second instance of a revision was found in v ii 827–881. This 'revision' may be explained in exactly the same way as the former; so it will be unnecessary to give the passage here. The pirate who has provided the hypothetical Q^x has repeated Dumaine's question in the place of ll. 847–850 which he has forgotten. Ll. 828–29 are the pirate's reminiscence of the general talk about 'forsworne' and 'perjury' clothed in his own words. ('Perjury' occurs in l. 800 and in Rosaline's speech about *fault* ll. 876 and 878.) L. 830 is the pirate's version of ll. 858–59, and finally ll. 831–32 have been taken from ll. 860–61. The first-sketch theory is unlikely for the reason that, according to this theory, ll. 833–879 were inserted later; this implies that the unrevised drama lacked an essential part of the whole, viz. the interlude between the two other pairs of lovers. But, on the other hand, the lines cannot have had their origin in a pirate's note-book, they are too unlike the rest of the passage for that; they may, however, very well have been written down from memory. This would explain why these few lines contain just those words which are insisted upon in the longer passage, chained together with some make-shifts. It would only be natural then that the short speeches between the remaining lovers should be left out; experience shows that pirates usually went wrong over the short speeches[1].

So far the evidence has been in favour of piratical work; and what we know about the quarto's history points in the same direction. The 1598 quarto was not entered in the Stationers' Register; this circumstance, taken together with the phrasing of the title-page—corrected and augmented—led Prof. Pollard to assume the existence of a piratical quarto of *Love's Labour's Lost*[2]. In the case of *Romeo and Juliet* we find that the bad quarto was used for the printing of the good one. Is it too bold to suggest that the same took place when the good quarto of *Love's Labour's Lost* was printed? Of course, nothing definitely can be said until a copy of the bad quarto is found; but until then all our evidence warrants the theory that in *Love's Labour's Lost* we have a remnant of a pirate's work.

COPENHAGEN. G. HJORT.

[1] The great confusion in speech-headings is then the result of the pirate's blundering, still more blundered by the collator of Q^x and the authoritative manuscript.

[2] *Folios and Quartos*, pp. 69, 70.

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ITALIAN INFLUENCE IN FLETCHER'S 'FAITHFUL SHEPHERDESS'

ITALY in the Cinquecento had her *Pastor Fido*. Fletcher was assuredly vying openly with Italy in giving England a *Faithful Shepherdess*. His title certainly rings as a challenge, for in the play itself there is nothing to justify the choice of such a name. Is Clorin his heroine? Yet she is referred to always as the constant nymph, constant to the memory of the dead[1]. Is Amoret his faithful shepherdess? Yet she at one point loses all faith and declares:

> Come thou forsaken willow, wind my head,
> And noise it to the world, my love is dead[2].

There is nothing in the play to show to whom the title refers, nor is any explanation offered by the author. The logical conclusion is that Fletcher, influenced by his desire to outdo Italy, chose a title which should make manifest his claims. He was the first to attempt to acclimatize the pastoral material as evolved in Italy, to the English stage, and not merely to attempt to imitate it as his predecessors had done. But he did not disdain to handle and adapt material offered by Italian playwrights. He transplanted scenes drawn from Italian comedy into the conventional Arcadian setting, peopled them with purely English types of shepherds and shepherdesses, and animated the whole with a wealth of pure poetry and imagery. As a dramatist Fletcher failed. His efforts at characterization are crude, his handling of the plot undramatic except when he draws from an Italian model. But the poetic qualities of the *Faithful Shepherdess* have made it live, just as the poetic qualities of the *Aminta* and the *Pastor Fido* have singled them out from the mass of minor Italian pastorals and made them classics.

Yet Fletcher's play is of singular importance in the history of English pastoral drama. Peele's *Arraignment of Paris* and Daniel's *Queen's Arcadia* were modelled upon Italian plays: Fletcher, in not departing from the custom of his contemporaries, offers the final proof of the high regard in which Italy was held by Elizabethan men of letters, the final proof also that English pastoral drama is assuredly Italian in origin.

[1] *Faithful Shepherdess*, II, ii, 130; v, v, 5; v, v, 22.
[2] *Ibid.*, IV, iv, 102.

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Fletcher's debt to Italy is greater than has hitherto been realized. In the first place English critics have often declared that Fletcher is departing from the Italian convention in creating a type of satyr who is happy and helpful, not a lustful brute who lays snares for nymphs. Yet Fletcher is not creating anything essentially new. A direct Italian prototype can be found in the *Mirzia* of Antonio Epicuro dei Marsi. This earlier 'satiro' is just as delightful a figure as Fletcher's. The happy faun-like creature picks flowers to adorn himself, and lies down to bask in the sun; the good-humour and whimsical compassion which he shows at the sad plight of two unfortunate shepherds gives the play a charm and grace that are lacking in the majority of Italian pastorals. In Act III the satyr enters exclaiming:

Questa peste d' amor quanti n' infetta:
  Altri 'n occolta fiamma si tormenta,
  Altri languisce, altri a morir s' affretta.
Amor, io 'l vò pur dir, senza i tormenti
  Che tu ne dai, sarebbe 'l nostro stato
  Non men che 'l mar senza noiosi venti[1].
O chiari e freschi rivi, o verde prato,
  O delle rose piagge, o colle ameno
  Di vaghi fior soavemente ornato;
Quivi di rose e di viole 'l seno
  Mi vò colmare ed adornar le tempie
  Fin che si ponga al duro caldo 'l freno.

Ottimio then comes in lamenting his hard fate as a lover disdained. The satyr is moved to pity:

  Che gran sospir, che son colmi d' affanni...
E quel ch' io sento: egli è pastor ch' involto
Si trova forsi 'n amorosi 'nganni?...
.....Pastor che fiero alto dolor sì t' ange
Che in sì riposto e solitario loco
Del petto un' Etna fai, degli occhi un Gange?

But Ottimio will not give heed to his consolation, and asks to be left alone. The satyr redoubles his entreaties:

  Alz' almen gli occhi ed al mio giusto prego
Moviti alquanto, poi sospira e luggi
E fa quel che ti par, ch' io non tel niego.

At last Ottimio does reveal the cause and details of his distress, and mentioning the name of Diana with whom he has fallen in love, becomes mad. The satyr, sole witness of his ravings, still attempts to comfort him, but in vain, for Ottimio is transformed into a stream. The aid of the good creature is of more use in the case of Trebazio, who then comes

[1] Cf. Fletcher's satyr, who in much the same tone exclaims (Act IV, sc. iii):
  Mortal you must leave your wooing,
  Though there be a joy in doing,
  Yet it brings much grief behind it.

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to him and asks him to join with him in prayer to Venus that Mirzia may be transformed back again from a myrtle tree to human shape. They sing alternately two ottave and the goddess grants their request. Then, while Trebazio and Mirzia are rejoicing together, the satyr concludes:

Ma ciò che i fati a buon principio donino
Miglior successo, hor che dolci aure fiatano
Vò che le mie sampogne alquanto sonino
Su quest' ombroso e verdeggiante platano.

This figure of the satyr certainly differs from that of the coarse wild creature usually found in Italian pastorals. It is true that he like his fellows once loved a shepherdess:

Io pur di Filli un tempo arsi e non poco;
Ma poi che del suo nodo 'l cor disciolsi
Fiamma d' amor non hebbe in me più loco,

but there is nothing of the lustful brute who pursues the nymphs as in *Egle*, or catches them by cunning as in the *Sacrificio* or the *Aminta*.

The shepherds too in *Mirzia* evidently know him to be harmless. Ottimio treats him as an ordinary being:

Satiro, per Dio Pan, lasciami un poco,
Lasciami un poco disfogar ti priego
Con pianti 'l ghiaccio e con sospiri 'l foco.

Trebazio too has a high opinion of him and of the value of his prayers, for he comes to him asking:

Satiro, se i tuoi giorni 'n gran diletto
Eternamente godi, hor manifesta
Se fa pietà entro al tuo cor ricetto.
La bella ninfa mia conversa in questa
Pianta si trova, e di doglie 'mpie ed adre
Non men la mia che la sua vita infesta.
Drizziamo i prieghi alla benigna madre
D' Amor, che voglia nel primiero stato
Render le membra sua vaghe e leggiadre.

The satyr is prompt in his readiness to help:

Eccomi al tuo volere apparecchiato.

Own brother to this satyr of the *Mirzia* is the one who appears in Andrea Calmo's *ecloga quarta* (1553). He shows his good nature by releasing Rapido, a peasant, from the tree to which he has been bound by the wily nymphs Tepida and Florida, and moreover undertakes to give him consolation:

O poverin, hor lascia il duol, e il piangere,
Così intervien a chi 'l fin non considera,
Che 'l ciel ti vuol serbar a peggior termine.

The satyr of the *Faithful Shepherdess* resembles these earlier types in his eagerness to help and serve Clorin, to succour the wounded

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Amoret, to protect the morals of nymphs and shepherds, and to ensure the safety and happiness of all who come within his reach. He has the same knowledge of the virtues of herbs and magic arts as Beccari's 'satiro,' but he uses them for good and not for evil. Yet Fletcher cannot entirely forget the conventional type from which he is consciously departing.

In his play the appearance of the satyr causes the same general dismay as the untamed brute of Italian pastorals. Clorin with difficulty recovers from her surprise at the sight of the satyr kneeling before her and, as he departs, exclaims: 'All my fears go with thee.'[1] Nevertheless she speaks of him as a

> rude man and beast...
> who never knew
> manners nor smooth humanity.

Later in Act III, sc. i, we read: 'Enter the satyr, the Sullen Shepherd runs one way and Chloe another.' They are evidently terrified at the very sight of him. If he were really the tame joyous creature he is supposed to be, surely Chloe would not return breathless with fear, saying:

> Since I beheld yon shaggy man, my breast
> Doth pant...

Fletcher's characters are modelled on the familiar types of shepherd and shepherdess that appear in the conventional Italian pastorals. Chloe and Amarillis share the nature of Corisca. The 'Sullen Shepherd' has all the moral characteristics of the lustful satyr. In one respect even Clorin has a prototype in the *Pastor Vedovo* of Dionisio Rondinelli (1599). In this play the hero Fileno, widower of a certain Clori, vows eternal constancy to her memory, but in the end he is not so steadfast and marries a widowed shepherdess, Aurora.

Fletcher however has undoubtedly infused into the Italian model his own English spirit. On the one hand he has added a lighter, daintier element, on the other a weightier moral tone. There is much talk in the later *Comus* about chastity and virginity; so indeed there is in Italian pastorals, but Fletcher's mode of speaking of it is such that only a Puritan could adopt. The Italian nymph, when she refuses the advances of the enamoured shepherd, has some primitive fierceness that is attractive in its very vehemence:

> Odio il suo amore
> Ch' odia la mia onestate; ed amai lui;
> Mentr' ei volsè di me quel ch' io voleva,

exclaims Silvia. Yet when Dafne comes upon her leaning over a pool

[1] *Faithful Shepherdess*, Act I, sc. i.

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arranging her hair and smiling gleefully to see that the roses in her cheeks are more lovely than the ones she holds in her hand—then Silvia is ashamed to be caught unawares. Some natural womanly feeling is making her know her own beauty, and her consequent shyness and perplexity cause her to accentuate her proud resistance of Aminta's love. Tasso has indeed depicted in a few strokes a living girl, who, if she could not have lived and moved in a simple rustic atmosphere, at least is true to life as we imagine it in Tasso's day.

Fletcher on the contrary has given us in Clorin an exaggerated being, who would be completely morbid but for the delicate poetic grace that wraps her round. When the satyr kneels before her in admiration she concludes, rather priggishly, 'Sure there is a power in that great name of virgin!' Fletcher's Chloe is equally abnormal, but she excels not in virtue but in wantonness.

Still more strongly does Fletcher allow himself to be influenced by Italy in his handling of the plot, notably in the incident of Amarillis' transformation into the shape of Amoret and the confusion which results. Dr W. W. Greg states that a 'clear difference between Fletcher's work and that of the Italians may be seen in the respective use of supernatural agencies. From these the Southern drama is comparatively free.'[1] He is certainly justified in limiting the use of supernatural agencies in the *Aminta* and the *Pastor Fido* to the introduction of a somewhat 'ultra-medicinal power of herbs,' and an oracle: but the fact that no other supernatural agencies appear in these two plays is not a sufficient proof that they do not appear in the Southern drama. On the contrary, almost all minor Italian pastoral plays introduce a vast and finely worked-out supernatural element. Magic arts abound, for these minor plays treat of oracles, gods and goddesses, sibyls, witches skilled in the use of herbs, magicians who understand the language of animals and birds, as well as demons, furies and spirits of the underworld. G. B. Pigna in his *Romanzi* declares that 'Cirene e Thetide e Venere sono in simil caso come Fate.' Apart from the classical divinities, there are many purely Italian descendants of Simoetha, Circe, Œnone, Medea and Canidia.

These witches and wizards can fly by night, can turn rivers in their courses, pluck the stars from heaven and govern the moon. They call up ghosts and demons from the underworld, and work wonders with charms concocted from strange and loathsome ingredients. Moreover they can in many cases assume the bodily appearance of any man and

[1] *Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama*, London, 1906, ch. v, p. 267.

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woman, and can transform people into any shape. The device by which one character assumes the shape and appearance of another was, indeed, a common way of solving love-problems in Italian plays. Marcello Roncaglia introduces a spirit in the form of a woman to disentangle a complicated plot in his *Comedia Nuova in Moresca*. More notable still is the 'mago' of Bartolommeo Rossi's *Fiammella* (1584), who helps the shepherds Titiro and Montano to win their nymphs Fiammella and Ardelia, each of whom unfortunately loves the shepherd who is not in love with her, by changing the shepherds' identity. Thus Titiro exclaims after the transformation:

Titir tu sembri et io paio Montano.

The nymphs discover the ruse too late, but make the best of the situation, each saying:

Poi ch' Amor vol così, così vo' anch' io.

It is a transformation of this very same kind which causes confusion in the *Faithful Shepherdess*. Amoret, the maiden whom Perigot loves, has a rival in Amarillis, who is as exaggeratedly shameless as the other is modest. Amarillis, to gain her end, makes the Sullen Shepherd dip her in the magic well, whence she emerges in the shape of Amoret. She then seeks out Perigot and boldly makes love to him. The unhappy shepherd sees indeed the form of his beloved Amoret, but hears on her lips such abandoned advances that he cannot but disdain her as a wanton who has hitherto deceived him. Later, on two different occasions when still more enraged, he tries to kill the real Amoret.

The only tense moments of the play are supplied by this incident of Amarillis, Amoret and Perigot. Here supernatural agencies are fully at work. The well with magic powers which causes the change of identity, the river-god who rises to save Amoret, the healing herbs and holy water used by Clorin, all play a vital part. Yet it is upon the change of identity that the peculiar development of the plot rests.

A direct prototype of this episode of the change of identity can be found in a comedy by Hieronimo Bisaccioni, entitled *I Falsi Pastori*, published 1605, but probably written, according to the dedicatory letter by the son of the author, about 1575. The scene of *I Falsi Pastori* is laid 'nelle Tempe della Tessaglia.' It is significant that the *Faithful Shepherdess* is also laid in Thessaly. Bisaccioni's play is woven round a story of Turks and slaves. Lutio and his wife Erinda and a friend, Silvio, have been captured and enslaved by Turks. They appear as 'giovani schiavi in habito pastorale.' Carchia, 'maga cattiva,' plots to win the love of Silvio, while Aretia, 'maga buona,' counterplots after

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the manner of the good fairy. Finally Stella, the 'giovane peregrina,' wife of Silvio, arrives with the money for their ransom that they may return to Gaeta. But before this Carchia 'maga' assumes the shape of Stella and anticipates her meeting with Silvio. Her supernatural powers enable her to tell the past history of Stella as her own, and so pass for Silvio's wife: but when Silvio, convinced that she is his wife, calls her 'o dolcissima moglie,' her eagerness for his embrace reveals the trick. For Silvio finds what seems to him not the pure devotion befitting a wife, but a new lustful love:

Silvio. O dolcissima moglie, ohimè, che quasi
Il soverchio piacer l' alma mi fura.
Carchia. Et io stringendo il collo amato e caro,
Lagrime di piacer per gl' occhi verso.
Silvio. Nè queste che spargh' io son di dolore.
Carchia. Ecco che satiar non posso il core
D' abbracciarti e baciarti: O Silvio dolce,
Quant' è che così stretti non ci siamo?
Quant' è ch' al mio bel Silvio al mio marito
Non ho baciato la sua dolce bocca?[1]

Why Carchia's powers of divination should fail her at this critical moment, is not revealed. But so it is, for Silvio exclaims:

Ohimè che odo? e quando Stella mia
La bocca mi baciò, se ben fermato
Fu con la fede il nostro matrimonio?

Carchia, unaware of anything wrong, is even more eager for his love and urges him:

Hor dammi, Silvio mio, gl' amati baci,
Dammene a mille a mille: e non già quali
Suol la madre alla figlia: in quella guisa
Bramo che tu mi baci,
Che sogliono baciare
I più cupidi amanti.

To which the astonished and outraged Silvio replies:

Lasso, che voci disoneste? e quando
Solea la mia pudica e cara Stella
Così sfacciatamente ragionare?
Carchia. Ma perchè tardi il mio dolce consorte,
Fra le tue braccia stringermi? non fia
Meglio che 'n qualche luogo ermo e riposto
Ci ritiriamo al quanto?
Silvio. Hor non son io tradito? o stolto, come
Credei che Stella per sì lunga via:
Ma ella è Stella pur: il corpo certo
Di Stella par: ma l' animo gl' è affatto
Dissomigliante. *Car.* Silvio, a che tardiamo,
Andiam mio bene. *Sil.* Insomma io son tradito,
E questa troppa fretta il mostra meglio:
Ma s' io torno a mirarla, è gran periglio

[1] H. Bisaccioni, *I Falsi Pastori*, Act IV, sc. ii.

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Ch' io non dia nella rete, e poi che meglio
Questo avversario non si vince mai,
Che col fuggire, a questo mi risolvo.
Carchia. Silvio, dunque tu fuggi la tua Stella?
Silvio. Stella non già ma chi l' imitò male....

So Silvio flees in disgust, after realizing the trick that has been played upon him.

This ruse resorted to by Carchia in order to gain her lustful ends, her conversation with Silvio, and above all the latter's attitude of pained surprise to find his beloved so wanton—recall at once the episode of Amarillis and Perigot in Fletcher's play. Act III, sc. i of the *Faithful Shepherdess* shows us Perigot walking in the woods with Amarillis in the form of Amoret. Believing her to be his loved nymph, Perigot exclaims:

Here shalt thou rest
Upon this holy bank...let this thy cabin be;
This other set with violets, for me.
Amar. Thou dost not love me, Perigot.
Peri. Fair maid
You only love to hear it said,
You do not doubt....

Amarillis, more patient than Carchia, tries persuasion:

How should I trust thee, when I see thee choose
Another bed, and dost my side refuse?
Peri. 'Twas only that the chaste thoughts might be shown
'Twixt thee and me, although we were alone.
Amar. Come. Perigot will show his power, that he
Can make his Amoret, though she weary be,
Rise nimbly from her couch, and come to his.
Here, take thy Amoret, embrace and kiss.
Peri. What means my love?
Amar. To do as lovers should,
That are to be enjoyed, not to be wooed.
There's ne'er a shepherdess in all the plain
Can kiss thee with more art: there's none can feign
More wanton tricks.
Peri. Forbear, dear soul, to try
Whether my heart be pure: I'll rather die
Than nourish one thought to dishonour thee.
Amar. Still think'st thou such a thing as chastity
Is amongst women? Perigot, there's none
That with her love is in a wood alone,
And would come home a maid. Be not abused
With thy fond first belief: let time be used—
Why dost thou rise?
Peri. My true heart thou hast slain!
Amar. Faith, Perigot, I'll pluck thee down again.
Peri. Let go, thou serpent, that into my breast
Hast with thy cunning dived! Art not in jest?
Amar. Sweet love, lie down.
Peri. Since this I live to see
Some bitter north wind blast my flocks and me!
Amar. You swore ye loved, yet will not do my will,

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Peri. O be as thou wert once, I'll love thee still!
Amar. I am as still I was, and all my kind;
Though other shows we have, poor men to blind.
Peri. Then, here I end all love; and lest my vain
Belief should ever draw me in again,
Before thy face, thou hast my youth misled,
I end my life! my blood be on thy head!
(*Offers to kill himself.*)
Amar. Oh hold thy hands, thy Amoret doth cry!
Peri. Thou counsel'st well, first Amoret shall die,
That is the cause of my eternal smart!
Amar. Oh hold!
Peri. This steel shall pierce thy lustful heart.
Exeunt, Perigot running after Amarillis. The Sullen Shepherd steps out and uncharms her.

Throughout the scene the attitudes of Amarillis and Perigot are identical with those of Carchia and Silvio. Amarillis is perhaps more patient and logical and a gentler figure than the enchantress, but her motives are the same. Perigot treats the phenomenon of wantonness, in one whom he believed to be of exemplary chastity, with the same horror and grieved contempt shown by Silvio, but he is more ready to accept the most feasible conclusion, that he has been deceived by his once dear nymph—now turned 'serpent.' Silvio's love is strong enough to make him still believe in his Stella, and luckily for him former tricks of the enchantress suggest at once the true solution.

The change of identity in each case gives rise to a poignant situation, when the tricked lover finally meets the real object of his affections, and upbraids her fiercely for the fault committed by the other woman[1]. The real Stella arrives after her many wanderings in search of her lost husband, and, instead of the warm welcome she might expect, receives all the abuses stored up for Carchia, and even a blow on the cheek:

Stella. Silvio, Silvio!...
Silvio. Ohimè son morto!
Stella. Ferma, pastor: ti fa forse paura
La vista delle donne? *Sil.* A me temere
Fa tua malvagità, se non tua vista.
Stella. Come chiami malvagia una che forse
Non vedesti mai più? *Sil.* Donna, tu puoi
Finir di molestarmi, perchè Silvio
Nel suo pensiero è più che morte saldo.
Stella. Adunque tu se' Silvio...
E non conosci Stella, la tua sposa?
Sil. Hor vedi s' ella è stolta: a che di nuovo
Domandar quel che dianzi pur li dissi?
Io non conosco Stella, e non la voglio...
...Hora mi lascia...
Stel. Per l' immense fatiche, Silvio mio,
Che sudando, agghiacciando, sofferendo,...
Per l' infinite lagrime ti prego...

[1] *I Falsi Pastori*, Act IV, sc. iv.

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Sil. Io non vo' più ascoltar, lascia, se non che...
Stel. Ohimè non mi lasciar, e se pur vuoi
Pria di tua man m' uccidi. *Sil.* Lascia, e mille,
Tu pur mi tieni? o guarda.
Stel. Ahi, Silvio mio!
Sil. Ah, ah, converrà pur, ch' io vi faccia altro,
Hor togli scelerata. *Stel.* Ahi dispietato
Ingratismo Silvio, è questo il premio
Dunque di tanti e di sì lunghi affanni?
.....ahi Silvio ingrato,
Com' hai potuto batter quella guancia
Che già tanto ti piacque?.....

The dramatic intensity of this scene is neither forced or illogical. Stella and Silvio behave in the most natural manner, given the cruel circumstances. Perigot in a similar situation shows more vehement grief and wrath. He has however more reason to resort to desperate measures. Unlike Silvio who believes himself to be dealing with the trick of a wicked enchantress against whose wiles his only defence is physical violence, Perigot is faced with a sudden revelation of what he can only believe to be Amoret's unworthiness and deception. In a single moment he loses all faith in woman and in pure affection. Therefore when he meets the real Amoret, who has spent hours in searching for him and who calls breathlessly:

My Perigot! she loves thee dear
That calls;

Perigot exclaims bitterly:

See yonder where she is! how fair
She shows! and yet her breath infects the air.

The unfortunate Amoret has no time to remonstrate or to avoid the full tide of his violence:

Amoret. My Perigot!
Peri. Here.
Amor. Happy!
Peri. Hapless! first
It lights on thee: the next blow is the worst.
(*Wounds her.*)
Amor. Stay Perigot! my love thou art unjust!
Peri. Death is the best reward that's due to lust.
(*Exit.*)

Amoret fares even worse than her prototype Stella, for she is wounded by Perigot, flung into the well by the Sullen Shepherd, and only saved by the intervention of the river-god. Yet, in Fletcher's play, Amoret the good and chaste maiden can come to no real and lasting harm, for she is one of the virtuous beings ranged on the side of good. Chloe and Amarillis and the Sullen Shepherd, all acting for evil ends, are equally certain to receive severe rebuke, and repent in the last

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scenes, so obviously is Fletcher depicting the sufferings of the good and their final triumph over the wicked.

This idea of the warring of the two forces in human life is already fully developed in the *Falsi Pastori*, which is in reality based upon the fight between Aretia, 'maga buona,' and Carchia, 'maga cattiva.' It is Aretia who in the end reconciles Silvio and Stella after defeating Carchia. These resemblances between the plays of Bisaccioni and Fletcher are too great, both in incident and treatment, to admit the possibility that Fletcher did not know the earlier play. This does not in any way detract from Fletcher's merits. On the contrary it should serve to throw into stronger relief the true beauties of the *Faithful Shepherdess* which lie, not in the handling of the plot or characters, but in the handling of the verse. Ben Jonson however in his *Sad Shepherd*, though utilizing the same material evolved in Italy, does succeed where Fletcher failed, in bringing the pastoral drama into closer contact with the realities of life. It is true that he does not reproduce English country life in all its details. He does, however, acclimatize the Italian material, by infusing the Arcadian spirit into beings already familiar to the English public, and combining the foreign pastoral tradition with purely native beliefs and folk-lore. This point is best illustrated by his treatment of the witch, Mother Maudlin of Paplewick, who is no fictitious and unreal character, as are the Italian enchantresses, but one of the many wise and malevolent old women who had such a strong hold upon the superstitious imagination of the people of Jonson's day. As Scot states in his *Discoverie of Witchcraft*[1]:

> In our childhood our mother's maids have so terrified us with an ouglie divell having hornes on his head, fier in his mouth, and a tail in his breech...and they have so fraied us with bull beggers, spirits, witches, elves, hags, fairies, satyrs, pans, faunes, sylvens, kit with the canstricke tritons...changlings, incubus Robin good-fellowe...that we are afraid of our own shadow.

Jonson, then, in following Shakespeare's example of introducing a witch whose very appearance would send a thrill of terror through his audience, was definitely bringing the pastoral material into closer contact with life and popular feeling.

Yet Mother Maudlin has the same powers as the Carchia of Bisaccioni's play. She assumes the shape of Maid Marian and deceives even Robin himself. She intends to transform her daughter Douce into the shape of Earine in order that she may win the love of Aeglamour. Whether an episode similar to that of Fletcher's and Bisaccioni's play

[1] 1584, ed. by B. Nicholson, London, 1886.

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would have been included, cannot be said, for the *Sad Shepherd* remains unfinished.

The *Faithful Shepherdess* has been justly called by Swinburne 'a lyric poem in semi-dramatic shape, to be judged only as such, and as such almost faultless.' Both Fletcher and Jonson show what is so often lacking in the Italian plays, a deep sense of the beauties of nature and power to express it. To Jonson especially must be given due honour for his smooth verse and beautiful imagery. Who can forget his fairy-lore:

> And span-long elves that dance about a pool,
> With each a little changeling in their arms!
> The airy spirits play with falling stars,
> And mount the sphere of fire to kiss the moon!

Or again, Fletcher's priest's song: 'Shepherds all and maidens fair,' which sums up so well the beauties of the English country-side, and has nothing to do with Arcadia[1].

Yet, apart from its great intrinsic merit, the importance of the *Faithful Shepherdess* as a work inspired by Italian traditions, instinct with the Italian spirit, and definitely modelled upon an obscure and long forgotten Italian play, cannot be stressed enough. That Elizabethans should consider works which Italy has since classed as fourth-rate and almost worthless, as being worthy of imitation, reveals an esteem of Italy which English critics have long ignored, but which should be taken fully into account in any study of Elizabethan literature.

V. M. Jeffery.

London.

[1] *Faithful Shepherdess*, Act II, sc. i.

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WHO WAS THE AUTHOR OF THE 'LETTRES PORTUGAISES'?

In the eighties of last century a great deal of ink was spilt during a long and wordy warfare over the question of the authenticity of the *Lettres portugaises*. In reopening a controversy which most critics regarded as satisfactorily concluded by the findings of the Portuguese scholar Luciano Cordeiro, I quite realise that my apparent foolhardiness demands some explanation. The following article owes its existence to the discovery of fresh evidence regarding the authorship of the *Lettres*: it is an attempt to disentangle a network of false conclusions which have arisen from an erroneous and too hastily accepted conjecture.

What is, briefly, the history of the controversy? As is well known, *Les Lettres portugaises traduites en français* were first published in 1669 by Claude Barbin and, according to their preface, claimed to be a translation of five Portuguese letters written to a gentleman of quality who served in Portugal. The preface continues: 'Je ne sais point le nom de celui auquel on les a écrites, ni de celui qui en a fait la traduction.' The usual extract from the *Privilège du Roi* yielded the information that the privilege had been granted on October 28, 1668, for a period of five years, that it was registered on November 17, 1668, and that the *achevé d'imprimer* was dated January 4, 1669. In the same year another edition appeared entitled *Lettres d'amour d'une religieuse escrites au Chevalier de C. officier françois en Portugal. A Cologne. Chez Pierre du Marteau.* Though otherwise exactly the same as the Barbin edition, it contained in the preface this additional information: 'Le nom de celuy auquel on les a écrites, est Monsieur Le Chevalier De Chamilly, et le nom de celuy qui en a fait la traduction est Cuilleraque.'

On August 20, 1669, Barbin finished printing a second part of the *Lettres* containing seven additional letters which, as the preface implied, were written not by the nun but by 'une femme du monde.' The popularity of the *Lettres* immediately elicited two different editions of *Réponses* both published in 1669[1]. Further editions of both letters and

[1] *Réponses aux Lettres portugaises, traduites en françois.* A Paris. Chez J. Baptiste Loyson, etc., 1669. The *achevé d'imprimer* is dated February 3, 1669. The other edition is entitled *Réponses aux lettres portugaises.* A Grenoble. Chez Robert Philippes, etc. According to E. Asse these are subsequent to Loyson's edition.

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answers were published by Barbin and others, as well as translations in English and imitations. The name of the alleged translator appeared later in the slightly altered form Guil raque, and an edition published by Cailleau in 1778 attributed the translation of the letters to one Subligny.

Although Saint-Simon, doubtless echoing the conjectures of his day, whilst noting the death of the Maréchal de Chamilly, refers to him as the officer to whom the *Lettres portugaises* were addressed, he makes no mention of the nun herself. On January 5, 1810, however, there appeared the following note in the *Journal de l'Empire* contributed by a bibliographer called Boissonade:

> La première édition des Lettres Portugaises est de 1668 comme le dit M. Brunet. Mais il indique deux volumes; elle n'en a qu'un. Tout le monde sait aujourd'hui que ces lettres remplies de naturel et de passion furent écrites à M. de Chamilly par une religieuse portugaise et que la traduction est de Guilleragues ou de Subligny. Mais les bibliographes n'ont pas encore découvert le nom de la religieuse. Je puis le leur apprendre. Sur mon exemplaire de l'édition de 1669, il y a cette note d'une écriture qui m'est inconnue: 'La religieuse qui a écrit ces lettres se nommait Mariane Alcaforada, religieuse à Beja entre l'Estramadure et l'Andalousie. Le cavalier à qui ces lettres furent écrites était le comte de Chamilly dit alors le comte de Saint-Leger.'

It was this note which let loose a controversy which eventually centred round Beauvois and Luciano Cordeiro. The former, Boissonade notwithstanding, denied the authenticity of the *Lettres*, and proved by exhaustive researches into the Chamilly family that the Chevalier de C. could not have been Noel Bouton, comte de Chamilly. He analysed the letters revealing serious contradictions which strongly supported his thesis. It is interesting to note that Beauvois, in denying the authenticity of the letters, was of the opinion, like Jean Jacques Rousseau, that they were the work of a man. Paléologue, whilst agreeing that Chamilly could not have been the Chevalier de C., suggested in his stead a certain Chevalier de Clermont, of whom nothing is known save that he served in Portugal and that he was a well-known libertine. This critic also suggested a rearrangement of the letters which certainly disposes of the most glaring contradictions. I shall return to this important point when discussing the internal evidence.

Luciano Cordeiro, a Portuguese critic, went into the whole question thoroughly in his *Soror Marianna*[1] and arrived at the following conclusions. Whilst relying to some extent on researches made by some of his compatriots who had discovered that a branch of the well-known Alcaforado family had lived in Beja, Cordeiro traced its genealogy and

[1] The edition referred to throughout this article is that of 1891.

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fixed upon a certain Maria Alcaforado as being the Marianne of the letters. He agreed with previous critics that the convent in question was the convento da Conceição de Beja. According to documents discovered by Cordeiro, this Marianna Alcaforado became in 1709 abbess of the convent which is said to have been the scene of her unhappy love affair. She died in 1723 at the age of eighty-seven. The convent was founded in the fifteenth century by the infantes D. Fernando and D. Brites, parents of King Manuel. Indeed, as Cordeiro points out, there could be seen until shortly before 1891 over the gate known as the *janello de Mertola* the inscription 'este obra fez a Mº. Rª. Madre Brites Angelica na era de 17?0'[1]. Now, Brites and Mertola are the only two Portuguese references in the five letters, so it is not surprising that, confronted with such apparently incontrovertible evidence, critics ceased to trouble about the question of the authenticity of the letters and accepted them as genuine.

The author of the article *Marianne Alcaforado* in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* goes even farther than Cordeiro. He says:

> In 1810, however, Boissonade discovered Marianna's name written in a copy of the first edition by a contemporary hand, and the veracity of the ascription has been placed beyond doubt by the recent investigations of Luciano Cordeiro who found a tradition in Beja connecting the French captain and the Portuguese nun.

This is conjecture. In the first place Boissonade does not speak of 'a contemporary hand': he says 'une écriture qui m'est inconnue.' Again the most careful examination of Cordeiro's book fails to reveal any allusion to a tradition such as that referred to in the *Encyclopædia Britannica.* Cordeiro quotes indeed Pinheiro Chagas[2] who in 1874 was shown 'the janello de Mertola, sole trace existing then of the passionate tradition. From here, it is said, the unhappy nun contemplated the road by which her lover departed never to return.' It is clear to anyone who reads the whole passage that the phrase 'dizerse,' i.e., 'it is said,' alludes to the content of the letters themselves. Cordeiro makes no such deductions as the author of the article in the *Encyclopædia,* and indeed claims that Chagas was wilfully misled by the ecclesiastical authorities though he was assisted in his work by Dr Boavida, a highly placed churchman in the diocese of Beja.

Up till now nobody has troubled to look for the actual privilege accorded to Barbin for the *Lettres portugaises.* Cordeiro indeed says he could not find it, and adds: 'Perhaps we might find in it some explanation naturally suppressed in the published extract of that certificate.' Ironically enough, his surmise is correct, but I fear that he would not

[1] *Soror Marianna*, p. 204. [2] *Op. cit.*, p. 92.

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have liked the 'explanation.' Here is the registration of the privilege as it appears in the MS. *Registre des privilèges accordés aux auteurs et libraires*[1]. It runs: 'Ce jourdhuy 17 novembre 1668 nous a été présenté à Paris le 28 octobre 1668 signé MAGERET pour cinq années pour un livre intitulé *Les Valentines lettres portugaises Epigrames et Madrigaux de Guilleraques.*'

The important facts to note are then that the privilege was originally granted not for the *Lettres* alone, but for a *recueil* of the works of Guilleraques which included the letters; the author's name is given and there is no mention of translation; the name of the author is given as Guilleraques.

For some reason which can only be conjectured Barbin, before going to press, resolved to print the letters by themselves. That he was justified in so doing we know from the immediate success which crowned his venture. Now, I suggest that Barbin was a clever publisher who, realising the market value of a publication the subject of which, the clandestine amours of a supposed nun, has a perennial interest, and whose alleged milieu, namely the scene of a recent French campaign, was still topical enough to arouse public interest, published as genuine, letters which were written by Guilleraques. In the preface, as was so often done in the seventeenth century by the lesser novelists, he attempted to lend a greater interest to the fiction by mysteriously inferring that it was drawn from real life. This suggestion is not the result of idle conjecture. A writer called Gabriel Guéret, who died in 1688, wrote some time between 1668 and his death a *Promenade de Saint Cloud* which is not to be confused with the book bearing the same title produced by Fromageot[2]. Two of the characters discourse as follows: they have just been discussing Furetière's *Roman bourgeois*:

'Vous ne voyez pas que ce roman soit débité.' 'Voudriez-vous juger de la bonté des livres par le débit? Il me semble qu'il y en a d'excellens qui pourrissent dans les boutiques pendant que d'autres qui ne valent rien se débitent avec chaleur. Il ne faut pas aller plus loin que les *Lettres portugaises*. N'est-il pas surprenant combien il s'en est vendu et je n'en vois pas d'autre raison si ce n'est le charme de la nouveauté et qu'on a pris plaisir de lire les lettres d'amour d'une religieuse, de quelque manière qu'elles fussent faites sans considérer que ce titre est le jeu d'un libraire artificieux qui ne cherche qu'à surprendre le public.' 'Que vous souciez-vous,' interrompit Cléonte, 'qu'elles soient véritables ou non, pourvu qu'elles soient bonnes? N'ont-elles pas beaucoup de tendresse et seriez-vous homme à vouloir soutenir contre tous venants la fausseté des *Lettres portugaises* comme l'abbé Bourdelot soutient contre tout le monde la vérité du fragment de Pétrone? Croyez-

[1] Bib. Nat. MS. fr. 21945, fol. 71. The author's name is distinctly *Guilleraques*, not *Guilleragues*. The capital G is rather like the ordinary printed C which has doubtless given rise to the spelling Cuilleraque since in addition the final 's' is carelessly written.

[2] *La Promenade de Saint Cloud ou dialogue sur les auteurs* remained in manuscript till 1757 when Bruys included it in his *Mémoires*.

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moi, prenons ce que l'on nous donne de quelque main qu'il vienne, pourvu qu'il mérite d'être lu et donnons-nous de garde de ressembler à ces fanfarons qui ne voudraient pas d'une paire de gants si elle ne venait de chez Martial.'

'Il y a sans doute,' repartis-je, 'quelque tendresse dans ces lettres, si vous faites consister dans les mots passionnés comme les *hélas*, etc. Mais si vous la mettez dans les sentiments, à peine en trouverez-vous deux qui soient remarquables. Et, en vérité n'est-ce pas une grande misère quand il faut lire un livre pour si peu de chose? D'ailleurs il n'y a pas même de style; la plupart des périodes y sont sans mesure et ce que j'y trouve de plus ennuyeux, ce sont de continuelles répétitions qui rabattent ce qui méritait à peine d'être dit une seule fois....'

Guéret's view is that the *Lettres* were not authentic and in this he is supported by a contemporary. There is in the Bibliothèque Nationale a manuscript containing a careful analysis and appreciation of the books read each year by a certain Monsieur de N.... In 1693, speaking of the *Lettre d'Héloïse à Abelard* published in Amsterdam in that year, the author of this journal expresses his complete indifference as to whether this letter is true or not, but mentions its affinity with the 'lettres Portugaises qu'on fit *à plaisir* il y a 24 ou 25 ans. C'est le même stile, etc.'[1] To judge from the rest of his criticisms the author is a man of discernment and is unusually well read even for his time.

Cordeiro is at some pains to scout the idea that Barbin could possibly have been guilty of a mystification, and in this connection discusses at some length another so-called translation from the Portuguese issued in 1671 by this publisher. This was the *Relation historique de la découverte de l'isle de Madère*[2]. Now, the name Francisco Alcaforado occurs on p. 96 of this work, as Barbier points out and adds: 'L'auteur de cette Relation étant l'auteur des Lettres portugaises dont la traduction fut publiée chez Cl. Barbin en 1674, ces deux traductions sortent probablement de la même main'—obviously an absurd statement since this Francisco Alcaforado is said to have lived at the end of the fourteenth century! F. Denis, on the information gleaned from this *Relation*, constructed a biography of this Alcaforado and inserted it in *La Biographie universelle* with the note: 'Nous n'avons pu nous procurer l'original portugais.' Now, Cordeiro is careful not to insist on the statement in Barbin's preface to the effect that the *Relation* was translated from the original Portuguese of a certain Francisco Alcaforado. He does point out, however, that this work is an adaptation of a work by D. Francisco Manuel de Mello with an added incident, namely the romantic legend that Madeira was first discovered by two runaway English lovers who were shipwrecked there. Yet Cordeiro tenaciously defends, and for obvious reasons, the good faith of Barbin who he claims

[1] Bib. Nat. MS. 25577 fr. The italics are mine.

[2] Paris, Claude Barbin.

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warns us in these words that by translation he means the right to excise, to alter and to add at will, 'julgome obrigado a prestar conta do que posso ter supprimado mudado ou adocado n'esta traduccão.' Precisely, but why claim that the original was by Francisco Alcaforado? It seems perfectly clear that Barbin, having observed the success of his first venture, considered the moment opportune for another bogus Portuguese translation.

The natural question which now arises is this. How did the anonymous author of the note in Boissonade's copy hit upon the name Mariane Alcaforado and fix upon Beja as the site of the convent where the love affair was enacted? Cordeiro discovered not one Alcaforado but two sisters of that name in the convento da Conceião at Beja[1]. The Alcaforados, as he points out, were a prolific family. The author of the note discovered by Boissonade says: 'La religieuse qui a écrit ces lettres se nommait Mariane Alcaforada, religieuse à Beja entre l'Estramadure et l'Andalousie.' The unknown annotator had, it will be seen, somewhat hazy ideas as to geography since Beja is in Portugal and not in Spain. Cordeiro makes no comment on the fact that the information contained in this note is evidently not the result of direct observation. He tells us, however, that other families of the same name existed in various parts of Portugal, but that he is concerned only with the Alemtejo Alcaforados.

Let us try to put ourselves in the place of the unknown annotator. In the first place it is certain that the writer of the Boissonade note was not unique in his or her curiosity. The pleasant game of suggesting 'applications' was as popular with the reading public of the seventeenth century as it is in critical circles to-day. Was not the *roman à clef* an institution in the reign of Louis XIV? As we have seen, it was assumed by someone at the time that Chamilly must be the mysterious Chevalier de C., and by dint of repetition this conjecture soon acquired the authority of a legend. Boissonade's copy was not the only one to contain a conjecture as to the identity of the nun. Researchers appear to have overlooked the Arsenal copy of the edition of 1670[2] which contains the following MS. notes. The first (as far as can be judged, in seventeenth or early eighteenth-century script) runs: 'Ces lettres sont attribuées par Mde. Desnoyers à Mlle. de St. Aignan abbesse de la Joie près de Nemours. Elles sont écrites à M. de Ségur surnommé le Beau mousquetaire.' Underneath in what is clearly nineteenth-century handwriting

[1] The other was called D. Peregrina Maria Alcaforado. In the letters there is of course no reference to a sister.

[2] Bib. de l'Arsenal 14952 A.

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is a note based roughly on the conjecture discovered by Boissonade: 'On sait maintenant que ces lettres ont été écrites par M. d'Alcoforada religieuse tourière d'un couvent de Lisbonne. Elles sont adressées au Chevalier de Chamilly depuis Maréchal de France.' 'Mde Desnoyers' is probably intended for Mme Dunoyer, a complete set of whose *Mémoires* I have not been able to procure. Mlle de Saint Aignan or Anne de Beauvillier was indeed abbess of the convent of La Joie. She was born in 1652 and died in 1734. The note is, however, of no intrinsic value: it merely indicates that conjectures were in the air and sometimes settled on the fly-leaves of copies of the *Lettres*. The 'couvent de Lisbonne' is a typical example of the striking ease with which information can become distorted in the process of transition.

To return then to Boissonade's annotator. A slight knowledge of Portugal would suffice to suggest the name Alcaforado which, as Cordeiro points out, was an important Portuguese family. Again, and here we have the authority of the same writer, Beja was an important military centre and must have been as well known to the French officer of that day as Amiens is to allied officers who served in the recent war. The coincidence that there was a nun called Maria or Marianna Alcaforado in a convent in this town is not startling since, as Cordeiro shows, there were two who could lay claim to that distinction. Numbers of officers who served on the Portuguese front must have been questioned as to the probable site of the convent where the interesting Marianne was said to have languished. The one clue in the book was Mertola and Beja, fifty-four kilomètres distant, boasted of not one but three convents. That is one possible explanation of the origin of the Alcaforado legend. Another possible source is the appearance of the name in the *Relation de l'isle de Madère* which also purported to be a translation from the Portuguese. Let us examine now the internal evidence.

In the *Lettres* themselves one is struck at once by the almost complete absence of local colour and of allusions which the nun might reasonably be expected to have made to circumstances and events connected with the love affair. Cordeiro looks upon this absence of local allusions as a proof that the letters are genuine, on the grounds that a professional writer would have been more discursive for artistic reasons. Surely this betrays a lack of familiarity with the spirit of seventeenth-century French literature which was interested in sentiments and motives rather than in picturesque realism.

There are, however, improbabilities in the letters which gravely compromise their authenticity. Even when one accepts the rearrange-

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ment suggested by Paléologue, which does indeed remove some of the more flagrant contradictions, there still remain serious objections. Marianne speaks of the opportunity given her by her brother to write to the chevalier. Is it likely that a Portuguese officer would abet a clandestine love affair between his own sister and a foreign officer? Again, Marianne, after the affair is known to the other nuns, is made 'portière,' a menial office, says Cordeiro suggestively. Possibly, but one which gave her freer access to the outside world and hardly one to be given to a young nun with Marianne's record. Far from keeping the matter a secret the nun glories in her lapse. She depicts herself as a touching and interesting figure, and in the intervals of looking at her officer's portrait discusses her 'deplorable situation' with the other religious. Not only this, but she is allowed to have a three hours' conversation with another French officer, a friend of the chevalier, who is described as impatiently waiting till she indites her passionate letter. It seems much more probable that under the circumstances the nun would have been at least removed to another convent, if not handed over to the authorities.

Cordeiro and Asse both try to prove that access to convents was easy, but their arguments are most unsatisfactory. In the case of a pensionnaire, and Marianne is described as a nun, none but close relatives would have been allowed communication and even then their acquaintanceship with the inside of the convent would have ceased at the *parloir*. Yet Marianne was seduced by an officer who had been in her room not once but several times! Indeed, Marianne upsets all the careful arguments of Cordeiro and Asse by referring to the severity of the laws of the Church against errant nuns: she speaks of having risked her life and her honour, and it is known that the Church of the time was ruthless even for minor peccadilloes[1]. Again, it is unfortunate that after the painstaking researches of Cordeiro he should have succeeded in finding a nun of such noble family, since the nun of the letters bewails the fact that she is unworthy of her chevalier: 'Je murmurais contre la médiocrité de ma condition.'

Marianne refers to her mother who had at first been severe, then kind. Cordeiro's Marianne had already lost her mother, so he explains the discrepancy by blaming the 'translator': it is the superior of the convent who is referred to. Marianne, who reminds one forcibly of Pamela, is pitied by many and in particular by a certain D. Brites who takes her out to a balcony 'd'où l'on voit Mertola.' Here Cordeiro, who does not share the airy optimism of E. Asse, and who knew that Mertola

[1] See interesting description of Portugal prior to 1680, Bib. Nat. MS. fr. 22786.

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could not be seen from Beja which is fifty-four kilomètres distant, finds himself in difficulties. Again the 'translator' has to serve as scapegoat. The improbability is disposed of by a sort of philological legerdemain. In the original, assumes Cordeiro, the word translated as 'balcony' must have been 'miradour' which has the additional advantage of meaning also 'a flat roof.' Again, 'miradour de Mertola' should have been rendered not by 'le balcon d'où l'on voit Mertola,' but by 'le balcon de Mertola.' Really, by methods such as this criticism becomes not an exercise of the judgment but a riot of the fancy!

There are two references to a D. Brites in the letters, and Cordeiro, when he was faced with the task of choosing *the* Brites, had no difficulties. There were several to select from in his particular convent, and indeed there were as many Brites in Portuguese convents as there were Annes or Maries in similar institutions in France. One cannot, therefore, regard the lady as a 'clue.'

Read apart from all considerations of authenticity the letters present a central figure who possesses all the characteristics of an *héroïne de roman.* Marianne's suggestion that she is willing to serve her rival is an echo of the famous renunciation *motif* so popular in the sentimental novel which was beginning to find favour at this time. Her disjointed utterances, hailed as a proof of the genuineness of the letters by credulous writers, are an early manifestation of that exclamatory and elliptical style which later became the hallmark of the sentimental novel and the *comédie larmoyante.* The rather long digression on the advantages of loving nuns is more literary than natural, and the cleverly turned compliment to Louis XIV in letter three is hardly the type of art which conceals art. Finally, one cannot but admire the beautiful crescendo arrangement of Marianne's languorous plaints and the art which keeps ever before the reader the pathetic contrast between the amorous despair of the abandoned woman and the silent indifference of the absent lover.

It will be observed, in conclusion, that I have not assumed that Guilleraques, cited in the *privilège* as the author, is identical with Lavergne de Guilleragues, that 'panier percé,' as Dangeau calls him, who was for a time French ambassador to Turkey. There is no reason, chronological or otherwise, why he should not have been the author. In the absence of more complete knowledge as to his writings, however, there is nothing but conjecture to justify the assumption that he was the Guilleraques who wrote the *Lettres portugaises.*

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NOTES ON LUIS DE LEON'S LYRICS.

A DEFINITIVE edition of Leon's poems is not yet available, and for the present purpose it will be convenient to follow the order of the twenty-five poems translated in M. Adolphe Coster's French edition: *Poésies Originales classées pour la première fois dans l'ordre chronologique.* (Chartres, 1923.)

1. *Profecía del Tajo.*

M. Coster would date this 1551–2. The poem in its maturity points to a later date. It is possible that Luis de Leon may have taken his Bachelor's degree at Toledo in 1558 and that he composed the poem in that year, when he was thirty. It is unlikely to be later than the ode *A Santiago,* which contains a more diffuse and weaker treatment of the Moorish invasion of Spain. Ronsard has a similar river prophecy: *Prophétie du Dieu de la Charante*:

> arresta son flot coy ;
> puis d'une bouche ouverte
> a ce peuple sans loy
> prophétisa sa perte.

It has none of the vigour of the Spanish ode and is without the imitations of Horace (*Od.*, I, XV). Sansueña is Zaragoza (cf. Tirso de Molina, *La Santa Juana,* Pt. II, Act I, sc. V:

> Prenda los moricos...
> Que en Sansueña son,

and Góngora, *Desde Sansueña a Paris,* ed. Foulché-Delbosc, no. 73, and Ayala, *Rimado de Palacio*:

> Unos llaman Sansuenna et otros Trafalgar).

The places named by Luis de Leon apparently indicate the sweep forward of Moorish victory through Spain, first to the barrier of the Sierra Morena, at the foot of which Constantina lies; then north to the Ebro and west to Portugal. *Espaciosa España*: cf. Ronsard's 'toute une large France.'

2. *Qué descansada vida.*

The influences contributing to this poem seem to have been the retirement of the Emperor Charles V to Yuste in 1557, the Augustinian country-house of La Flecha near Salamanca, the description of Sepúlveda's Andalusian garden in his Latin letters, published at Salamanca

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in 1557, Horace (*Beatus ille*), and Garci Lasso's imitation (*Cuan bienaventurado*). M. Coster reduces this ode to twelve stanzas; but whatever may have been its original form and whatever may have been added to this by the poet subsequently, few critics will wish any of the seventeen stanzas away. Probably the poem was begun in extreme youth, soon after the publication in 1543 of Garci Lasso's poems, which contain the imitation of Horace beginning:

Cuan buenventurado
Aquel puede llamarse
Que en la dulce soledad se abriga;

and later the Emperor's retirement gave the poem a purpose, and the garden of La Flecha provided a more intimate description (cf. Sepúlveda's letter printed in *Opera*, III, pp. 293–298). Constant alterations were made, and it would not be easy to establish which text Fray Luis would have wished to be definitive. It is the most famous of his poems, although for sheer beauty it must yield to 'El aire se serena,' 'Y dejas, Pastor Santo,' and the *Noche Serena*. *Celo*, as Professor Entwistle points out, is not jealousy (*celos*) but rather *invidia*, the furious zeal of a Castro.

3. *En el profundo.*

Possibly begun in 1553, ten years after Luis de Leon's entrance into the Augustinian Order ('diez años ha que soy convaleciente'), this poem as it stands is perhaps largely the work of maturer years. It is interesting to compare the autobiographical poems of Camões (*Vinde cá*) and Ronsard (*Vous qui passez*). In the second stanza we have a choice between two readings: *la sesta edad*, which merely means the Christian era (Vincent de Beauvais' *sexta aetas*, cf. Camões, *Os Lusiadas*, v, ii), and *el sesto signo*, M. Coster's conjecture, which means the month of August (cf. Tirso de Molina, *Marta la Piadosa*, II, ii). Those who persist in printing *el sesto siglo* thereby place Luis de Leon's birth in the sixth century A.D., and, as we know that he died in 1591, he just defeats Methuselah. *fuera de él o por él*: M. Coster emends to *como él*. The *por* may have been due to the attraction of the *por* two lines above. Perhaps, however, it is possible to defend the *por* as meaning *en lugar de* (*gato por liebre*). In the *Documentos inéditos* of his trial as in this poem Luis de Leon makes himself out the greatest of sinners. So did St Teresa and other saints. Persons of less tender conscience should beware of taking their words too literally.

4. *No te engañe.*

Who is represented by Cherinto is unknown. Lucretius, Virgil, Horace and Homer are the classical sources drawn upon. M. Coster

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dates the poem 1565. Ronsard translated the same passage of Homer (*Od.*, XII, 184–191) in his elegy beginning:

Fameux Ulysse, honneur de tous les Grecs.

Asensio is Lucretius' *Absinthia* (*De rerum nat.*, I, 936). The *vencedor gazano* is of course Samson, not, as the 1853 German translation says, Alexander der Grosse!

5. *La cana y alta cumbre.*

The allusion to the wound received by the brother of Luis de Leon's lifelong friend Pedro Portocarrero (whose career could make his noble birth seem *títulos menores*) at Poqueira, in 1569, fixes the date of this poem in or after that year. The first lines refer to the Sierra Nevada, which Luis de Leon had seen from Granada (Iliberi, the old name for the city used to be derived from Basque *ili*, town, and *berri*, new). *El Lyeo* is Bacchus. *Para nuestro mayor daño* is an allusion to the unwise policy of forcible conversion of the Moors in Spain to Christianity.

6. *Inspira nuevo canto.*

Luis de Leon's intimate friend Fray Pedro de Rojas, afterwards Bishop of Astorga, belonged to the family of the Marqueses de Poza, closely related to that of the Marqueses de Alcañices, and it may have been at his suggestion that this ode was written on the birth of Tomasina, daughter of the Marqués de Alcañices, Don Alvaro de Borja, in 1570 or 1571. Both families were deeply implicated in the accusations of Protestantism or of revival of the Primitive Church which immediately preceded the arrest of Archbishop Carranza, and both figured in the Valladolid *auto da fe* of May 21, 1559. *de abuelos larga historia*: the allusion is to the famous Borgias. *la tía de quien* (v. l. *de quien gloriosa*): the aunt and *la esclarecida abuela* were both daughters of San Francisco de Borja. Fray Luis de Leon has been taxed with pessimism, but one may compare the ending of this poem with that of Leopardi's *Il Sabato del Villaggio*:

ma la tua festa
ch' anco tardi a venir non ti sia grave.

7. *La Noche Serena.*

This poem has been translated into English by Churton, H. Phillips, J. Bowring and Miss Ida Farnell. Diego de Loarte or Olarte, Archdeacon of Ledesma, tells us (*Documentos inéditos*, XI, p. 301) that he was about thirty-four in January 1573 and had known Fray Luis for fourteen years. The poem may have been written a year or two before, between the publication of Barrientos' Commentary on the *Somnium Scipionis* in 1570 and Leon's arrest in 1572.

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Cuando contemplo: cf. *Opera*, I, p. 295, 'ubi enim ad terram dejicimus oculos,' etc., and *Opera*, VII, p. 368, 'Ex quo existit ille mundi totius plenus admirabilitate concentus, quem qui animo ab aliis curis vacuo, cum in coelum suspexerint indeque ad terram dejecerint oculos collustrarintque omnia circumcirca, vident semel atque sensibus hauriunt homines, eam animo capiunt voluptatem ut satiari nunquam queant.' *de innumerables*: the ode *A Santiago* has the line 'de innumerables huestes rodeada.'

el cielo vueltas dando: Luis de Leon, like Sir Thomas Browne, Francis Bacon, and many Spanish contemporaries, believed that the sky moved round the stationary earth. *O despertad, mortales*: cf. Spenser's *An Hymne of Heavenly Love*, 'Then rouse thyself, O Earth, out of thy soyle' and 'Love, lift me up upon thy golden wings From this base world unto thy heaven's height,' and 'the vaine deceiptfull shadowes' and other passages of his *An Hymne of Heavenly Beautie*. Both poets, as Wordsworth and Camões, raise their eyes from the earthly prison-house to the vision splendid. *Repuestos valles de mil bienes llenos*: Quintana found fault with this beautiful and very modern line, 'desdice de los demás por su aspereza y falta de acentuacion' (*Poesías Selectas Castellanas* (Madrid, 1830), p. 337). Neither rhythm nor rhyme was the first thought with Fray Luis. He was primarily concerned with his vision splendid, and in expressing his very soul he exquisitely, as in this line, moulded the rhythm to his needs. As to the rhyme, it will be found that the numerous alterations in his manuscripts are rarely if ever concerned with it.

8. *Virtud hija del cielo.*

The approximate date of this poem is fixed by the references to Galicia (the Miño, *de Ume la alta sierra, el fin de la tierra, el pueblo inculto y duro*) of which Portocarrero was Governor from 1571 to 1580. Other allusions in the poem are more general: to the Cid, to the Gran Capitán Gonzalo de Córdoba, to the invention of artillery by the Germans, which so many sixteenth-century poets deplored.

9. *A Santiago.*

This is probably an early poem and may perhaps be assigned to the 1557 jubilee year of St James. It is weaker than Leon's best lyrics, but contains some fine passages and the expressive epithet (cf. Ronsard's *épithètes significatives*) 'los *tendidos* mares.'

del que en Scitia y Cairo: this is, like Constantina and Sansueña, an instance of Luis de Leon's geographical imagination. *el fiel sirviente*:

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the poet must have been thinking of his faithful servant Domingo Rapon, who had accompanied him on long journeys. *camina en paz, bendita alma* : *vattene in pace, alma beata. al fin de Europa*: tradition says that St James landed at Mugía, a little to the north of Finisterre; after his death his body was brought by sea to the neighbourhood of Padron (Iria Flavia) further south. Riding a white horse, he helped the Spanish in their battles and their battle-cry became *Santiago y cierra España.*

10. *Y dejas.*

This celebrated lyric was perhaps composed in the cells of the Inquisition; with recollection, one may think, of some picture. One seems to hear and see the upward sweep of wings as in El Greco's Assumption and Giotto's Ascension. The first five stanzas stand perfect and complete by themselves; and the four added in one MS. must be the work of a different hand, or, if by Fray Luis, must have been added by him later. The reading *te aquexas* (fret or strain) is preferable to *te quexas* (complain).

11. *Huid contentos.*

This poem in *terza rima* was written in prison when, after refuting all the accusations brought against him, he found himself no nearer release. In May 1575 he told the Inquisitors that their only object was to keep him in prison, since they were unable to convict him; and in this poem he declares that 'la defensa mia más me ofende.' And naturally he longs to live a quiet life removed far from cities and society. He used the same metre in his translation of the Book of Job.

12. *Virgen que el sol más pura.*

This ode is modelled on that of Petrarca beginning *Vergine bella che di sol vestita* (cf. the line *Virgen del sol vestida*). It was written in prison (1572–6), when the poet who so delighted in light and life was plunged in darkness and surrounded by invisible foes (*siento el dolor mas no veo la mano*). He derives his favourite storm simile from Virgil (but cf. the stanza of Petrarca's ode beginning *Vergine chiara*). *el húmedo elemento* was a common phrase of contemporary poets for the sea, although one might scarcely have expected so direct and intense a poet as Fray Luis to use it.

13. *A todos los santos.*

This poem was probably written in prison (*en noche oscura*).

el Efrateo St Jerome? *el rayo africano* St Augustine; *el Stridonés* St Jerome; *el panal romano* St Ambrose (see Coster, *Poésies Originales*).

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la gloria de Francisco sube y crece : in 1560 over a thousand Franciscan friars attended a General Chapter of their Order at Salamanca; in 1564 a Franciscan convent was founded there. In 1568 Azpilcueta suggested that the Franciscans might be fewer in number and more fervent in spirit.

14. *Aqui la envidia.*

These lines, if authentic, must date from the end of 1576. In many of his poems and prose works Fray Luis shows the same love of Nature and the *campo deleitoso.* The last line is found also in Spenser, but the sentiment (I envy nobody, no, not I) is too common for this to imply imitation on his part.

15. *No siempre.*

Written to Don Pedro Portocarrero (Carrero) perhaps in 1577, immediately after his release. *quien se opone al cielo*: cf. the homely proverb 'Quem cuspe para o ceo na cara lhe cai.' The tiger is Leon de Castro (cf. *Doc. inéd.*, x, p. 344: fué el todo de mi prision), whom Arias Montano represents as a prowling lion seeking whom he may devour. The basilisk and serpent must be Fray Bartolomé de Medina, who proved a sleeker but more venomous opponent. These two Luis de Leon always denounced as his 'capital enemies.' Both of them were well known to Portocarrero, who had been Rector of Salamanca University in the academic year 1556–7.

16. *Al Apartamiento.*

This must have been composed at about the same time as the preceding poem. The reference to the *sierra que vas al cielo altísima* may perhaps indicate that, when Fray Luis obtained a month's leave six weeks before the end of the summer term in 1577, he went to Granada on a visit to his mother and wrote this poem there between July and October.

La asida costumbre: cf. *Exposicion de Job,* xxxix, 11: 'la costumbre y el estilo como cadena de hierro'; Wordsworth's 'and custom lie upon him with a weight heavy as frost.' For Luis de Leon and other Renaissance poets a new sun rose every day and the common things of life, a leaf, a flower, rain, ice or the stars, never ceased to be miracles of loveliness.

17. *Qué vale.*

This thoroughly Horatian poem, written after his imprisonment, was addressed to his intimate and lifelong friend Felipe Ruiz de la Torre y Mota, who was possibly, like Fray Luis, of Belmonte.

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Bien como la nudosa: Horace, *Od.*, IV, iv, l. 57:

> Duris ut ilex tonsa bipennibus...ab ipso
> Ducit opes animumque ferro.

Fray Luis took the words *ab ipso ferro* as his motto after his release, and with the emblem of an axe and a pollarded tree they figured on his title-pages, to the indignation of the Valladolid Inquisitors. Several allusions to the same passage of Horace occur in Leon's prose works. Sure in the riches of the soul ('que sabe cerrar cielos y tierra con su llave': *ψυχῆς πείρατα οὐκ ἂν ἐξεύροιο*) he, like El Brocense and other sixteenth-century Spaniards, fortified himself with the Stoic philosophy against external events and evils.

traspaso sobre el aire: cf. the epigram of Ptolemaeus: *οὐκέτ' ἐπιψαύω γαίης πόσιν κ.τ.λ.*

18. *Recoge ya.*

This ode was addressed, perhaps in the autumn of 1577 from La Flecha, to Juan de Grial, Canon of Calahorra and a close friend of Luis de Leon till the end of his life.

al resplandor egeo: F. W. Hoffmann, followed by Wilhelm Storck (*Sämmtliche Originalgedichte des Luis Ponce de Leon*, Münster, 1853, p. 85), would translate this as 'zu den Böcklein.' M. Adolphe Coster would translate it as Orion and refers to a passage in the *Exposicion de Job* (xxxviii, 32) where, however, Leon's Orion *va al poniente* and stands for Horace's *pronus Orion*, while his *el resplandor egeo* 'amanece' (Horace's *orientis Austri*). So here the sense is probably simply that the sun in autumn sets further towards the south.

el ave vengadora del Ibico: the crane.

do no podrá subir la postrer llama is somewhat obscure, but probably means that, although a pyre's flames may burn the body to ashes, the poet's work survives. Or is it the *secunda mors* of Boethius?

el nuevo estilo: it was the strength and merit of the Renaissance poetry of Spain that in adopting the *dolce stil nuovo* it did not break away too abruptly from the older poetry, as did Du Bellay and Ronsard in France. The *torbellino traidor* is of course Luis de Leon's imprisonment in 1572.

19. *El aire se serena.*

This lyric has crystallised and rendered immortal a passing ecstasy of music, so that the notes played by the blind musician Francisco de Salinas sound in our ears after three and a half centuries (the poem may have been written in 1577). By music, said Salinas, 'erigimur ad

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rerum coelestium contemplationem' (Preface to his *De Musica*, 1577), and Luis de Leon similarly speaks of its power 'ad excitandum animum ad coelestia et ad sedandos et componendos affectus' (*Opera*, IV, p. 234). In this poem we see the soul rising from earth to contemplate its heavenly origin, *su origen primera* (Ronsard's *sa première origine*), beholding the light and whence it flows. The Platonic influence makes itself strongly felt in the poem. In the penultimate stanza Quevedo printed *amigos* (for *amigo*, i.e. Salinas), which would refer to the group of close friends at Salamanca (Luis de Leon's 'amicissimi') including El Brocense, Chacon (before he went to Rome), Loarte, Grial, Salinas, Grajal, Felipe Ruiz, Luis de Leon and others.

20. *Alma region lucente.*

This is one of Leon's most mystical poems. The picture is presented in the softest light and colours and the mystic fervour is painted with a Renaissance brush. It is not easy to understand the critics' difficulty in the last stanza. There are two readings of the last line: *junta ya no andará perdida errada* and (Quevedo) *viviré junta sin vagar errada.* In either case the meaning seems plain: the soul, being now close to the fold, will no longer wander and err. But certainly *vivirá* (in the third person) would be an easier reading.

21. *Cuando será que pueda.*

This ode is addressed to Felipe Ruiz. Its scientific questionings are typical of Renaissance thought and are to be found in Camões and other contemporary poets; although rarely have the artistic and scientific views been so intimately combined as in the temperament of Luis de Leon. These questions were partly derived from the Scriptures, from Virgil and other classical sources, as Horace, *Epist.*, I, xii, 16–18:

> Quae mare compescant causae, quid temperet annum.
> Stellae sponte sua jussaene vagentur et errent,
> Quid premat obscurum lunae, quid proferat orbem.

The magnificent description of the storm is taken from Virgil and from direct observation.

el Gallego insano: the north-west wind blowing from Galicia.

do los tesoros tiene de nieve Dios: one may notice the succession of *o* (snow) and *e* (Schnee, neige, nieve, neve) sounds here. (The *i*'s are not sounded.)

22. *En vano el mar fatiga.*

Addressed to Felipe Ruiz, this poem has a theme common in that age, when the poets found in Horace's philosophy no academic subject

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nor an evasion of life and strenuous endeavour, but a vital defence against the growth of materialism. Both Ronsard and Du Bellay have odes against *les avaricieux*, alluding to the new traffic in the East, but both these great poets were of a more Epicurean cast than the Stoic Fray Luis.

The Portuguese and Spanish were often at feud concerning the Spice Islands, the Moluccas (cf. Spenser's 'Unto the margent of the Molucas').

The *capitán romano* is of course Marcus Licinius Crassus.

23. *Elisa, ya el preciado.*

Was this possibly addressed to the poet's cousin Mencía de Leon, mother of Fray Basilio Ponce de Leon (born in 1570)? There is nothing to authorise this conjecture, which would fix the date of the poem. One is inclined in any case to assign it to the period before arrest. The last two stanzas are a good instance of the prevalence of soft *i* and *e* sounds which give to his poetry a pliant rhythm and exquisite music as compared with the harsher more oratorical pomp of much Castilian verse.

24. *Aunque en ricos montones.*

Elsewhere Luis de Leon says that 'el odio de la persona desenvaina contra el delito el cuchillo.' Huarte considered that judges were not chosen with sufficient care. Avarice (*rapaces et lucri avidos homines*) was in Luis de Leon's eyes one of the worst forms of tyranny. In the *Exposicion de Job* he inveighs against tyrants in terms similar to those used in this poem.

25. *A Nuestra Señora.*

The authenticity of these stanzas in *ottava rima* beginning *No viéramos el rostro al Padre Eterno* is extremely doubtful.

These twenty-five poems correspond, although in a different order, to the first twenty-five of those translated by Schlueter and Storck in the Münster (1853) edition, which contains thirty-seven. The 26th, a quatrain on the death of Prince Carlos, is perhaps authentic; the 27th, an ode on the same event, is almost certainly spurious. No. 28, *A Cristo Crucificado*, translated by Churton, is now attributed to Miguel Sanchez. The 29th shows more of Luis de Leon's energetic style (*A Nuestra Señora*, four stanzas beginning *Virgen muy más que el sol resplandeciente*). No. 30, *A la Vida Religiosa* (*Mil varios pensamientos*), has many touches of Luis de Leon's style and thought, and, if not by his own hand, must be the work of an excellent poet intimately acquainted with his lyrics. The same may be said of No. 31 (*Cuando*

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la noche oscura); and certainly both these poems should be included in editions of Luis de Leon's lyrics. Nos. 33 to 37 are much more doubtful, and No. 32 (*Si de mi bajo estilo*) is a close imitation of Garci Lasso. One may take also as authentic one or two of the sonnets, from which one would not willingly exclude *Agora con la aurora se levanta* (which Menéndez y Pelayo so greatly admired) and *O cortesía, o dulce acogimiento.* One has further to add the imitation of Horace addressed to Grial and beginning *Al canto y lira mia*; and the long but certainly authentic poem of which some editors of Luis de Leon have fought shy: the ode *Del Mundo y su Vanidad* beginning *Los que teneis en tanto.* The lines

No condeno del mundo
La máquina, pues es de Dios hechura

(perhaps a reminiscence of Ausías March:

E tot es bo puix es obra de Deu)

are characteristic of Fray Luis; as are the words 'nadie de su estado está contento' (cf. the Introduction of *La Perfecta Casada*) and 'Con rigor enemigo todas las cosas entre sí pelean' (cf. *Exposicion de Job*, xxix, 2: *el alboroto y pelea universal de esta vida*). The reference to the *caballo brioso* (cf. *Cantar de Cantares*, i, 8: 'Hermosa cosa es y llena de brio una yegua blanca,' and *Opera*, II, 28: 'Praestant equi inter omnia animantia,' etc.) and the concentrated energy of 'consulto tirano' and of the stanza

La grave desventura
del lusitano, por su mal valiente,
la soberbia y locura
de su bisoña gente
desbaratada miserablemente,

can scarcely be from any other hand than that of Luis de Leon. The reference to the Portuguese defeat of Alcacer Kebir and to the death of many other princes fixes the date of the poem as 1578.

The *Cancion a la muerte del Maestro Tormon* is not by Luis de Leon, but the ode *De la hermosura exterior de Nuestra Señora* almost certainly is. Its opening words *No invoco el napeo coro* are thoroughly Leonine, as are the lines

Rubios son como el oro
que en el crisol se acendra sus cabellos;

and perhaps no other poet would have dared to use the word *jabonadas* in a lyric. This boldness is to be found in Leon's translations of the Psalms and other passages of Scripture.

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SOURCES AND TEXT OF THE MIDDLE HIGH GERMAN POEM 'DIE HOCHZEIT.'

II[1].

FURTHER difficulties are now discussed. A passage in *Die Hochzeit*, based on some version of the *Physiologus*, reads:

unde volgen ouch des vil tiuren sinnes
sancti Johannis
unde tuon sam der edil are,
der dâ sweimunde vare:
sô in das altir an gât,
daz er daz gevidere lât,
sô ist er alt, sô ist er chalt:
er vellet in einen walt,
von dem paradîso er gât,
dâ sîn trôst gar an stât.
er gâhet zeinem brunne,
er badet sich dar inne,
im wehset sîn gevidere,
er vliuget hin widere
mit michiler chrefte
ouf in die lufte.
ê er im[m]ir chome hin widere,
im funkit sîn gevidere,
diu ougen sint im alsô lieht:
des enhabet [er] ê [nih]t.
sô habet der are edele
ein schô[nez gevide]re,
schôner danne ez ê was....
sô der man gevalle,...
er schol im einen hân er[koren],
der obenân sî beschoren,...
unde sage [al]len den rât,
den im der getân hat
der uns dâ gerne wil geschenten,...
Der bîhte der sind drîe. (ll. 578–617.)

Our problem here is to explain *sancti Johannis*, to show the connection of this saint with the eagle of the *Physiologus*, and to throw some light on the poet's interpretation of the eagle as symbolic not only of baptism, but also of confession and repentance.

Kraus[2] rejects the hypothesis that *sancti Johannis* refers to Johannes Chrysostomus, and, later, in a letter to Waag, he is inclined to take the words as referring to the evangelist St John: 'Sein Tier ist ja der Adler[3].'

[1] Continued from *Modern Language Review*, vol. xx, p. 316.

[2] *'Vom Rechte' und 'Die Hochzeit'* (*Sitzungsberichte d. Kais. Akad. d. Wissenschaften in Wien*, Phil.-hist. Kl., Bd. 123, No. iv), p. 77.

[3] Waag, *Kleinere deutsche Gedichte d. XI. u. XII. Jhs.*, 2. Aufl., Halle, 1916, p. lxix.

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And there Kraus leaves the matter. He is unable to account for this connection of St John with the *Physiologus*.

But it is possible to prove beyond all doubt that the passage does refer to the evangelist, and to explain why the poet connects St John with the *Physiologus*. St Augustine, in his comments on the eighth chapter of St John's gospel, deals with the emblems of the four evangelists, and says:

Restat aquila: ipse est Joannes, sublimium praedicator, et lucis internae atque aeternae fixis oculis contemplator. Dicuntur enim et pulli aquilarum a parentibus sic probari, patris scilicet ungue suspendi, et radiis solis opponi: qui firme contemplatus fuerit, filius agnoscitur; si acie palpitaverit, tanquam adulterinus ab ungue dimittitur[1].

St Gregory the Great also says:

Joannem per aquilam designans, qui volando terram deseruit, quia per subtilem intelligentiam interna mysteria Verbum videndo penetravit[2].

Further, there is a Latin hymn explaining the emblems, the final stanza of which is:

Natus Homo declaratur,
Vitula sacrificatur,
Leo mortem depredatur,
Sed ascendit Aquila[3].

Kraus points out that the description of the eagle in our poem differs from that of other versions of the *Physiologus*. But he does not explain these differences. We have to turn to other literatures for an explanation.

The writer of a Middle English *Life of St John*[4], after remarking that St John's gospel is the last and sublimest of the four, goes on to say:

In þe fourme of Ane Ern he is de-peint: ase we ofte i-seoth with eiȝe.
For þe Ern is swiftest of alle foules: and hext he may fleo:
For ȝwane he is in þe lofte an heiȝh: þat herre ne may non beo,
ȝuyt he may here in þe grounde: ane luttle worm i-seo;
Also he may so heiȝe fleo: and þe firmament so neiȝh,
þat almest is wyngene brenneth: wane he is so heiȝh.
Se Johan þat is þe fourme of Ern: is godspelles wel heiȝe bi-gan.
(ll. 159–165.)

The ultimate source of all this is obviously St Augustine, who says:

In quatuor Evangeliis, vel potius quatuor libris unius Evangelii, sanctus Joannes apostolus, non immerito secundum intelligentiam spiritualem aquilae comparatus,

[1] Migne, XXXV, col. 1666. [2] *Ibid.*, LXXVI, col. 625.

[3] F. Bond, *Dedications and Patron Saints*, London, 1914, p. 264. In the *Legenda Aurea*, too, St John uses the example of the eagle to illustrate the necessity of relaxation. The eagle must descend in order later to fly higher, and in the same way 'when mankind withdraweth him a little from contemplation, he after putteth himself higher by a renewed strength, and he burneth then more fervently in heavenly things.'

[4] *Early South-English Legendary*, ed. Horstmann, E.E.T.S., 1887.

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altius multoque sublimius aliis tribus erexit praedicationem suam; et in ejus erectione etiam corda nostra erigi voluit[1].

Roediger, in his *Conjecturen zur Hochzeit*, says:

unde volgen ouch des vil tiuren sinnes sancti Jôhannis. das lässt sich verstehen, wenngleich *der vil tiure sin* auffällt. die übliche formel wäre *des vil tiuren mannes sancti Johânnis*, und vielleicht gieng ihr einst voraus *unde volgen <ouch schiere der wislîchen lêre>* oder *<drâte dem (des) w. râte (râtes)>*[2].

But the English verses and St Augustine quoted above fully explain the passage. It is not a *rât* nor a *lêre* we have to follow. Augustine tells us that St John has risen higher than the other evangelists, that his 'spiritual intelligence' is unique (therefore *vil tiuren sinnes*), that 'in the lifting up he would have our hearts lifted up likewise' (*et in ejus erectione etiam corda nostra erigi voluit*). This is obviously what our poet means by *volgen ouch des vil tiuren sinnes sancti Jôhannis.* In his 'spiritual intelligence' he is 'compared to the eagle.'

But this is not the whole of the story. It remains to connect St John with the *Physiologus.* In *Ein Tosco-Venezianischer Bestiarius*[3] we read:

[Der Adler] prüft, ob seine Jungen gerade in die Sonne blicken können, indem er dieselben gegen die Sonne richtet,

and

Der Adler bedeutet diejenigen Menschen, welche ihre Augen emporrichten zu dem Glanze, dem die Welt ihre Erleuchtung verdankt, d. h. zu Christus...sie also sind wie der h. Johannes—welcher durch den Adler versinnbildlicht wird aus dem Grunde, weil er derjenige der Evangelisten ist, der von den erhabenen Dingen handelte—und von ihnen gilt das Wort Gottes: dies sind meine wahren Söhne.

Now this version of the *Physiologus* throws further light on *Die Hochzeit.* The usual interpretation of the eagle is baptism and learning to pray (as in the Middle English *Bestiary*), but the poet of *Die Hochzeit* interprets the eagle as confession and repentance (ll. 607–616), and this explains why the passage on confession (ll. 617–709) immediately follows:

Der bîhte der sind drîe (l. 617)
Swer die bîhte hât getân,
der mach vrôlîchen gân,
dâ diu werlt elliu sol vor got stân:
der wirt dâ genant daz gesegent chint. (ll. 703–706.)

This interpretation is not peculiar to the poet of *Die Hochzeit.* The version of *Physiologus* edited by Goldstaub and Wendriner shows the connection of thought between baptism and confession. If sinners seek salvation, 'so müssen sie sich zur Beichte und Reue, die gewissermaassen eine zweite Taufe darstellen, wenden' (p. 388).

[1] Migne, xxxv, col. 1662.
[2] *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, xxxvi, p. 261.
[3] Edited Goldstaub und Wendriner, Halle, 1892, pp. 384 and 387.

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We now come to another question of the text. Karajan gives the MS. reading *sunkit* (l. 595), which Waag followed in his first edition. Kraus rejected this reading in his review of Waag's book: 'geradezu trostlos ist es, den schreibfehler der hs. *sunkit* st. *funkit* auch bei W. wider anzutreffen[1].' That is, Kraus assumes that the copyist wrote 'long' *s* for *f*, and, at first sight, this appears to be a good suggestion, since, according to the usual versions, the eagle's wings are burned so that he falls into the water. Thus the Middle English *Bestiary* reads:

He hoveð in ðe sunne;
ðe sunne swiðeð al his fligt,
And oc it maked his egen brigt,
His feðres fallen for ðe hete,
And he dun mide to ðe wete
Falleð in ðat wellegrund,
ðer he wurðeð heil and sund.

Thus the eagle falls into the water, and comes out 'all new.'

In our poem this incident is over, and the burning of the wings is not mentioned (ll. 585–589). The MS. reading *sunkit*, therefore, may be right, for we are dealing with another version of the *Physiologus*. Our poet, like the poet of the Middle English *Life of St John*, already quoted, *þat almest is wyngene brenneth* (l. 164), is laying stress on the fact that St John rises in his gospel to a sublimity not attained by the other evangelists. The eagle's feathers have grown so strong that he rises high enough to scorch his wings. In this version of the *Physiologus* the scorched feathers and the bright eyes (ll. 595–596) are used to point another moral, and *sunkit* is obviously *almest brenneth*[2].

The verse *schôner danne ez ê was* (l. 600) is a mere formula. It occurs again where the poet speaks of the other bird—*daz ez schônir wirt, danne* [*ez wær*]*e* (ll. 833–834). This poetic trick is found also in the *Legenda Aurea*, where we read that St John was not killed by being placed in the vat of boiling oil, but came out more beautiful.

The whole passage (ll. 578–616) is now clear: St John is the eagle who rose to great heights in contemplation and interpretation of sublime truths. He was nearest the sun (Christ). We must follow this rare method and example (*volgen ouch des vil tiuren sinnes*). The eagle is the symbol of baptism; also of confession and repentance. Through baptism, confession, and repentance only can we meet the bridegroom[3]:

dâ nimet er die erwelten. (l. 712.)

[1] *Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum*, XVII, p. 27.

[2] The Middle High German dictionaries accept the reading *sunkit*, and give *sunken* as an intransitive weak verb, though the only reference is this passage (but the compound with *be-* occurs). In the British Museum copy of Lexer's *Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterbuch*, which contains marginal notes by Lexer, *sunken* remains unaltered.

[3] It is interesting to note that St Augustine in his work on St John's gospel lays stress on the necessity of frequent confession.

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The other *Physiologus* passage presents difficulty:

818 Dô tet got als ein vogil tuot,...
820 sô er sîn jungide gebirt...
824 selb[e tuot er] im den tôt,...
828 selbe læt er sîn bluot,...
830 ez bewillet der vogil guote...
832 unz er iz andir stunt gebirt,...
836 unde lât ⟨ez⟩ danne hin widere
undir sîn gevidere
in sîn heiz gebruote:
daz tuont die sîne guote. (ll. 818–839.)

Kraus[1] calls attention to the departure from the usual description of the pelican; but he offers no explanation. Here we obviously have a blending of two birds. This is no new thing in the development of the *Physiologus*. Lauchert notes a 'vereinigte Darstellung' of the pelican and the phoenix to symbolise the sacrifice and resurrection of Christ[2], and H. Vollmer, in his description of a Berlin MS., tells us of a bird called 'Ormeniola,' of which he says: 'Die Fabelei...könnte durch Verschmelzung der Erzählungen des Physiologus vom Pelican und vom Phoenix entstanden sein[3].'

St Augustine solves our puzzle:

Dicuntur hae aves tanquam colaphis rostrorum occidere parvulos suos, eosdemque in nido occisos a se lugere per triduum: postremo dicunt matrem seipsam graviter vulnerare et sanguinem suum super filios fundere, quo illi superfusi reviviscunt....Congruit illi quod matris caro vivificat sanguine suo filios suos; satis congruit. Nam et ipse gallinam se dicit super pullos suos: Jerusalem, Jerusalem, quoties volui congregare filios tuos, tanquam gallina pullos suos sub alas suas, et noluisti....'Pelicanus in solitudine.' Puto ego hic intelligi Christum natum de virgine[4].

Thus St Augustine introduces the hen into his passage on the pelican, which is precisely what our poet does in lines 836–838[5]. The poet deals with 'Christ born of a virgin' in lines 878–891.

The poem proceeds:

Alsô tet got der rîche
uns allen gelîche,
dô er des zuo uns gedâhte,
daz er uns ze dem liehte brâhte.
er lêch uns allen den rât,
des er guot stât hât,
ob wir rehte gefuoren,
daz wir hêrôre wæren
danne der engil dehein,
den ie diu sunne beschein:

[1] Waag, p. lxxiii.
[2] *Geschichte des Physiologus*, Strassburg, 1889, p. 211.
[3] *Ein deutsches Adambuch*, Hamburg, 1908, p. 47.
[4] Migne, xxxvii, col. 1299–1300.
[5] On Thomas Cantimpratensis, who follows St Augustine in his treatment of the hen as symbolic of Christ, see Goldstaub and Wendriner, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

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den hiez er betten an den man,
den er êrste bilden began,
an den herren Adâmen,
von dem w[ir] alle chômen. (ll. 840–853.)

The lines 840–849 quoted above, and 866–875 (*ê sich dô got verdâhte ...dô erbarmôt ez im in nôte,...mit sînem vil hêren bluote* etc.) contain the same interpretation of the pelican as the *Tosco-Venezianische Bestiarius*, viz. after the fall of man God took pity on man and sent

seinen Sohn, der mit ihm eins ist, damit Dieser durch Verspritzung seines Blutes allen Denen zur Auferstehung verhelfe, welche bis zum Ende aller Dinge seine Kinder bleiben, dadurch dass sie seine Gebote erfüllen, während Diejenigen, welche gegen dieselben handeln, ein Opfer der Hölle werden (p. 367).

The passage *daz wir hêrôre wæren danne der engil dehein* (ll. 847–848) seems to be based on 'Know ye not that we shall judge angels' (1 Cor. vi, 3). The argument of the poet is: The highest angel, Lucifer, was commanded by God to worship Adam (i.e. man). He refused, and was cast out of heaven. Michael, the second in rank, and other angels worshipped Adam. Thus, if man obeys God's law he will be higher than any angel[1].

Kraus[2] can find this story (ll. 850–852) of how Satan refused to worship Adam at the command of God, though Michael and other angels did so, only in the English *Lyff of Adam and Eue*:

Christ...seide, 'Lo Adam is on of vs,...I wol þat 3e honoure him': Seynt Mihel was þe furste þat dude him honour. Satan and his followers refused, and were cast out of heaven[3].

Now there are many versions of this legend in various languages[4], and most of them are contained in the so-called *Adam Books*. Parts of these *Adam Books*, Jewish in origin, have been incorporated in Christian works, e.g. the journey of Seth is found in the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, and the incident of Satan's refusal to worship Adam in the *Gospel of Bartholomew*, whilst the *Life of Adam*, as a whole, has been christianised. Many Latin manuscripts of a *Vita Adae et Evae* exist, and these may

[1] Origen tells us that some interpret 1 Cor. vi, 3 to mean that we shall be superior to all angels, and protests against this interpretation. The superiority of Adam to the angels is expressed most clearly in the *Encomium of Theodosius on St Michael the Archangel* (=*Misc. Coptic Texts in the Dialect of Upper Egypt*, ed. Budge, London, 1915), p. 904: 'The angels are not more exalted than thyself (i.e. Adam).' The account of the fall of Lucifer then follows.

[2] *Vom Rechte*, etc., p. 81.

[3] Horstmann, *Altenglische Legenden*, Heilbronn, 1878–1881, I, p. 221.

[4] Information can be found in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, I, p. 176, and in Schürer's *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, 3. Aufl., III, pp. 288 f. In more recently published work the story is found in the *Encomium of Theodosius on St Michael the Archangel* (=*Misc. Coptic Texts in the Dialect of Upper Egypt*, ed. Budge, London, 1915), pp. 903–905, and in Latin in the *Gospel of Bartholomew*, ed. Moricca, *Revue Biblique*, Paris and Rome, Oct. 1921, pp. 512–513.

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be divided into four classes. They differ greatly in length, the longer ones containing more Christian elements[1].

In the Latin *Vita Adae et Evae*, edited by W. Meyer, we read (Satan is speaking):

et ipse Michahel primus adoravit, et vocavit me et dixit 'adora imaginem dei Jehova.' Et respondi ego 'non habeo ego adorare Adam.'...Et iratus est mihi dominus deus et misit me cum angelis meis foras de gloria nostra,...sicut ego expulsus sum de gloria mea[2].

To digress for a moment. In this legend Satan explains to Adam why he is continuously pursuing Adam, viz. because Adam was responsible for Satan's fall. This account does not agree with the biblical story. Meyer[3] points out that St Augustine rejects this legend, holding that Satan from the beginning fell through pride, and it is interesting to note that some versions of the *Adam Book* omit this passage, whilst the German *Adambuch* interrupts the narrative to try to reconcile the two accounts of the fall of Satan:

Nw möcht man sprechen das dicz nicht wär geschehen, wan ich hab vor gesagt das Got den Lucifer versties, ee das Adam weschaffen ward. es ist geschehen, do Lucifer weschaffen ward, vnd do Got gedacht das alle ding wurdn volbracht...[4].

Horstmann has edited five English versions of a *Life of Adam and Eve*, two in verse and three in prose[5]. It would take too much space to discuss the relation of these versions to one another here. One of them throws light on our poem, and shows that the Latin *Vita*, as edited by Meyer, cannot be the source of the above passage in *Die Hochzeit*. The source must be one of the expanded Latin versions. This will be shown below.

We read a few lines further on:

die tolen engele,
die dâ rieten an got,
des wart in wol gelônôt:
si vielen eben alle
drî tage volle
sô diche sô der regen tuot.
si worhten ubil oder guot,
si muosen eben alle
dulten die helle.
daz [was di]u Luzzifern vart,
sô im ie wê wart. (ll. 1006–1016.)

[1] See Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, Oxford, 1913, II, p. 125.

[2] In *Abhandlungen der kgl. Bay. Akad. d. Wissenschaften*, Philos.-philol. Kl., Bd. XIV, 3 Abt., München, 1876, p. 226.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 199.

[4] *Ein deutsches Adambuch*, p. 13.

[5] Two in verse and one in prose in *Altenglische Legenden*, Heilbronn, 1878–1881, and two prose versions in *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, Bd. LXXIV (1885), pp. 345–365.

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Kraus remarks:

Das absurde *guot* kann ich mir nur durch die Annahme erklären, dass der Verfasser gedankenlos eine feststehende Antithese anwendete[1].

But this is not the explanation. Kraus did not recognise that these verses continue the story of the fall of Satan from line 853. A glance at one of the English versions of the *Life of Adam* will make this clear. We read:

Seynt Mihel was þe furste þat dude him honour; and also þe oþur angelus aftur him...[Satan and his followers refuse to worship Adam]...And þenne weore þei stabelichet in þat ilke while þat heo hedden þenne, boþe þe goode & vvuel, so þat heo ne mihte neuer out þer-of: and after þat while heo beon pynet, summe more & summe lasse; and also to þe oþer: in heuene is heore joye. And he and alle his feeren fullen out of heuene; heo fullen out as þikke as þe drift of þe snouh[2].

Now we see that the English version states that from this time there were two classes of angels—the good and the evil. And the German poet means the same thing when he says *si worhten ubil oder guot*. We must, namely, read this sentence in parenthesis[3]. The English version says that the evil angels fell out 'as thick as the drift of snow,' and the German poet uses the rain as a comparison. It would seem that both this English version and *Die Hochzeit* go back to the same source.

Now the tale in *Ein deutsches Adambuch* has nothing of this, nor has Meyer's Latin *Vitae Adae et Evae*. It is not found in the other English versions, but there are other versions of this legend in other languages of great interest. Jagič, in his article *Slavische Beiträge zu den biblischen Apocryphen*, dealing with versions of Satan's fall in Slavonic manuscripts, gives one story as follows:

Da kam Erzengel Michael und schlug ihn mit dem Scepter und warf ihn auf die Erde sammt seiner ganzen Schar, und seine Scharen fielen drei Tage und drei Nächte, wie die Tropfen des Regens, herab[4].

And it is found in Armenian versions. Here we read that the angels

wandten sich gegen Sadaêl [=Satan] und alle seine Diener und besiegten sie und sie stürzten hinab, wie Hagel aus den Wolken[5].

[1] *Vom Rechte*, etc., p. 84. Kraus adds: 'an die beim Kampfe mit Lucifer neutralen Engel wird kaum gedacht sein.' But this is not impossible in view of the fact that they are *die edelen unt die werden* in *Parzival* 471, 19.

[2] Horstmann, *Altengl. Legenden*, I, 221.

[3] Another theory of the angels who fell with Lucifer is that some were less guilty than the others. This theory is slightly developed in the English version, now under discussion, but it is developed at length in the *Life of St Michael* (Horstmann, *S. E. Leg.*, pp. 304–305). Here they fly in the air, are not confined to hell for ever, but will be saved at last. In *Die Hochzeit* we find only two classes, good and evil; the evil *muosen eben alle dulten die helle.*

[4] *Denkschriften der Wiener Akad. d. Wissenschaften*, Phil.-hist. Kl., XLII (1893), p. 44. Jagič discusses the relation of these Slavonic versions to the Latin *Vita*.

[5] E. Preuschen, *Die Apokryphen gnostischen Adamschriften aus dem Armenischen übersetzt* (*Festgruss B. Stade*, Giessen, 1900), p. 189.

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Thus the English simile is snow, the German and Slavonic rain, and the Armenian hail. These passages show that lines 1009–1014 of *Die Hochzeit* are from an *Adam Book*, and the English version shows that *guot* in *si worhten ubil oder guot* (l. 1012) is not 'absurd,' but lays down a definite dogma.

Another dark passage in our poem is concerned with the tortures of the damned in hell. We read:

> dâ ne habeten si niht ze dem lebene
> wan daz in die wurme heten ze gebene.
> Daz gewurme ungehiure,
> daz cholete si mit fiure. (ll. 174–177.)

Light is thrown on what reads like a grim joke (l. 175) by a Middle English prose text, *Meditations on the Passion*, which says of the tortures of hell:

> Neddres snakes & tades & oþer venemouse bestes sal life in þat hate fire as fish in water: til pyne þa wreches; & for thrist þat þai haue: þai sal souke þe venym oute of þe neddres heuides[1].

This passage shows us what the *wurme* have to give the damned[2].

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[1] *Yorkshire Writers*, edited C. Horstmann, London, 1895, I, p. 121.

[2] There are, of course, numerous descriptions of hell more or less similar to the above. The *Cursor Mundi* has a similar passage, but does not mention that the damned will suck venom from the adders' heads. A Middle High German poet makes the damned eat snakes and toads: *Die slangen sul wir ezzen / Und suln kroten vrezzen, / Trachengalle ist unser tranc.* (*Von dem jungesten Tage*, edited L. A. Willoughby, Oxford, 1918, lines 397–399.)

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MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

The Date of Adam Davy's 'Dreams.'

The *Dreams* of Adam Davy are not very important as literature, but have some value as London English of the early fourteenth century. Furnivall had them copied, and put Davy into the *Early English Text Society* 'so that we might have done with him.' Ten Brink had a kindly feeling for the old Marshal[1], and Warton treated him at some length, though under what is now believed to be a mistaken notion that he was the author of all of the poems in the MS. of which his is the first[2].

The poem of Davy has usually been assumed to be of the early part of Edward II's reign, that is soon after July 1307 when Edward came to the throne. Dr Rupert Taylor, however, in his dissertation on the *Political Prophecy in England*[3], took me to task for expressing this usual view in my *Middle English Reader*, and argued for a later date. He suggested that the prophecy of Edward's being *emperour in cristianete*, 'Emperor in Christendom,' would better fit a date about 1313 after the death of the Emperor Albert. He also thought that line 67, referring to a possible connection of Edward and the Pope, might have been written between 1314 and 1316 when there was an interregnum in the Papacy. The arguments do not seem to me convincing, but the suggestions are worth considering.

In looking at the matter more recently, it occurred to me that we might perhaps settle the date more definitely. In his account of four of the *Dreams* Davy gives the day of the week in which he saw the vision, and its relation to a church festival. His language is most explicit regarding the second dream,

> on a tiwes-niȝht,
> Bifore the fest of alle halewen, of þat ilk knyȝt[4].

This could hardly be other than October 31, the eve of All Saints' Day. Turning now to De Morgan's *Book of Almanacs* we find that October 31 was Tuesday in 1307, 1312, and 1318. The first would favour the

[1] *Early English Literature*, transl. by Kennedy, I, p. 321.
[2] Hazlitt, ed. of Warton, II, pp. 201-5.
[3] *Columbia University Studies in English*, 1911.
[4] Lines 43-4. I have reversed the *th* of the MS. in the rime words *niȝth—kniȝth* in accordance with the usual spelling.

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usual dating of the poem, and neither of the other years would support Dr Taylor's argument. Davy's prayer that the king should be victorious over all his enemies, and especially over *alle wicked sarasynes*, is too general to apply specifically to the death of his favourite Gaveston in 1312, and might quite as readily apply to the earlier years of trouble with that Gascon bone of contention. The election of Edward as Emperor could not apply to the death of the Emperor Albert in 1313, unless we are to assume the dreamer in 1312 had some supernatural information of that event. Nor would Dr Taylor's reference to the Pope, Edward, and the interregnum in the Papacy fit either the year 1312 or 1318. In the first year he could not have known the interregnum was to occur, and in the second it was too long past.

But how does the year 1307 fit the other references to time in the other dreams? The next most explicit reference to time is in relation to the third dream:

> Ðe wedenysday a niȝht it was
> Next þe day of seint lucie bifore cristenmasse (69–70).

Here *next* might be either next before or next after, but the added *bifore cristenmasse* clearly makes the passage mean the night next after. Now in 1307 St Lucy's day (December 13) was Wednesday and, according to medieval usage—especially ecclesiastical usage—would close at sundown. The night next after would be the night of that festival day, and apparently without question the time of the third dream. This would seem to confirm the preceding indication of the year 1307. If it be urged that the night could not be the night of St Lucy's festival, there would be nothing at variance with the language if it were assumed to be the night of Wednesday, December 20, still sufficiently before Christmas. That date, however, would seem too far removed from St Lucy's day to be naturally chosen: in that case Davy would more naturally have said the Wednesday before St Thomas's day (December 21). Moreover, a Wednesday does not immediately follow a St Lucy's day until 1317, when the Saint's day fell on Tuesday.

The two other dreams that are described with reference to a day of the week are indicated in more general language, but with nothing at variance with those already considered. The first was

> Ðe wedenysday bifore þe decollacioun of seint Ion (37),

more than a *twelve moneþ* ago as Davy tells us. There is no reason to suppose the dreamer would have forgotten the day of the week or the church festival, even in more than the year since the dream occurred. He may perhaps have forgotten in that time whether the Wednesday—

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a favourite day for his dreams—was before or after the day of John's beheading, August 29. If it were the Wednesday after, it would have been the next day, August 29 being Tuesday in 1307. Still, there is no conflict with the preceding dates if we assume the dream was on Wednesday, August 22, the first Wednesday before the church festival. Between that and the day of St John's beheading there was no church festival likely to have elicited the dreamer's attention.

The fifth dream was on

Đe þursday next þe beryng of oure lefdy (135),

that is next the nativity of Mary, or September 8. But this is in the year following the first three dreams. A fourth dream had occurred on *worþing-niȝht*, that is February 2, the day of the feast of Purification of the Virgin, and a voice with another message had come to the dreamer *on Wedenysday in clene leinte*. If the earlier dreams were in 1307, as seems reasonably certain, these must have been in 1308. Again if we could assume that Davy had forgotten the year, and this dream also occurred in 1307, the Thursday next, 'nearest,' would have been the day before Mary's nativity, that is before Friday, September 8 of that year. Yet there is nothing inconsistent in assuming that this fifth dream was either September 12, the Thursday next after, or September 5, the Thursday next before Mary's day.

Worthing-night, which would seem to be the feast mentioned above, was a Saturday night in 1308. Wednesday *in clene leinte*, 'in chaste or pure Lent,' might have been any of the six Wednesdays before Holy Week in that year, but if it were Ash Wednesday it was February 27, sufficiently far away from worthing-night to warrant a new vision.

Henry Bradley, in the article on Davy in the *D.N.B.*, mentioned the possibility of the *Dreams* referring to Edward III in 1328, a possibility not now usually considered. In any case, however, neither 1327 nor 1328 would fit the references by Davy. In 1327, October 31, the eve of All Saints', was Saturday, and in 1328 it was Monday, 1328 being a leap year. It would seem reasonably settled, therefore, that Adam Davy's *Dreams* were of 1307–8 and that he committed them to writing in the latter part of the latter year. This refers to Davy's own compositions of course, the MS. in which we have them being of the last quarter of the same century.

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Parallels to Three Elizabethan Sonnets.

I. Sidney: *Astrophel and Stella*, XXV.

The wisest scholar of the wight most wise,
By Phoebus' doom, with sugared sentence says:
That virtue, if it once met with our eyes,
Strange flames of love it in our souls would raise:
But for that man with pain this truth descries,
Whiles he each thing in sense's balance weighs:
And so nor will, nor can, behold those skies,
Which inward sun to heroic minds displays:
Virtue, of late, with virtuous care to stir
Love of herself, takes Stella's shape; that she
To mortal eyes might sweetly shine in her.
It is most true. For since I her did see,
Virtue's great beauty in that face I prove,
And find th' effect: for I do burn in love.

Marc-Claude de Buttet: *L'Amalthée*. Lyon, 1575, p. 122.

Si la vertu divinement connue
De l'esprit seul, à l'œil se faisoit voir,
(Comme tu as, grand Platon, fait sçavoir)
De quelle amour seroit nostre ame émue!
Or en ce tens elle est au iour venue,
Et ie l'ai peu moimesme appercevoir:
Sous les beautés, qui forcent mon povoir,
Emerveillable elle m'est apparue.
En regardant ma Déesse l'exemple
D'un corps parfait, la vertu ie contemple
La vertu seule adoree de moi.
N'admirés donq' si tant i'aime la belle
L'alme vertu à moi se monstre en elle,
Plus la voiant, plus m'attirant à soi.

The reference is to Socrates' thought in the *Phædrus* that wisdom's beauty would be transporting, if there were any visible image of her. The resemblance between the two sonnets is probably a coincidence. We know from his other works that Sidney was interested in Plato. Spenser also, in the *Hymn of Heavenly Beautie*, imagines wisdom as made visible, not, like the sonneteers, in the shape of a beloved mistress, but in her own form of excelling loveliness.

II. *Astrophel and Stella*, XVII.

His mother dear, Cupid offended late;
Because that Mars grown slacker in her love,
With pricking shot he did not throughly move,
To keep the pace of their first loving state.
The boy refused for fear of Mars's hate;
Who threatened stripes, if he his wrath did prove:
But she, in chafe, him from her lap did shove;
Brake bow, brake shafts: while weeping Cupid sate.
Till that his grandame Nature pitying it,
Of Stella's brows, made him two better bows;
And in her eyes, of arrows infinite.

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O how for joy, he leaps! O how he crows!
And straight therewith—like wags new got to play—
Falls to shrewd turns; and I was in his way.

Pontanus: *De Stella*[1] (*Delitiae cc italorum poetarum*, collectore R. Ghero, 1608. Pars alt., p. 477).

Exhausit pharetram Veneris puer: at Venus ignes
Exstinxit. Venus hinc, inde & inermis Amor.
Exhaustam hic Pharetram, extinctas flet Cypria flammas.
Hic arcum lacrimis tingit; at illa faces.
Neve puer, neu fle mater: dant spicula mille
Stellae[1] oculi; puer his utere pro pharetra.
Quin flammas mea corda vomunt; his utere mater,
Pro face; inexhausta tu face, & hic pharetra.

Here we have a common theme, though Sidney has modified it considerably. There are poems on the same subject by Vulteius, Michel d'Amboise and Maurice Scève[2].

III. Lodge: *Phillis*, XXXIX.

My matchless mistress, whose delicious eyes
Have power to perfect nature's privy wants,
Even when the sun in greatest pomp did rise,
With pretty tread did press to tender plants.
Each stalk, whilst forth she stalks, to kiss her feet
Is proud with pomp, and prodigal of sweet.

Her fingers fair in favouring every flower
That wooed their ivory for a wished touch,
By chance—sweet chance—upon a blessed hour
Did pluck the flower where Love himself did couch,
Where Love did couch by summer toil suppressed,
And sought his sleep within so sweet a nest.

The virgin's hand that held the wanton thrall,
Imprisoned him within the roseate leaves;
And twixt her teats, with favour did install
The lovely rose, where Love his rest receives.
The lad that felt the soft and sweet so nigh,
Drowned in delights, disdains his liberty,

And said, let Venus seek another son,
For here my only matchless mother is;
From whose fair orient orbs the drink doth run,
That deifies my state with greater bliss.
This said, he sucked, my mistress blushing smiled,
For Love was both her prisoner and her child.

Naugerius: *De Cupidine et Hyella* (*Ibid.* p. 114).

Florentes dum forte vagans mea Hyella per hortos
Texit odoratis lilia cana rosis:
Ecce rosas inter latitantem invenit Amorem:
Et simul annexis floribus implicuit.

[1] This poem is entitled 'De Venere et Amore' in earlier editions of Pontanus. It is noteworthy that Pontanus' mistress is called Stella.

[2] *Délie*, LXXXIX (*Soc. des textes fr. mod.*), edited by Parturier, who gives the references to Vulteius, d'Amboise and Pontanus.

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Luctatur primo; et contra nitentibus alis
Indomitus tentat solvere vincla puer.
Mox ubi lacteolas, et dignas matre papillas
Vidit, et ora ipsos nata movere Deos:
Impositosque comae ambrosios ut sensit odores,
Quosq; legit diti messe beatus Arabs:
I, dixit, mea quaere novum tibi mater Amorem,
Imperio sedes haec erit apta meo.

The source of Lodge's theme is Navagero's poem, though there may be another poem in Italian or French nearer the English. The same subject has been treated by Lodovico Dolce[1] and by Olivier de Magny[2], but Lodge has followed neither. An analogous poem by Angerianus is imitated by Fletcher[3].

JANET G. SCOTT.

GLASGOW.

MILFORD IN 'CYMBELINE.'

Why did Shakespeare adopt Milford as the scene of his plot in *Cymbeline*? He describes it as 'a mountainous country with a cave' which can hardly have been an adequate description of Milford at any time, so that it is unlikely that he had any associations with the country.

Maria's remark in *Twelfth Night*, Act III, Scene ii: 'He does smile his face into more lines than is in the new map with the augmentation of the Indies' is supposed to refer to the map found in the 1599 edition of Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries*, and usually attributed to Mollineux. It is interesting to note that on this map the only town marked in the South or West of Britain—the regions at a distance from the court, where the Romans might be expected to land—is Milford. Perhaps Shakespeare may have been in the habit of referring to this map.

DAVID WILLIAMS.

TOWYN, NORTH WALES.

BODMER AND NEWTON.

Bodmer's interests lay chiefly in the fields of literature and history. When therefore he was at work upon his biblical epic *Noah* and one of his problems was to account for the Flood in as plausible a manner as possible, it was only natural perhaps that he should turn to various scientific works in which he might hope to find material available for

[1] Quoted in *Storia dei generi letterarii Italiani—La lirica*, fas. 33 et 34. Published by Vallardi, Milan.

[2] *Gayetez, D'un bouquet de s'amie et de Cupidon.* [3] *Licia*, II.

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his purpose. One of the authors who in this respect proved helpful to him was, as I have already shown[1], William Whiston, the English divine and mathematician, who in 1703 succeeded Sir Isaac Newton as professor of mathematics in the University of Cambridge.

One would suppose *a priori* that for this particular phase of his narrative Bodmer must have consulted also the works of Newton. And this he seems indeed to have done. First of all it is noteworthy that in the epic itself, namely in canto twelve of the early edition[2], we find Sir Isaac's name recorded. To be sure it appears in the unfamiliar form Neuton[3], but this is merely one of Bodmer's numerous attempts at a phonetic spelling of foreign proper names—English names, for the most part[4]. Here then we have at once a bit of presumptive evidence that Bodmer had some acquaintance with Newton's works. Let us see now whether there is anything in the way of textual parallels to support it.

The Latin version of Newton's *Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy*, to which is appended the *System of the World*, appeared in 1687. In volume II, page 291, of the English version of that work we read, 'they (*sc.* the tails of comets) are, indeed, of a very notable rarity,' as appears from the fact that the stars may be seen through them[5]. When in the *Noah*[6] we come upon the lines:

> und siehe! da stand der Komete
> An dem Horizont auf . . . . . .
> . . . . . und hinter ihm flammten
> Nordens Gestirne durch sein durchsichtig Geschlepp unverfinstert,

we are struck by the resemblance between the two passages. This, however, is not in itself to be accepted as conclusive evidence of Bodmer's direct borrowing from Newton since, as I have pointed out in another connection, there happens to be a similar reference to the rarity of comets' tails in a letter which Bodmer received from his friend Sulzer—for a time a professor of mathematics—who himself no doubt was acquainted with the Newtonian passage[7]. Of course there is nothing to militate against the assumption that Bodmer, when he

[1] Cf. 'Whiston as a Source of Bodmer's Noah' in *Studies in Philology*, October, 1925, pp. 522–528.

[2] Cf. the *Noah*, edition of 1752, XII, l. 1055.

[3] In the later editions the name was omitted.

[4] Cf., e.g., the variant spellings 'Joung' and 'Jung' for 'Young,' the English poet, who was one of the most important sources of the *Noah*. Bodmer's indebtedness to Young, I may add, I have discussed in an article 'Bodmer and Young' in *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, April, 1925, pp. 211–218. Here I may state that scholars are still divided on the question how Bodmer's spellings of certain authors' names are to be accounted for. I may later have something to say in regard to the matter.

[5] I quote from Motte's English translation of Newton's works.

[6] Cf. the edition of 1765, p. 199.

[7] Cf. my article 'Whiston as a Source of Bodmer's Noah.'

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wrote the lines in question, had in mind both Sulzer's and Newton's statement.

On page 309 of Newton's work we read, 'the vapours which arise from . . . . . the tails of comets, may meet at last with, and fall into, the atmospheres of the planets by their gravity, and there be condensed and turned into water and humid spirits.' In the *Noah*[1] a similar passage reads:

> Andre (*sc.* Hüter) . . . . . .
> Haben Befehl bekommen, die Sorgen nunmehr zu verdoppeln,
> Da der Komet der Erde sich nahet und bald sie berühret,
> Und die eröffneten Urnen mit Fluten über sie ausgiesst.

Here again the resemblance between the two passages is not in itself evidence of Bodmer's direct indebtedness to Newton for, as I have already shown, Whiston, who was one of the undoubted sources of the *Noah*, has a similar passage in one of his works[2]; Whiston, I ought to add, not only knew the writings of Sir Isaac, but on more than one occasion entered into controversy with him. In this case, too, Bodmer may have had both English passages in mind.

Newton in his *System of the World*, volume III, page 73, deals with the *re*-appearance of a comet. But on page 290 of the *Noah*, it is interesting to note, we find Bodmer introducing a second appearance of *his* comet. Finally, the following parallels serve as further corroborative evidence that Bodmer was indeed indebted to Sir Isaac. In the *System of the World*, page 61, the author makes the statement that the sun communicates heat to the comets—an idea which occurs twice in the *Noah*, first in the passage:

> Neulich sahen wir einen der Sterne, die nicht mit Gehorsam
> Um den Palast der Sonne herumgehen, der sie nur zuweilen
> Auf ungebahnten Wegen in eignen Geschäften besuchet;
> Er kam Feuer für seine Volkan' in der Sonne zu schöpfen[3].

We find the same idea again in the following:

> Aber der fremde Stern hatt', in seinem Besuch bei der Sonne,
> Vorrat von Feuer geholt, er flammte mit neuen Volkanen,
> Als er die Erde vorbeiflog. Die Hitze, die jetzt von ihm ausfloss,
> Löste die irdischen Wasser in nassen Staub auf[4].

The most plausible explanation for the presence of Newton's name in the text of the *Noah* would appear to be this: Bodmer introduced the name into his epic as a token of admiration and respect for the distinguished Englishman, just as Milton, from a similar motive, sought to perpetuate the name of his friend Galileo by giving it a place in his

[1] Cf. the edition of 1765, p. 215.
[2] Cf. my article 'Whiston as a Source of Bodmer's Noah.'
[3] Cf. the *Noah*, edition 1765, p. 274. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 291.

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Paradise Lost. With this poem, as I have shown elsewhere[1], Bodmer was thoroughly familiar; moreover, while at work upon the *Noah* he regarded Milton's masterpiece as one of his most valuable literary models. The evidential passages cited above, supporting as they do the original conjecture of literary influence, seem therefore to establish the fact that Bodmer borrowed from Sir Isaac as he did from many other authors.

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THE REAL SOURCE OF A NOVELLA BY BANDELLO (I, 41) ON THE LOVES OF SOPHONISBA AND MASINISSA.

The note by Mr Alex. Haggerty Krappe, published in Vol. XX, pages 191–192 of this *Review*, with the courteous and flattering words which he has been so kind as to use about a recent work of mine, makes me wish to go back to the arguments I have already adduced[2] and to establish clearly what texts Bandello had before him when he composed the forty-first novella of Part I; for, if Mr Krappe's article has the merit of drawing attention to a notable correspondence, which had escaped me, with Book V of Petrarch's *Africa*, it has also the fault of exaggerating its importance as an element of inspiration to the sixteenth-century novelist, and therefore of arriving at conclusions which are not entirely warranted.

I had already pointed out, in my researches on Bandello's novella, that its principal source was the Latin text of Livy's *Decades* (Book XXX, chapters 12, 14, 15); but I denied, for well-considered reasons, that Petrarch's *Trionfi* could have influenced him, although they are explicitly quoted by him in the dedication of his tale to Rinuccio Farnese[3]; for I also found that another narrative of Bandello's (II, 21),

[1] Cf. my article 'Bodmer and Milton' in *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, XVII, pp. 589–601.

[2] *Alla scoperta del vero Bandello*, in the *Giorn. Stor. d. Lett. Ital.*, Vol. LXXX, p. 103.

[3] I quote here the most important passage, to show how Bandello, to hide his hand, mentions only Petrarch's *Canzoniere* and his *Trionfi*, which exercised no influence on his own novella, but is completely silent about the *Africa* of the same poet and also about the work of Livy which he plundered unmercifully. 'Dopo desinare,' he writes to Farnese, 'ragionandosi di varie cose, voi pigliaste in mano il libro delle divinissime Rime del Petrarca e, leggendo alcuni sonetti [It is thus superfluous to observe that the reference is not to the Latin poem, as it appears to Mr Krappe, but to the *Rime volgari*, that is to the *Canzoniere*], si cominciò sommamente a commendar da tutti l'alto e candidissimo stile, le belle e scelte e proprie parole, con la disposizione e nascosti sensi, dal poeta usati. Cominciaste poi a legger, nei *Trionfi*, la bella istoria di Masinissa e Sofonisba; la quale, tutta piena di compassione, quasi ci tirò le lagrime su gli occhi. Allora fu da voi pregato il signor Giorgio Santa Croce, che volesse la detta istoria...narrare, in quel modo che,

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that dealing with the story of the Roman Lucretia, was also drawn from Livy (Book I, chapter 57 ff.).

Am I mistaken? I think not. Bandello's novella, as everyone knows, begins with a few summary indications of the character and antecedents of Masinissa, making a kind of historical and moral presentation of this personage; we learn that he was the son of Gala, king of the Massezuli, that on his father's death he saw his kingdom occupied by others, and how he then, by his valour, succeeded in obtaining the friendship of Scipio and in remaining the faithful ally of the Romans, etc.—all details which he could easily glean from the pages of Livy. But the principal action, which forms the nucleus of the novella, begins with the taking of the town of Cirta and with the first meeting between Sophonisba and Masinissa, enlarging then, through many pages, on the loves of the two until, in anticipation of the intervention of Scipio, the tragedy concludes with the stoical death of the faithful wife, which is followed by this brief comment of the author: 'Cotal fine adunque ebbe l'infelice amore del re Masinissa, cotanto dal nostro divinissimo Petrarca lodato[1].'

Now, whoever will take the trouble of comparing the words of Livy with the prose of the Cinquecento, will easily perceive that I was not mistaken in concluding my study of Bandello with the observation that the novella 'è una libera versione delle *Deche* di Tito Livio, amplificata e diluita, specialmente nei discorsi dei personaggi, troppo prolissi e retorici, a confronto della maschia e severa drammaticità dello storico padovano[2].'

Here, however, I must fill in a blank, for the indication of which I am indebted to Mr Krappe; that is, that while it was possible to attribute to the narrator a few ornaments of secondary importance, such as the consolations of Masinissa to his beautiful prisoner, her reply, and the nocturnal lamentations of the Numidian, after Scipio's severe

un'altra volta, dicevate che narrata vi aveva, essendo tutti dui con molti signori e gentiluomini a diportarvi sovra il lago di Bolsena. Il che egli disse di fare...Onde, avendomi voi imposto che volessi scriverla, vi promisi di farlo.' After this, what reason can Mr Krappe have to say that 'in this particular case Bandello appears to be innocent of wilful deception'?

[1] Evidently the allusion does not refer to *Africa*, which is prudently passed over in silence, and which by the way contains no praise of Masinissa, but to the compassionate verses of the *Trionfo d'Amore* (II, 1–84). It was the reading of this that gave the narrator the pretext for placing his own novella in the mouth of Signor Giorgio Santa Croce. The praise of Masinissa is contained in the terzina:

> Ma tua fama real per tutto aggiunge,
> e tal, che mai non ti vedrà nè vide,
> con bel nodo d'amor teco congiunge (II, 22–24).

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 103.

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admonition[1], these discourses, which are missing or are barely hinted at in the sober narrative of the ancient historian, are derived, with a few opportune cuts and adaptations, from Petrarch's poem. This consideration, however, does not weaken but confirms my conviction, that the originality of Bandello is but slight, much slighter than it is generally thought to be, and, as often as not, is reduced, as in this case, to a modest work of translation, compendium or paraphrase, when it is not, in point of fact, an indiscreet appropriation of the work of others, with but little addition of his own.

The novella, then, turns out to be a work of contamination and an easy graft upon the vigorous trunk of Livy, whereby we see, inserted on an ancient plant, several young twigs, which are represented by the amorous affections, by psychological contrasts, and by the tone, which is not virile and dramatic, but tender and elegiacal, and which, in Petrarch's vein, is poured out in new discourses and soliloquies, full of imprecations, lamentations, hesitations and burning sighs from the lips of the two lovers. And as neither I nor Mr Krappe was able, for want of space, to give the proofs of our observations, I hope I may be allowed to give a brief sample of them which may induce the reader to do the rest himself.

LIVY, lib. XXX, cap. 12.

Sophonisba...cum in medio agmine armatorum Masinissam insignem *cum armis, tum cetero habitu conspexisset, regem esse*, id quod erat, *rata, genibus advoluta eius: Omnia* quidem *ut posses in nobis, dii dederunt virtusque et felicitas tua;*

sed *si captivae* apud dominum vitae

BANDELLO, P. I, nov. 41.

Ella, in questo, *vide* uno il quale, *all' abito ed all' arme...giudicò* quello senza dubbio *esser il Re*. Il perchè, *dinanzi a quello inginocchiata*...a parlar cominciò :—Poichè *la tua vertù e la felicità*, insieme con il favore degli *dei, hanno permesso che...tutto* quello che più t' aggrada *tu di me puoi fare*, io però... prenderò ardire con *supplichevoli voci pregarti* e prima *basciarti le vittrici mani*...Ella *era sul fiore della sua età*, ed in quei tempi, la più *formosa*, leggiadra *e bella* giovane...*di maniera che* Masinissa, essendo giovine e, *secondo la natura dei Numidi*, molto facile ad irretirsi nei lacci dell'amore, non si poteva saziare...di rimirarla...fieramente di lei s'accese...

La quale così disse :—*Se a me tua*

[1] I cite here the words: BANDELLO: 'Pon fine, o Sofonisba, al largo pianto,' from *Africa*, v, 110 ff., *Regina, precor, iam luctibus, inquit,—Pone modum*; 'O gloria ed onore di quanti regi mai furono' and verses v, 124 ff., *O regum decus auxiliumque*; 'Lascia, reina mia, questi tuoi pensieri' and v, 142 ff., *Sed parce dolori*; 'Cadevagli in animo, passate le colonne dello stretto da Ercole poste' and v, 514 ff., *Nunc venit in mentem cara cum coniuge raptim*. All the rest of the narrative comes from Livy, in spite of Mr Krappe's inexact statements.

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necisque suae *vocem supplicem* mittere *licet*, si genua, si *victricem attingere dextram, precor quaesoque per maiestatem regiam, in qua paulo ante nos quoque fuimus, per gentis Numidarum nomen, quod tibi cum Syphace commune fuit, per huiusce* regiae *deos, qui te melioribus ominibus accipiant quam Syphacem hinc miserunt*, hanc veniam supplici des, *ut* ipse quodcumque fert animus de captiva statuas *neque me in cuiusquam Romani superbum et crudele arbitrium venire* sinas. *Si nihil aliud quam Syphacis uxor fuissem, tamen Numidae atque in* eadem *mecum Africa geniti quam* alienigenae et *externi fidem experiri mallem: quid Carthaginiensi ab Romano, quid filiae Hasdrubalis timendum sit, vides.*

Si nulla re alia potes, morte me ut vindices a Romanorum arbitrio oro obtestorque. *Forma erat insignis et florentissima aetas: itaque*, cum ... *dextram amplectens*...propius*que blanditias* oratio esset quam *preces, non in misericordiam modo prolapsus est animus victoris, sed, ut est genus Numidarum* in Venerem praeceps, amore *captivae victor captus*... *prigioniera* e serva, *lece*, o signor mio, pregarti, io umilmente *ti prego e ti supplico, per la regal maestà, nella quale poco avanti eravamo ancora noi...e per il nome numidico, stato a te ed a Siface comune, e per i dei* tutelari e padroni *di questa* città, *i quali con miglior* fortuna e più lieti *successi* e prosperi in quella *ti ricevano che fuor Siface non mandarono, che tu* di me pietoso esser ti degni.

...Io nessuna morte rifiuto, purchè *io non venga alle superbe* mani *ed arbitrio crudelissimo dei Romani.* Quando io *altra non fossi che stata consorte di Siface, tuttavia d' un numida e meco in Affrica nato, voglio piuttosto la fede esperimentare, che d' uno degli stranieri.* Io so che *tu conosci ciò, che una cartaginese e figliuola di Asdruballe debbia* fermamente *da' Romani* aspettare, e dalla superbia di quelli *temere*...Degnati adunque *liberarmi dalla servitù dei Romani e, se altrimenti non puoi*, se non *con la mia morte*, io ti dico che quella mi sarà gratissima.—Dicendo queste parole, *prese la destra* mano del Re—*e* già *i preghi* cominciavano in *lusinghevoli* e lascive *carezze* a voltarsi, *di modo che non solamente l' animo dell'* armato e *vincitor* giovine *a misericordia* e pietà *mosse, ma* stranamente nell' amorose reti lo avviluppò. Il perchè, *il vincitor* dalla vinta, il signore *dalla sua serva fu* vinto e *preso.*

It does not require much sagacity to perceive how the novella follows faithfully, step by step, the Latin narrative, of which not only the general structure and order of the facts are followed, but also the pathetic situations, the characters and often—at least, as far as the differing usages of the two languages allow it—the syntax, the succession and arrangement of the paragraphs, reproduced in the same words. For this reason I have italicized the many passages which correspond word for word in the two works, so that anyone may verify that the Italian does not differ from its model, save for a few transpositions and a greater profusion of ornate particulars, at times purely verbal and rhetorical.

It is precisely to these ornaments, either sentimental or rhetorical, that Petrarch with his *Africa* could make some claim, although, in the above-cited passage, as in several others, the poem has not supplied any very substantial contribution.

The list of these borrowings is easily compiled; it consists only in a few sentimental arguments added to those which, according to Livy,

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Sophonisba brought forward to move King Masinissa in her favour. Thus, in the novella, the conquered Queen is made to say:

Nè pensare che *io gran cosa voglia. Usa l' imperio tuo*, e quello che la ragion della guerra vuole sopra di me. Fammi, se vuoi, *in dura prigione* macerare, o quella morte, con quelli tormenti che più ti aggradano, patire. Che sia *la morte* che io soffrirò, quanto si voglia *acerba*, fiera e crudele, *a me* più cara sarà che *la vita*... Se *tu*, signor mio, *hai sorelle*, pensa che in tale sì trista ed avversa *fortuna* potrebbero cadere, quale è questa ove io mi ritrovo. Così fatta è la rota della fortuna, la quale ogni dì veggiamo instabile, volubile e varia, che ora pace, ora guerra, ora bene, ora male ne apporta, ora *lieti* ed ora di mala voglia ne fa essere, ed ora ne leva in alto ed ora al profondo dell' abisso ne fa tomare... *Nè, per questo, voglio io esserti presaga*, nè indovina *d' alcun* futuro *male;* anzi santamente tutti i dei *prego*, che te e tutti i descendenti tuoi nel regno della Numidia felicemente regnar lascino.

Here the eye of the critic can easily discover the origin in the following verses of Petrarch's poem, not translated as we have observed in the case of the classic prose, but merely imitated and paraphrased with greater liberty:

Nec magna rogaris.
Utere iure tuo: captivam *mortis acerbae*,
carceris aut duri licet hanc absumere sorte.
Est etenim *mihi vita mori*...
Sunt forte sorores,
Rex, *tibi*, quas referat *fortunae* iniuria nostrae
ante oculos, invicte, tuos: namque et sua nobis
fata fuisse vides; succedunt tristia *laetis*.
Nec tamen ullorum fuerim praesaga malorum
ipsa tibi; fausto in finem, *precor*, utere regno
et *natis* transmitte *tuis*, nullusque nepotum
armet in insidias animum. (lib. v, 82 sqq.)

In conclusion, the closer one examines Bandello's work, the more one discovers the writer's personality restricted and diminished to more reasonable proportions corresponding with the conception which our fathers had of him; they were more able, at a first glance, to discriminate pure gold from tinsel.

LETTERIO DI FRANCIA.

PARMA.

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REVIEWS.

Shakespeare: A Survey. By Sir E. K. CHAMBERS. London: Sidgwick and Jackson. 1925. viii + 325 pp. 7*s.* 6*d.*

A Shakespeare Reference Library. By Sir SIDNEY LEE and Sir EDMUND K. CHAMBERS. (*English Association Pamphlets*, No. 61.) 2nd edition. London: H. Milford, July, 1925. 18 pp. 2*s.* 6*d.*

The first of the above publications cannot have the importance that would attach to an entirely new book by its author, but he has nevertheless been well advised to recover its component parts from the editions of Shakespeare's plays to which they formed prefaces twenty years ago. These prefaces have now been arranged approximately in the chronological order of the plays which they introduced, and their pleasing style, unencumbered by discussion of dates and sources, and enriched by illustration from wide reading, will doubtless make the author's critical interpretation additionally attractive.

This interpretation is always interesting, and generally reveals that intimate knowledge of the age and its spirit that makes for sound and well-balanced judgment. Perhaps it is dangerous to illustrate, as Sir Edmund respects his former self too much to revise the opinions recorded in these old prefaces; but at the present time, when undergraduate essays almost invariably lament the much-wronged Shylock, he seems to me to administer a needed corrective when he points out the impossibility of understanding *The Merchant of Venice* 'without careful guard against that favourite modern heresy that sees so deep into the heart of Shylock that, in fact, it converts him from the villain into the hero,' and also in the weighed consideration which he gives to the character, to the sentiment of the time, and to Shakespeare's intention.

Perhaps the book would be less interesting if the author were entirely consistent. It is not always possible to acquit him of being himself influenced by that suggestion from sentiment and proneness to conjecture which he severely condemns in others, though, as to conjecture, it is fair to say that what he rebukes is rather confident assertion in its support. Yet why so severe on those who take *The Historie of Error* to be 'an earlier composition subsequently worked up by Shakespeare,' and yet so pleased on tracing the existence in 1593 of a play called *Buckingham* as a prop to his theory that Shakespeare wrote *Henry VIII* about the same time as he was writing *Henry VI*? Others, again, may think differently, but for me the identification with pre-Shakespearean drama of the cloven pine which imprisoned Ariel, who thus becomes the spirit of poetry, quite spoils the pleasant and

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possible correspondence of Prospero's farewell with Shakespeare's retirement.

The influence of sentiment can be detected in places; but whatever occasions for dissent the reader may find, he will acknowledge more of agreement and illumination, and will appreciate the discussion 'of the objects and limitations of the types of dramatic expression,' of the nature of farce, for example, as 'not a thing disparate from comedy, but rather a mode of it.' The book closes with a sonnet whose happy phrases and humane temper will commend it to an honourable place among tributes to Shakespeare.

A Shakespeare Reference Library (2nd edition), in which also Sir Edmund Chambers has part, as the reviser of the 1st edition of 1910, provides a very useful tabulation under different headings, such as 'Texts of the Works,' 'Criticism and Interpretation,' 'Contemporary Drama,' etc., of books 'generally useful for the advanced study of Shakespeare and his relation to the contemporary drama and stage.'

R. H. CASE.

LIVERPOOL.

Ben Jonson. Edited by C. H. HERFORD and PERCY SIMPSON. Volumes I and II. The Man and his Work. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925. 8vo. xx + 441 and vii + 482 pp. With eight plates. 42*s*.

The long expected first instalment of Messrs Herford and Simpson's edition of Ben Jonson, consisting of prolegomena, appeared last summer, and he must be hard to please who does not think it was worth waiting for. The two volumes contain a life of the author, literary introductions to the various works, and a mass of documentary material. The editors pool their responsibility, but they give some hint of how their labours have been divided, and it would be affectation to pretend ignorance. Roughly, Professor Herford has written the life and all but two of the introductions; for the rest Mr Simpson is responsible. His share comprises essays on the *Discoveries* and the *Grammar*, fully annotated collections of all extant records, namely, the well-known Drummond conversations, the notes by Aubrey and Archdeacon Plume, the very dubious 'Memorandums of the Immortal Ben', Jonson's surviving correspondence, legal and official documents, and lastly a list of the known or reputed books from Jonson's library. All this is food for the close student; the more general reader will turn by preference to Dr Herford's contribution, sure of finding both instruction and entertainment in his ample wealth of ripe scholarship.

I feel that it would be mere impertinence in me to praise Dr Herford's writing, and yet something must be said. To be sure, years have brought no failing of critical insight or breadth of view, no loss of ready and incisive style: there is no dulling of the literary palate, and if our coarser sense fails at times to detect the same delicacy of flavour—well, *στῶμεν καλῶς· στῶμεν μετὰ φόβου.* No one with a love of literature can read these pages—leisurely as they deserve—without

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being impressed by the easy sureness of judgement and command of fitting expression which combine throughout in the exposition, or without feeling now and then a thrill as criticism rises into something more. Delightful, too, to watch for the happy phrase that at once illuminates an opinion and charms the fancy. I think the sentence that pleases me best is a short footnote on one of the Epigrams (II, p. 361)—but then I am told that my taste is malicious.

I imagine that, among authors whom general opinion would unhesitatingly vote worthy of full-dress editorial honours, Ben Jonson stands almost alone in the amount of apology he forces upon his unlucky sponsors. Generally, no doubt, it is fair to judge a man by his best work and let the kindly weeds of oblivion gradually bury his failures. But this amiable method is of no use with Ben. His failures are so colossal and so much a part of the titanic nature of the man, and indeed there is so little of his work that can be unreservedly praised, that it is impossible to burke the subject. The effect produced is certainly rather queer. The reader feels throughout that the editors—and perhaps the editors feel that they themselves—have a little difficulty in maintaining faith in their hero despite perpetual admissions. For one thing they have certainly not done is to spare the old titan any of the critical castigation he was so ready to bestow on others and himself so richly deserved. It is not only that they have said—and said admirably—all that has been often urged against many of his intolerable 'works', but that they have not hesitated to direct a shaft of destructive criticism even upon some of his accepted triumphs. There are few better known passages of Ben's elegiac vein than the stanza of the Cary-Morison ode that has found its way into our anthologies: 'It is not growing like a tree In bulke, doth make man better bee'. But the critical solvent is at hand. 'The opening couplet states a truism with the emphasis only proper to an illuminating truth'—and, indeed, once connect the idea with the poet's 'mountain belly', and the lines, written in his last years, can scarcely free themselves from the ludicrous association. Still, on the whole, faith is maintained.

For, in one respect at least, Dr Herford has undoubtedly triumphed. From the multitudinous personal evidence of the works and a moderate wealth of outside data, he has achieved the great end of biography, the evoking of a living human being, and the portrait cannot, one instinctively feels—at least while under Dr Herford's spell—be far from the truth. Of this portrait the writer's critical estimate of his hero is an integral part, and as such the reader cannot avoid accepting it. It is only on reflection that a doubt may perhaps creep in as to whether the triumph is not rather one of subtle art than of sober analysis. Can it be that the old swashbuckler of a poet has browbeaten posterity into accepting him at something like his own valuation? Well, that itself would be no ordinary achievement. But no: if assuredly not in the ranks of the gods, Ben is conspicuous among the titans. And how much we lost by his choosing the wrong side!

From the literary point of view these volumes are beyond praise.

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Where they fail, if at all, is not in the broader and more generally notable matters of criticism, but in points of technical detail. And since it is rather with such details that I am qualified to deal, I shall devote what space an indulgent editor will afford in picking a few holes in the work of my good friends Herford and Simpson. I will only prelude by discounting my criticism in advance and asserting that, judged by however severe a standard, the quality of their achievement remains very high.

The most obvious failure is a lack of co-ordination and final revision. The various essays which build up these volumes have, one gathers or infers, been composed at different dates covering a long period of time. Obviously the state of our knowledge has not stood still meanwhile, and even the views held by the editors must sometimes have undergone modification. The grossest inconsistencies are those which touch chronology. Discussing *Volpone*, it is quietly assumed that '1605' can mean 1605/6, and '1607' is quite gratuitously taken to mean 1607/8. But on passing to *Epicoene* we are assured that 'it is doubtful whether any of Jonson's own dates' are reckoned by the Marian year. The '1615' of *The Golden Age* and the '1625' of *The Staple of News* are interpreted as Marian dates, yet touching *Cynthia's Revels* it is asserted that there are 'strong grounds for believing that Jonson dated the year from January to December'. Now this is a very serious matter: not so much that it shows a lamentable absence of general revision, but that it means that the problems raised by Jonson's works have not been systematically considered as a whole, but have been dealt with piecemeal as they were encountered. It is not on such lines that the editors will be able to raise that well-founded edifice which we all look for from them and from the Oxford Press. I trust that before proceeding any further they will make up their minds upon this important matter and favour us with a reasoned statement of their opinion, and in doing so I hope they will not make confusion worse confounded by speaking, as they do here, of Old and New Style, which has nothing to do with the matter.

Failure to assimilate recent evidence is observable in connection with *The Isle of Dogs*. Important facts touching this unhappy business have come to light lately, and though the editors are, of course, aware of them, they do not appear to have fully appreciated their significance. Dr Herford does not actually say that the piece was performed at Henslowe's house, but his account certainly leaves that impression on the reader, and I cannot help suspecting that he thought so himself. But we now know that this was not the case: it was almost certainly acted at the Swan by Pembroke's men, and Jonson was presumably a member of that disastrous company from its inception in February to its dissolution in July 1597. Considering how meagre is our knowledge of Jonson's career as an actor, these transactions should have received greater attention from his biographer. More, too, might have been gleaned from Henslowe's references, however 'tantalizingly dry and curt'. Illuminating they are not, but they merit more serious

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discussion. Jonson's 'share' was certainly not 'the proceeds of a performance in which he took part'. Mr Simpson too has, I think, barked his knuckles over this canine affair. Among Salisbury's 'former benefits' to Ben (in 1605) he claims 'his prompt release from prison in the *Isle of Dogs* business' (I, p. 193). But is there any suggestion of Cecil's intervention in 1597? In any case, Ben fared the same as his fellow delinquents.

A change of view seems discernible over the additions to the *Spanish Tragedy*: apparently, when he wrote the Life, Dr Herford accepted Jonson's authorship of those printed in 1602 (I, p. 33). But the whole matter is discussed in Appendix IX (II, p. 235), with the conclusion that the extant additions cannot be from Jonson's pen. This certainly correct opinion, however, is erroneously supposed to imply that Jonson did not write the additions ascribed to him by Henslowe. This is quite uncritical. We are bound to accept Henslowe's evidence; but the case against the extant additions being those paid for by Henslowe is as strong as the case against their being by Jonson. The fiction of Jonson pocketing another man's wages reappears in the discussion of *Poetaster* (I, p. 423).

There are other contradictions of a minor sort that argue some lack of revision. Though unimportant, I fancy there are slight inconsistencies both of critical judgement and in respect to biographical details: for instance, as to the merits of the quarrel with Iniquity Jones, how far Jonson was tainted with court-flattery, the sincerity of his religion and even perhaps the dates of its permutations. More definite, but hardly more serious, are a number of points that will attract the attention of the careful reader. In one place (I, p. 95) we are told that the resentment of the audience with *The New Inn* prevented their hearing the epilogue, 'that subdued cry of the weary Titan, bending under his burden and knowing that he cannot long hold out, but heroic to the last': elsewhere (II, p. 189) that this 'frequently repeated' story 'goes beyond the evidence'. In view of uncertainty as to what happened to Marston in 1605 (I, p. 191), the statement that Jonson went to prison with his two collaborators, which appears both in the Life and in the essay on *Eastward Ho*, would also seem to go 'beyond the evidence', while, in the second of these accounts (II, p. 31), if the date 1604 is anything but a mere misprint for 1605, it implies a seriously inconsistent view of the affair. A few other trifles may be noticed. Why, if the first of Jonson's great comedies is called *Volpone* rather than *The Fox*, should the second be called *The Silent Woman* rather than *Epicoene*? Why in the course of a few pages (II, pp. 134–6) should titles exhibit the various spellings *Devil*, *Diuell*, and *Divell*? Editors really ought to make up their minds whether they mean to quote titles in old or modern form. To my mind the practice of giving the name of a book in the spelling that happened to be used on a particular page of a particular edition is one of the most puerile of pedantries, and I am glad that it has been generally avoided in these volumes. The spelling *Love's Trivmph* (II, p. 330) is, of course, wholly indefensible. The

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form 'Köln' appears all the more affected in juxtaposition with 'Strasburg' on the same page (II, p. 92).

It may be in part at least owing to the necessity of revising work of various dates in the light of later discoveries and theories that there appears now and then a certain impatience in dealing with evidence. Twice at least views advanced by Sir E. K. Chambers in *The Elizabethan Stage* are brushed aside with some *hauteur* (I, p. 280, II, p. 294). It is the more unfortunate in that Sir Edmund is, I believe, in the one case certainly and in the other very probably right, and the editors wrong. This attitude becomes at once intensified and easier to understand where the unwelcome suggestion touches on what Dr Herford may excusably think the impertinences of criticism. An amusing instance occurs in connection with the Entertainment at Highgate, 1604. A footnote runs: 'It is hardly necessary to notice the scandal which rumour has attached to the name of Dorothy Cornwallis, who probably acted Maia. If the rumour was true, would Jonson have ventured to represent her as the mother of a son?' This is aimed at Fleay, though he is not mentioned. Whether there is anything in his speculations may be doubted, but surely the alleged scandal, which was certainly current, belongs to a later decade! I am not deeply versed in Jacobean gossip, but apparently the suggestion is that, some time before 1619, Anne (not Dorothy) Cornwallis, who in 1610 married the Earl of Argyle, had a daughter by the actor Nathan Field (whom the editors should not call Nathaniel, I, pp. 26, 160—the index is correct). If Field, then a lad of seventeen, had made Anne's acquaintance at the Highgate Entertainment, acting Mercury to her Maia, it would explain his later addressing his mistress as Lady May.

In similar vein Dr Herford writes (I, p. 65): 'It is needless to repeat the story of young Ralegh's exploit in the streets of Paris'. Perhaps: but it was the biographer's duty to give a reference. Here, as only too often, the editors expect in the reader a knowledge of Jonsonian literature equal to their own.

Occasionally, if rarely, one may suspect this attitude of interfering with the free play of critical judgement. Jonson's personalities are a case in point. Quoting the disclaimer in the Induction to *Bartholomew Fair*, Dr Herford adds (II, p. 136): 'This protest, not made for the first time, must be held decisive against the attempt to identify any person of the drama with originals in Jonson's *milieu*'. And elsewhere concerning *Epicoene* (II, p. 71): 'The modern critic will do well not to dismiss these denials as mere bluff'. But unless we are to split critical hairs as to the exact point at which the borrowing of traits emerges into portraiture—or caricature—the protests *are* bluff, and they constitute the main ground for suspecting Ben's innocence. The distinction Dr Herford seeks to draw is in itself a most interesting and important one, cutting deep into the roots of literary creation, and he has some quite admirable remarks on the subject, but I find I am the less inclined to follow him for such magisterial pronouncements, even though they be but the reaction from much silly speculation.

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One thing that makes these volumes rather difficult to criticize is that they do not stand alone, and one never quite knows how the information they contain is meant to be supplemented in later portions of the work. Evidently further 'introductions' are contemplated, and they are needed, for, in the absence of data which only a reader with considerable knowledge of the subject can supply, there are many passages in the present instalment that are rather unintelligible. One important desideratum is some list of Jonson allusions, say down to the Restoration, with reprints of the more important[1]. There are frequent references to this or that poem or work in which Ben is mentioned and which is no doubt perfectly familiar to the expert but which the general reader cannot be expected to know. Possibly some such work is the ground of the statement (I, p. 117) that an Abbey tomb 'had been contemplated and subscribed for', which is made without apparent authority. Very likely the editors intend to give such a collection along with a reprint of *Jonsonus Virbius* in a later volume, but one would rather have looked for both among the prolegomena. No doubt, the difficulty of arranging the material has been great, and it would be manifestly unfair to criticize these volumes as if they constituted an independent work: still I think something might have been done to make them rather easier reading. This defect, like most others I have mentioned, is particularly evident in the essay on *The Tale of a Tub*—but that is a long story on which I must not start here[2].

There are a number of slips, of which one is really surprising. How any editor of Jonson came to state that the 1616 folio 'contains no work, and no allusion to any event, later than' 1612 (I, p. 64) is an unsolved and perhaps insoluble mystery. It is no mere slip, for it is repeated and used in argument later (I, p. 333). It is true of the plays so far as the original dates of performance are concerned; it is manifestly not true of the masques which go down to the date of publication; whether or no it applies to the poems is a matter for discussion, not for

[1] We may remind Dr Greg that he may find what he seeks in *The Jonson Allusion-Book* of Messrs J. F. Bradley and J. Q. Adams. Edd.

[2] All bibliographical matters are reserved for later treatment, but there is one point I may venture to mention in the hope that the editors will give it further consideration. They throughout use the phrase 'the second volume' to include the whole of the matter of the 1640–1 collection not previously printed in 1616. I would suggest that the term should be restricted to the three plays printed in 1631 together with their general title dated 1640, and that the posthumously printed matter should be known as 'the third volume'. It seems quite clear that the 1640 title bearing the words 'The second Volume' contemplates a collection of three plays only: these were unquestionably issued as an independent unit (a number of copies surviving in contemporary bindings) presumably in 1640, whereas the remainder cannot have been issued till the next year. It is true that this supplement has no general title, and was doubtless meant to be appended to the second volume, but it seems always to be called 'the third volume' in contemporary records. Thus Moseley uses the phrase in recording Sir Kenelm Digby's editorship in his preface to Suckling's *Last Remains*, 1659, and also about the same date in his advertisements; while it also occurs in the Stationers' Register, 17 Sept. and 20 Nov. 1658, and 19 Aug. 1667. In these cases the term includes the 1641 reprint of *The Devil is an Ass*, the second volume proper having long been exhausted. If the editors consider that they are already committed to two volumes only, I hope at least that they will devise some means of distinguishing clearly between the true 'second volume' and the later supplement.

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dogmatic assertion. Other oversights are comparatively venial. There was no translation of the *Pastor fido* in 1591 (II, p. 95); Dr Herford must be thinking of Wolfe's reprint of the Italian. The 'Second Pastoral' is a rather odd translation of *Secunda Pastorum*, and 'Shepherd's Calendar' is clearly incorrect for *Le Calendrier des Bergers*. On one page (II, p. 50) 'legatee' occurs twice for 'legator'; twice at least (I, p. 45, II, p. 263) the misplacement of a reference mark has made nonsense of a footnote. The attribution of masque-writing to Fletcher (II, p. 170) is no doubt an aberration due to Drummond's blunder: the gentleman described as the present librarian of Dulwich (I, p. vii) has, I regret to say, been dead some years.

There seem to be a good many queer misprints. In some instances I may have been stupid in catching the writer's intention, but others can hardly be in doubt. Thus: I, p. 99, l. 8, 'unfinished playes' should surely be 'unprinted plays'; I, p. 110, foot, 1663 should be 1632; I, p. 350, l. 20, 'humanists and gulls' presumably 'humourists'; I, p. 389, l. 25, 'motive and cure' presumably 'cue'; II, p. 75, l. 18, 'exhaustibly loquacious', 'inexhaustibly' or perhaps 'exhaustingly'; II, p. 317, l. 21, 'materializing' possibly 'minimizing'; II, p. 325, *A Game of Chess* should be *at Chess*; II, p. 32, l. 16, 'Palgrave' should be 'Palsgrave'; II, p. 96, note, 'N. Tomkis's' name was Thomas, and '1614' means 1614/5.

It is time to pass to the documentary matter. The thoroughness with which Mr Simpson has done his work is evident on every page, and his wealth of illustration wholly admirable. He is also to be congratulated on the recovery of some interesting papers here printed for the first time. The only possible criticism touches the form. The typographical difficulties of editing, which are more than usually great in the case of a mass of short documents of varying nature, have hardly been altogether overcome. The arrangement of head-notes, tail-notes, and footnotes is bewildering. The references sometimes look as though they were part of the text. Addresses have apparently sometimes been used as headings to letters. The duplicate headings to the Conversations are not adequately explained, nor does it appear why the manuscript heading is relegated to a note. I am unable to reconstruct the original arrangement of ll. 48—56 of the Conversations from the footnote, nor that of the very difficult Citations from the data afforded (I, p. 220). The same brackets are used to make good mutilations and to supply supposed omissions, so that unless there is a note to guide one (which there often is not) it is impossible to say whether the editor is emending or merely restoring the text. The sloping bar is an inconvenient sign to indicate the end of a line of writing, since it often occurs in manuscript as a punctuation mark. In other words, Mr Simpson's documents suffer to some extent from the usual disease of trying to combine two incompatibles, the critical text and the diplomatic print. By the way, Mr Simpson is said to be responsible for the quotations throughout, so that I suppose he must bear the blame for half a dozen errors of transcription in one short passage (I, p. 30[2]). Also I observe that in

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his interesting essay on the *Grammar* he ascribes to Ames a statement that was in fact added to the *Typographical Antiquities* by Herbert. I subjoin a few notes on scattered points in the documents.

Drummond Conversations. Mr Simpson should have a little consideration for readers less steeped in the technicalities of the subject than himself. He here writes (I, p. 129): 'In two passages at least the Folio helps us to correct the transcript'. I puzzled long over this. By 'the Folio' he means the 'Works of William Drummond', 1711. He has not mentioned that this is a folio, and in an edition of Jonson the term, especially spelled with a capital, ought obviously to refer to that poet's Works. Notes: l. 164. I do not feel sure that the interpretation is correct: possibly 'he [Jonson] had read to [i.e. with] him [Field] the Satyres of Horace'. l. 214. Is there really any difficulty? Overbury's unlawful suit need have had no connection with his *Wife*. Drummond twice mentions 'Bonefonius his Vigilium Veneris' (ll. 68, 385), and Mr Simpson informs us that 'The poem is lost'. I wonder where he looked for it. A mildly erotic set of verses headed 'Pervigilium Veneris' (or sometimes 'Per Vigilium Veneris') follows the *Basia* in every edition that I have seen of the *Pancharis* (1592, etc.) of Jean Bonefons the elder. It begins: 'O nox suauicula, o bonae tenebrae, Tenebrae mihi luce clariores'. l. 393. Jonson said 'that the half of his comedies were not jn Print'. Seven were included in the 1616 folio. Mr Simpson names five as unprinted at this date, which would leave but two untraced. But by an oversight he includes as unprinted *The Case is Altered*, which had come from the press in 1609. There were therefore eight in print, and four remain untraced. l. 411. Mr Simpson includes *Nigromansir* among extant interludes: can he tell me where to find it? l. 418. The famous collection in the British Museum was formed by Thomas Grenville, not Lord Granville.

The Plumean Notes. The Archdeacon is said to have left a library to Maldon, but the whereabouts of the notes is not mentioned. What is the library?

Jonson's Correspondence. Letters I–IX. These are apparently all contained in Mr White's manuscript, and it would have been interesting to have Mr Simpson's view as to the nature of that collection. It contains letters of Chapman as well as Jonson, it contains letters of Jonson apparently unconnected with the *Eastward Ho* affair, and one of those included is a copy not of the letter as sent but of a rough draft. The origin of such a manuscript might repay investigation. And surely the Chapman documents it contains are too intimately allied to the rest to be excluded without loss. I cannot quite follow the argument for the dating of the *Eastward Ho* letters. Mr Simpson is rather vague, but I suppose he endorses the dates given in the Life (I, p. 39): 'The letters belong to the interval between May 4 and September 4, 1605'. The former date is obvious, for both Salisbury and Montgomery are addressed by the titles they acquired that day. But the latter is less certain, for Mr Simpson is clearly right in supposing that the trouble was not over the acting but the printing of the play, and the entry in

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the Stationers' Register, therefore, gives presumably an earlier and not a later limit. Thus the letters were probably written after, perhaps some time after, 4 Sept. 1605, and the question arises whether they are earlier or later than the one concerning the Gunpowder Plot (X), which belongs to early November. If they are earlier, the trouble was confined to September and October. But it is quite possible that the play did not appear till November, and that the poet's difficulties dragged on through the winter. However, they did not interfere with the production of *Hymenaei* at court on Twelfth Night 1606. By the way, the statement that the cancelled leaves of *Eastward Ho* survive only in the Dyce Collection requires modification: Mr Wise has a fine copy with the leaves in the original state.

Letter IV. The lady addressed has previously been supposed to be the Countess of Rutland, but Mr Simpson points out that two others are equally likely—Lady Bedford and Lady Wroth. This seems a reason for leaving the question open: Mr Simpson gives no grounds for his preference of the Countess of Bedford.

Letter X. I rather doubt the interpretation put upon a passage from this letter in the Life (I, p. 41) as evidence 'of the formidable dimensions and compact organization of the Plot'. Jonson's words are: 'So that to tell yo^{r} Lo: playnly my heart, I thinke they are All so enweau'd in it, that it will make 500 Gent: less of the Religion w^{t}hin this weeke, if they carry they^{r} vnderstanding about them'. The whole letter is allusive and obscure, but I think (following the official Catalogue of the Record Office Museum) that 'All' refers to the priests, and that the writer's meaning is that the failure of the Roman Catholic clergy in England to issue a denunciation of the Plot would make 500 adherents abjure their religion. Mr Simpson quotes from *Notes and Queries* a Privy Council warrant to Jonson of 7 Nov. 1605, remarking that the Register for that date is not extant. The warrant was doubtless taken from the contemporary extracts from the Register in B.M., MS. Add. 11402 (fol. 108^{a}). It runs, rather more exactly: '7^{o} Nov: 1605. A war^{t} vnto Beniamen Iohnson, to let a certaine Priest knowe (that offered to do good service to the State,) that hee should securely come & goe to, & from the ll^{s}: wch they ꝑmised in the said warrant vpon their honors'. The date of this suggests that in the docket on the letter, '8 Novembr. Beniamin Iohnson to my Lord. 1600', it is the year alone that is incorrect.

Letter XIII. Notes: 'In 28–31 words in brackets are the first draft'. But they are not in the 'first draft' as here printed (XIII. i), which Mr Simpson appears momentarily to have forgotten. Precision is always desirable in textual matters.

Letter XXI. The addressee is given as Sir Robert Cotton, and if this is correct it follows (as observed at I, p. 107) that the letter cannot be after 1631. On consideration I think Mr Simpson is probably right (in which case I am wrong—*English Literary Autographs*, XXIII *c*), but is there any definite reason why the letter should not have been addressed to Sir Thomas?

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Only a few of the letters are originals. This of course is duly stated, though not quite so prominently as was perhaps desirable, but a complete list of Jonson autographs (apart from the Library) would have been useful. Various poems are preserved in his writing, and several presentation inscriptions: these seem to be all noted somewhere, but only incidentally.

Legal Records, XIII. The date is given as 1629 in the heading, as 1628 in the text. The latter is presumably correct (cf. I, p. 94), as it must have been soon after Buckingham's murder and apparently before Felton's execution. Is it known for certain whether this examination, on 26 Oct., took place before or after Jonson's attack of palsy? In the Life the latter seems to be implied.

Jonson's Library. This is a most valuable list, with an admirable preface. But Mr Simpson is in error in implying (I, p. 260) that Ben wrote commendatory verses for Mabbe's *Celestina*. He has fallen into the tempting but rather obvious trap of confusing *The Spanish Bawd*, 1631, with *The Spanish Rogue*, 1623. The footnote (I, p. 264) concerning the inscriptions in *The Art of English Poesie* seems needlessly obscure. Moreover, they can hardly be Jonson's. The hand differs from that of the signature, and surely belongs to someone named Abraham! It may be worth mentioning that the motto *Tanquam explorator* does not necessarily connect a book with Jonson. It was used in 1651 by Sir William Petty. He may have adopted it from Ben.

The Oxford Press is to be congratulated on their share in the achievement. The appearance of the volumes marks in every way a great advance since the series of Dramatists issued some twenty years ago, which they are, I suppose, in a measure designed to continue. But the sprinkling of wrong fount letters is a good deal more lavish than a self-respecting printer should allow.

If the remaining volumes maintain the high standard set in this first instalment, Ben Jonson will at last appear in a form consonant with the highest standards of scholarship. Still, the editors will have to tackle their problems a little more systematically, be rather more ready to reconsider evidence, and also devote greater attention to points of detail, if they are to do themselves and their author full justice, and make their edition that wholly satisfying work that it is obviously within their power to produce.

W. W. Greg.

London.

The Poems English and Latin of Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury. Edited by G. C. Moore Smith. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1923. xl + 172 pp. 12*s.* 6*d.*

This edition is so complete and scholarly a piece of work, and Mr Moore Smith is so complete a master of his subject that it is difficult for anyone else to review it at all profitably. What he has done for the text of Herbert's poems will only be fully evident to one who has

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at any time had to struggle with the edition issued by Churton Collins in 1881. So far from clearing up, this edition added to, the corruption of the text. 'Epitaph. Caecil. Boulftr.' becomes 'Epitaph. Caecil. Boulfer,' though poor Miss Boulstred was known to readers of both Jonson and Donne. It is difficult to comprehend how an editor can have let pass such errors as Mr Moore Smith cites at p. xxviii. His own edition of the English poems is based on the edition of 1665 compared with the versions of various poems found in MSS., of which the most important are Add. MSS. 37157 in the British Museum and Rawlinson Poet. 31 in the Bodleian Library. The former is a collection of twenty-three poems (including two not in 1665) probably made for a friend of Lord Herbert, for he himself has corrected the poems throughout. Nevertheless Mr Moore Smith concludes that between the preparation and correction of this MS. and the printed edition there had been another revision and 'that the printed book is based on a manuscript which represented Herbert's second thoughts.' From Rawlinson Poet. 31 Mr Moore Smith prints two other poems not contained either in 1665 or in the above MS. He thus adds four poems to the early printed collection. The first of these MSS. is so interesting that I could wish the editor had given a little fuller description, at least a list of the poems in the order in which they there stand. The order of the poems in a MS. is sometimes significant. I could wish, too, that the textual notes had been printed at the foot of the page that one might see the source of the text without so much turning to and fro; and I would have welcomed more of Mr Moore Smith's excellent commentary, for there is no doubt Herbert is a difficult poet, both metaphysical and fantastic. For him the metaphysical fashion in poetry was equivalent to the deliberately enigmatical. Donne's lines on Prince Henry were written, Jonson told Drummond, 'to match S^r^ Edward Herbert in obscureness.' Nothing but a determination to be enigmatic could explain or justify the obscurity of that poem and the more interesting satire *The State progress of Ill.* Even with the editor's very helpful analysis I have found it difficult to follow the argument of this latter, and in my final interpretation I do not entirely agree with his analysis. Does

> Now in this state
> Of things, what is least like Good, men hate
> Since 'twill be the less sin

mean 'Evil being so prevalent, men hate it only when they see it in its most pronounced form'? I should rather read it as meaning: 'In this advanced state of evil men hate whatever has the least likeness to good, since it has in it the less of sin.' They are in love with sin. Only some other evil will cure them, only a poison can expel poison. Hence the State, which suppresses all faults but her own. But in the lines which follow Herbert does not seem to me, as to Mr Moore Smith, to be speaking of the State (that is coming later) but of Ill or Evil in general. Evil itself, he seems to argue, has in it 'some attributes of God,' an element of good, for has it not called forth that great attribute of the divine, Mercy? 'It was before,' the necessary precursor, even the cause,

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of that mercy which saves bankrupt souls and will end when there are no sinners left to save,

> unless th' Highest will show
> Some power, not yet reveal'd to man below.

It is after l. 30 that Herbert seems to me to begin to advance from the consideration of Ill in general to the State. Ill in the individual is Sin prompted by Pleasure, in the State it is Mischief which 'veil'd' under 'doing of Good' keeps private vices in check. To the ignorant, its powers are revealed as glory, the glory of the conqueror and ruler, and hurt, the power to punish. Yet we might have got the rule which we apparently need to make us herd together without the evils of tyranny and succession; and I accept the editor's paraphrase of all that follows. The whole is very obscure and very interesting. Herbert is puzzled, like Donne in *The Progress of the Soul*, by the interdependence of good and evil. The poem is dated August 1608. Donne's letter to Herbert 'at Julyers' must have been written two years later, yet I cannot but think that this satire is in his mind. He does not touch on the problems of Evil and the State—ticklish things to touch on—

> the infinite of Ill
> Is neither easie told, nor safe,

but Donne elaborates the same Platonic or Stoical ideal of the man who is master of himself and has 'disaforested his mind.'

Herbert's second satire is less worth the trouble of interpreting, and neither the *Elegy for the Prince* nor the *Elegy for Doctor Dunn* has much solid content. It is rather different when one turns to some of the love-poems and it is by these that, now we have at last a sound text to rely on, Herbert's worth as a poet will be judged. A good many of them can be dismissed as clever enigmas. The only poems of Donne's with which many of Herbert's will compare, e.g. ⟨*Love Speaks at last*⟩ p. 27 and others like it, are those enigmatical short pieces *The Competition*, *The Paradox*, *The Token*, ⟨*Selfe Love*⟩ which, if one found them in a MS., one would be quite willing to attribute to Herbert. In general, where Herbert's love-poems differ from Donne's is, as Mr Moore Smith says, in the want of 'earthly passion,' and this shows itself as often as not in a taking of the conceit which the poet is elaborating too seriously. Herbert's whole thought is intent on the conceit and its elaboration. Donne, however ingenious and erudite be his conceit, always succeeds in making it effective for the expression of his feeling, passionate or satirical.

Herbert comes near to this only once or twice when the conceit is appropriate and is well worked out, e.g. *Madrigal* (p. 18), the well-known *Elegy over a Tomb* (p. 32 ff.), and *To a Lady who did sing excellently* (p. 44) which deserves inclusion in an anthology. Even in these one has a feeling that the success is almost accidental, one of art rather than conviction. But there is a type of poem in which a careful re-reading of the poems convinces one that Herbert has a note of his own, and that is those in which philosophy and feeling go hand in hand. Herbert, like

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Malvolio, thought 'nobly of the soul.' For him the Platonic speculations which were in the air were of serious and profound interest, and those poems in which he develops his thoughts on love and immortality seem to me the best support to the claim for Herbert which Professor Moore Smith advances. This it is which gives its peculiar quality to the famous *Ode upon a Question moved Whether Love should continue for ever?* so reminiscent in some ways of Donne's *Ecstasy* and withal so different. Donne's transcendencies all end in a justification of the senses; Herbert soars into an intellectual heaven and remains there; and the pieces on *Platonick Love* and *The Idea* and the remarkable poem *To his Mistress for her True Picture*, where the mistress is death, and ⟨*An Appeal to his Hopes not to fail him*⟩ have a considerable measure of the same intellectual passion and *élan*. I suspect, though it may be an error, that it is his appreciation of this intellectual freedom and ardour which has tempted the editor to his surprising preference of Lord Herbert to his brother of *The Temple*, for he is neither such an accomplished artist nor so purely a poet as the younger brother, but the muse of the latter moves only in the confined if intense atmosphere of orthodox piety. Lord Herbert seems to soar occasionally into a larger and freer, if rarer and more intellectual medium. It is a great thing to have got his poems buck-washed and red-up, as Carlyle might say, that we may at last see distinctly what was the character and worth of these strange utterances of a very remarkable man; and Mr Moore Smith has done it admirably, if he does seem, to an editor perhaps prone to be diffuse, to have carried the Cambridge tradition of reserve a little to excess; but perhaps the circumstances in which the work came to be printed may in part account for the too condensed commentary.

H. J. C. GRIERSON.

EDINBURGH.

The Comic Spirit in Restoration Drama. Studies in the Comedy of Etherege, Wycherley, Congreve, Vanbrugh, and Farquhar. By HARRY TEN EYCK PERRY. New Haven: Yale University Press; London: H. Milford. 1925. xii+148 pp. 9*s*.

This is a questing age; and it is probably because new standards of social life were being eagerly sought after in the Restoration and because the study of the Restoration comic writers admits of so much intellectual subtlety and research that we in our days have turned once more to Congreve and his peers. Professor Perry, following after Mr John Palmer and Mr Bonamy Dobrée, essays to give yet one more psychological study of their work, traversing, as is inevitable, some well-trodden ground, but aptly pointing out some new features in a landscape once obscured and now familiar. Undoubtedly the treatment of Vanbrugh's comedies is the most novel and the most important chapter in this work. There is perhaps not much that is new to be said of Etherege and Wycherley and Congreve, but Professor Perry

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merits our gratitude for his careful analysis of the change of stress and situation in the plays written by that boisterous companion of the supreme master of the manners school. The substitution there of dialogues between two persons of the same sex in place of the sex-wit combats immortalised in the Mirabel-Millamant scenes is a feature which well deserves the detailed attention which Professor Perry has devoted to it.

Professor Perry attempts to place the Restoration dramatists in their true position in the roll of comic masters, and succeeds in drawing our attention to many salient features of their work. For this purpose he opens his book with a short chapter on the 'Theory and Practice of Dramatic Comedy,' therein finding the source of laughter to lie both in Hobbes' 'sudden glory arising from a sudden conception of some eminency in ourselves' and in Kant's 'affection arising from the sudden transformation of a strained expectation into nothing.' Judging from this chapter, and, of course, making allowances for the space at his command, one would suspect that Professor Perry has not given the same thought to the subject of laughter as he has to the characters of Restoration comedy, and that he treats the comic in too mechanical a manner. This mechanism of treatment is symbolised in its own way in the sentences concluding each of the seven chapters of his book.

1. 'The playwrights of the Restoration furnish us with the best examples in English drama of that finely tempered and infinitely precious thing which we call the Comic Spirit.'
2. [Etherege] 'was able to demonstrate it on the stage, and as a result his three plays are important manifestations of the Comic Spirit.'
3. [Wycherley] 'loses that philosophical detachment so essential to any true expression of the Comic Spirit.'
4. 'William Congreve's work...is the supreme expression in our literature of a very special and a very conspicuous phase of the Comic Spirit.'
5. 'Sir John Vanbrugh's work...helps to define clearly and limit exactly the narrow sphere allotted in the world of art for the exclusive possession of the Comic Spirit.'
6. [Farquhar's works] 'mark...the last stand and—temporarily at least—the dying hope of the English Comic Spirit.'
7. [Congreve and Wycherley] 'captured...the elusiveness and grace, the gaiety and detachment that are inextricably to be associated with the Comic Spirit.'

Reading these separate perorations one wonders whether perhaps the phrase Comic Spirit, with capital C and S, is not becoming for us what Art, with capital A, was for the devotees of Oscar Wilde. Exact parallelisms such as these quoted above can hardly hope to capture in its finer essence that elusive grace which all from Meredith onwards have diagnozed as its pre-eminent quality. At the same time, we are grateful to Mr Perry for a study which is at once erudite, stimulating and suggestive. Perhaps, with more space at his disposal, the author will give us a book which deals more fully with the abstract and philosophical principles upon which his judgments are based.

ALLARDYCE NICOLL.

LONDON.

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English Literature during the Last Half-Century. By J. W. CUNLIFFE. 2nd edition revised and enlarged. London and New York: Macmillan and Co. 1923. 357 pp. $ 2.50.

The first edition of this book was published in 1919. As a guide to recent literature, in the form of critical accounts of the work of individual writers, it contains much that is helpful and suggestive. The author, who is Professor of English and Director of the School of Journalism in Columbia University, writes as a practical teacher rather than as a profound critic: his chapters are plain and workmanlike expositions of the literary evolution of their subjects, without any attempt to draw fine distinctions or discover subtle points. The environment in which the talent of poets and novelists has ripened, and their mental attitude towards current problems of the intellect and society, mean more to him than purely literary qualities. Matter appeals to him more than form and style. His treatment, for example, of the style of Meredith, the eldest of the writers discussed, is brief and incidental; and it is not enough to say of Stevenson that 'his style has ease, suppleness, limpidity, felicity—every virtue save that of strength.' Such a criticism gives no idea of the individuality of the thing which it attempts to describe: the virtues and the defect indicated must be further characterised and qualified before a satisfactory criticism is achieved. Professor Cunliffe notes the want of humour in *The Dynasts*, whose chief significance for him is its author's philosophical intention and the distinction which Hardy draws between pessimism and 'evolutionary meliorism.' The drama, however, deserves attention upon other grounds; for Hardy has nowhere exhibited so completely or with such mastery his sense of the irony of life, while the style, though rugged and tortuous, is the true reflexion of a noble and sombre imagination. Kipling is handled with a casual reference to the later and quieter side of his work, but without allusion to such stories as *The Brushwood Boy* and *They*, in which his earlier manner is completely reversed; and 'a well-sustained novel touching upon the deeper as well as the more picturesque phases of Indian life' is a description which does not altogether explain why *Kim* is 'universally acclaimed as his masterpiece in fiction.'

In Bernard Shaw, H. G. Wells and others, whose literary craftsmanship, even in the first case, is of less interest than their absorption in present-day questions, Professor Cunliffe finds themes thoroughly congenial to his talent. *Saint Joan* has appeared since the book was published, and marks a departure from the witty variations upon Shaw's favourite topics to which full justice is done here. Some space is given to the Irish Renaissance, and a few modern poets are briefly and frankly discussed. No consideration is paid to the English poets of the 'nineties; and the verse of the last half-century as a whole is somewhat neglected. The selection from younger novelists includes Hugh Walpole, Compton Mackenzie, Gilbert Cannan, and D. H. Lawrence. The praise of Walpole's *The Cathedral* strikes us as oddly uncritical, and the account

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of Compton Mackenzie's *The Altar Steps*, the sequels to which have rapidly appeared since, is out of proportion to the real importance of the book: that charm of atmosphere which was conveyed so easily in *Carnival* and the Oxford chapters of *Sinister Street* disappears altogether in a narrative whose chief interest is its faithful representation of the more advanced developments of the Catholic revival in the Church of England. Galsworthy and Arnold Bennett, among the older novelists and playwrights, are treated at some length: the artistic beauty of Galsworthy's prose receives due commendation, but his skill in his shorter stories, of which *A Stoic*, in the *Five Tales* of 1918, is perhaps the best example, needs further remark. There are separate chapters by other authors upon Samuel Butler and Joseph Conrad: the second of these, by Mr Leland Hall, is a study of great merit, and, if it is rather surprising to find all reference to *Typhoon* omitted from an account which makes much of Conrad's descriptive vividness, we may compliment the insight which sets high value upon the epic quality of *Nostromo*, a novel which is often overlooked even by its writer's professed admirers.

A. Hamilton Thompson.

Leeds.

Anglica: Untersuchungen zur englischen Philologie, Alois Brandl zum siebzigsten Geburtstage überreicht. (*Palaestra*, 147, 148.) Leipzig: Mayer und Müller. 1925. 48 M.

These two volumes of *Palaestra* are entirely devoted to the Festschrift offered to Alois Brandl, one of its founders, on the occasion of his seventieth birthday last June. The editors, Professors Dibelius, Hecht, and Keller, introduce them with a finely felt address, worthy of the great teacher and scholar whose forty years of academic activity they commemorate. The papers, by former students, colleagues and friends in many lands, fall into three groups, corresponding to three divisions of Anglistik, on two at least of which Professor Brandl has left his mark. The first volume, containing ten papers, comprises 'Sprache' and 'Kulturgeschichtliches.' Two of the first group are contributions to English Place-name study by two of its leading specialists. Professor Horn of Giessen discusses the expression of negation in English, Professor Keller the possible traces of Celtic influence in the English verb. Professor Hoops investigates the history of the Germanic word-group represented by our *ooze*. Professor Liebermann points out the frequent failure of even the best German-English dictionaries to keep pace with the rapid growth of modern English idiom, and provides a valuable supplement of examples. The second group contains, besides a bibliography of Professor Brandl's writings and a paper on the reform of modern language teaching in Holland, an important paper by Professor Dibelius on the movement towards independence in the English Colonies, which should excite attention far beyond the bounds of Anglist specialism. The forces which are threatening the British

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empire with disintegration are set forth with an objectivity difficult for an Englishman, and a mastery of the facts which few Englishmen can rival. But the distinguished author of *England* points, at the close, to the plasticity of the English political genius which has repeatedly in our history turned apparently desperate situations to happy account.

The second and larger volume is devoted to studies in literary history. Here also there is a happy conjunction, among the contributors, of old pupils, German and English, with colleagues and friends in England, Germany, Austria, Sweden and America, for the most part holding, or having held, chairs of distinction in one of these countries. The articles range over the whole thousand years which divide *The Battle of Brunanburh* from Thomas Hardy—beginning and ending with Wessex. Dr Klaeber in a Note on that poem seeks to show that Old Testament battle narratives have coloured the style and affected the historicity of the detail. Old English is otherwise represented only by the twelfth-century translation of the Pseudo-Anselm Marian sermon, edited by Professor Max Förster with valuable notes and numerous gleanings for the Anglo-Saxon dictionary. The M.E. essays include a discussion by Professor Brunner, of Innsbruck, of the problem of the relation of the ballads to the romances on cognate subjects. Some five or six ballads on the same theme as well-known romances (*Hind Horn*, *King Orfeo*, etc.) were proposed by Child for further investigation. This group Professor Brunner examines, reaching the conclusion that with the possible exception of the *Lord of Lorn* there is every ground to regard the ballads as sprung directly from popular tradition.

The Tudor period essays open with an important study by Professor Hecht of Medwall's recently discovered Interlude *Fulgens and Lucres.* This contribution is particularly appropriate here, since it was in Brandl's *Quellen des Weltlichen Dramas in England* (1898) that Medwall's other piece, the Morality *Nature*, was first made generally accessible. The Interlude is of much greater interest; and its importance for the history of the beginnings of our secular drama has been recognised by scholars. Professor Hecht traces its literary history from the *Disputatio de vera nobilitate* of the early Humanist Bonaccorso da Montemagno to Medwall, by way of Caxton's translations, and points out the interesting anticipations of later English comedy offered by Medwall's technique. Like Shakespeare, this not unworthy predecessor of a hundred years before interweaves with the serious story he borrows a comic echo of it of his own invention. The grave and highborn Lucrez is wooed by 'nobles' of different brands; their servants seek the hand of her maid, 'the flowre of the frying pane.' In another useful paper Professor Brie, of Freiburg, applies his vast knowledge of Elizabethan drama and romance to an inquiry into the relations of C. Middleton's *Chinon of England*, Peele's *Old Wife's Tale*, and Milton's *Comus* to the *Märchen* of *Childe Roland*; pointing out the extreme rarity of genuine *Märchen* motives in the Elizabethan drama, and the almost total absence of qualified editing of English *Märchen.* In Professor Charlton's brief but fascinating 'Note,' which

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follows, on the crossing and counterplay of Comedy and Romance in Shakespeare's 'Comedies,' one would be tempted to find a piquant example of English contrasted with German scholarship, were it not that the 'Chief' to whom all these essays are dedicated is himself no less an adept in the brilliant *aperçu* than in methodical investigation. The two following papers, both by Anglists of high distinction, and one the illustrious Nestor of Old English philology, are devoted to lines of inquiry in which, it must be frankly said, the infinite patience and ingenuity of German scholarship have as a rule been less fruitfully applied than in the investigation of sources. Professor Leon Kellner takes in hand the text of *Cymbeline*. *Cymbeline* is a difficult play, and offers a fair field for the emender. And Professor Kellner's two tests of Shakespearean authenticity, that the writing is clear, and that it does not violate the 'Sprachgebrauch,' are sound correctives to the loose assumption, too common in our popular editions, that Shakespeare 'used the language very much as he pleased.' Yet they obviously lend themselves to abuse; and when we find that Professor Kellner, in addition to some 60 admitted cruces, regards a further 100 passages as definitely requiring emendation, either as 'unklar' or because a word or phrase is 'nicht am Platze,' we are disposed to ask whether the critic is not reining with too tight a snaffle both the enormous virtuosity of Shakespearean expression and the immense flexibility of Shakespearean usage. At the close he proposes original solutions for a score or more of these passages. This is not the place for a detailed examination of them. A few taken at random suggest a keener instinct for the sanity of prose than for the subtler and rarer sanity of poetry. When Imogen, supposed dead, is described by Arviragus:

> Stark as you see:
> Thus smiling, as some Fly had tickled slumber,
> Not as deaths dart being laughed at,

'Is this intelligible?' asks Professor Kellner, and he is convinced that we must read

> Not as death's dart been la(u)nch'd at 't:

'nicht wie einer, gegen den der Todespfeil geschleudert worden ist.' Without pausing to ask whether Shakespeare's supposed rendering of this simple thought, if possible at all, might not be branded as 'unklar,' one is fain to urge that the 'being laughed at' is absolutely necessary to the thought. The dead boy's face wears the expression of one who smiles in his sleep, not of one who is struck down laughing at death. But any new editor of *Cymbeline* will do well to consider carefully the suggestions of one of the most acute and learned Shakespeareans of our day. The high honour in which all Anglists hold the name of Eduard Sievers makes brevity the least unseemly comment upon his amazing distribution of *King Lear*, on the ground of supposed differences of pronunciation and accent, between Shakespeare and two other writers, one of them Irish. The aged Lear's own tripartite division of England was scarcely better advised. But poetry drew a great harvest from his folly;

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and the student of English accent and dialect-morphology will glean much ripe observation in detail scattered through pages which in their main purpose we must regard as completely astray. The Elizabethan essays close with two weighty English contributions, both dealing with unpublished or hitherto imperfectly reproduced MS. material. Dr Greg traces the relation of Heywood's *The Escapes of Jupiter* to his *Golden* and *Silver Age*, with many acute suggestions and a facsimile of a page of the difficult script. Professor Moore Smith prints with valuable comments some unpublished poems of the dramatist Randolph. In his survey of the present state of 'Milton-forschung' Dr T. Spira, author of an important study on the Thought of Shelley, reinforces the now widespread recognition that the Thought of Milton too is as important and as little superseded as his form. We are glad to learn that he contemplates a history of the entire literature in which Milton is the commanding figure. We must be content with a mere indication of the remaining papers, dealing with aspects of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Dr G. H. Cowling discusses 'The English Teaching of Dr Hugh Blair'; Dr B. Fehr the 'Empfindsamkeitsliteratur'; Dr M. F. Liddell attempts for the first time a connected account of the art of historical writing in the English eighteenth century. The present reviewer summarizes the well-spaced annals of Literature in Manchester. Professor Liljegren of Lund proposes to find 'The Origin of *Sartor Resartus*' in the 'clothes philosophy' of the contemporary 'Dandy-novel,' trivialities which doubtless helped to provoke, but cannot in any other sense be said to have originated, the huge complex of Carlylean passion and thought. The concluding paper, by Dr Agnes Steinbach—the sole representative here of Germany's large and able body of women scholars—surveys succinctly the relation of Hardy to Schopenhauer. It is to be wished that the paper, which is here given in a compressed form, might be published entire.

C. H. HERFORD.

MANCHESTER.

Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association. Vols. IX (144 pp.) and X (144 pp.). Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1923 and 1924. 7*s.* 6*d.* each.

The variety of the contents of previous volumes in this series, with their high standard of scholarship, is maintained in the two now before us. It was appropriate that the first of these, edited by the late W. P. Ker, should deal largely with medieval subjects. Four out of seven essays treat of such themes. Professor George Gordon, with ready wit and effervescence of style, traces the progress of the legend of King Brute and his descendants in British history, and shows some genuine regret for the interference of the chill hand of archæology with patriotic fiction. A tradition, indeed, to which the Chancellor Michael de la Pole could solemnly appeal as evidence of the antiquity of the royal dignity before a Parliament opposed to him and to the absolutism which he had

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encouraged, deserves tender consideration; and Professor Gordon will find sympathisers even to-day in the inhabitants of Totnes, who point with pride to the stone in their main street, high above the shrunken waters of the Dart, as proof of the landing of Brutus in that happily chosen spot, and quote the remarkable couplet in which he celebrated his advent:

> Here I stand and here I rest,
> And this place shall be called Totnes.

We may doubt whether Professor Gordon, in face of the rationalism of the compilers of the place-name survey, would defend this palmary example of arbitrary nomenclature; but his plea for 'not quite so much education, and a better sense of the stories of the world' has much to be said in its behalf.

The interest of strict veracity, on the other hand, is implicitly upheld by Miss Dorothy Dymes in her presentation of the arguments for the English original of *The Ancren Riwle* as against G. C. Macaulay's hypothesis in favour of the French version. In *Long Will, Dante, and the Righteous Heathen*, Professor R. W. Chambers supplies cogent reasons for the reconciliation of the abrupt abandonment of difficult problems in the A-text of *Piers Plowman* with their discussion in the B-text. He argues against the alleged inconsequence of the vision of the Mirror of Middle-Earth at the beginning of B XI, finding in it 'an apology for the fifteen years' interval' between the two texts, and postulating the common authorship of both. His closely drawn analogy between Langland's enlarged attitude to the questions of predestination and grace and the inclusion of Trajan and Ripheus by Dante among the spirits of the just in the *Paradiso*, together with his examination of the development of the story of Trajan's salvation by the prayers of St Gregory the Great, form a valuable contribution to the history of medieval thought. The mystical point of view which connects Langland and Dante in their treatment of these problems occupies a prominent place, from its more popular side, in Miss Edith Batho's essay on *The Life of Christ in the Ballads*, where we are reminded that the events of Christ's life, in their eternal aspect, are independent of time and space, and consequently of the anachronisms with which they appear to be presented.

Of the remaining essayists, Professor Edith Morley draws a comparison between Joseph Warton's *Essay on Pope* and his later edition of Pope's works, highly discriminating in its attention to the critic's faults and virtues; Mr J. H. G. Grattan offers suggestions for an improved and rational treatment of Case in teaching English grammar; and Mr Barker Fairley, in a very thoughtful and clearly written study, endeavours to discover some organic background of consciousness to the temper of an age which has produced writers so differently constituted as Bernard Shaw, Thomas Hardy, W. H. Hudson and C. M. Doughty.

Four of the six essays collected by Sir E. K. Chambers in the second volume are occupied with sixteenth and seventeenth-century literature. Mr Dover Wilson applies his characteristic method of textual criticism

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with vigour to the second quarto of *Hamlet*. To anyone who is acquainted with the pitfalls which beset editors of MSS. of that period, his emendations, however incapable of positive proof, are grounded upon solid reason; and, in discussing the famous 'dram of eale' passage, he is able to confirm and unite in one reading suggestions which hitherto have not been connected by a common bond. Miss Ethel Holmes examines the significance of a number of words, nearly all Latin in origin, employed by Milton, with a delicate perception of shades of meaning which proves her, in the phrase of one of her chosen passages,

> exact of taste,
> And elegant, of Sapience no small part.

Professor J. E. V. Crofts furnishes a vivacious life of Bishop Corbett, in which Corbett himself emerges somewhat gradually from the conjectural picture of his environment in early days at Oxford. In spite of an ill-guarded tendency to undue levity and even to cynicism, the true basis of Corbett's character is indicated as 'humorous kindliness,' and Professor Crofts, who is partial neither to Laud nor to his Puritan adversaries, writes with sympathy of the probable uncongeniality of the task of Puritan-baiting to which he was set in his latest years at Norwich.

First in order of chronology, and second to none of the others in interest is the admirable essay on *Marlowe's Map*, in which Miss Ethel Seaton vindicates the geography of *Tamburlaine the Great* from its critic. Her remarks are accompanied by a reproduction of part of Ortelius' map of Africa from the *Theatrum orbis terrarum*, where we find Zanzibar as the name of a province in 'the Westerne part of Affrike,' quite distinct from the less conspicuous 'Zenzibar' on the opposite side of the continent. Miss Seaton amply proves the influence of this great atlas upon Marlowe's imagination, and follows him beyond the maps themselves to show that the force of that strong imagination justifies his statement that 'Danubius stream that runs to Trebizon' falls into the 'Terrene main.'

These four essays fill five-sixths of the book. The remaining sixth contains two short papers by Professors Elton and Mackail. In reprinting his Adamson memorial lecture, delivered at the University of Manchester in 1923, Professor Elton puts on record his estimate of the conflict between Reason and Enthusiasm, in the religious sense, during the eighteenth century, with some remarks upon the permanent interest of the quarrel; while Professor Mackail adds a brief study of Allan Ramsay and his influence as a pioneer of the Romantic revival. It is needless to say that the work of both these writers adds greatly to the literary value of the volume. We notice more than once in one or two of the other essays the tendency to introduce the word 'gesture' as a synonym-of-all-work, a fashion which we trust will soon pass. At present the variety of its uses bids fair to baffle even the discrimination which Miss Holmes has brought to the study of Milton's vocabulary.

LEEDS. A. HAMILTON THOMPSON.

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Anglo-Norman Lapidaries. By PAUL STUDER and JOAN EVANS. Paris: É. Champion. 1924. xx + 404 pp. 60 fr.

Léopold Pannier avait tenté pour la première fois d'une façon méthodique l'étude de cette curieuse partie de la littérature médiévale dans un ouvrage intitulé *Les lapidaires français du moyen âge des XII^e, XIII^e et XIV^e siècles*, réunis, classés et publiés, accompagnés de préfaces, de tables et d'un glossaire, auquel il ne put malheureusement donner la dernière main et qui ne parut qu'après sa mort en 1882 avec une notice préliminaire de Gaston Paris (*Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études*, fasc. LII). Le travail le plus important à citer après celui-ci est constitué par les trois articles que Paul Meyer a donnés en 1909 dans la *Romania*, pp. 44–70, 284–285, 481–552. C'est dans ces articles que M. Paul Studer et Miss Joan Evans ont puisé les directives de leur présent ouvrage. Avec sa connaissance unique de la littérature médiévale, l'éminent philologue français avait indiqué les difficultés que présentait la publication de ces textes. Il recommandait aux futurs éditeurs de se borner 'à recueillir les éléments utiles à l'interprétation des textes français et à l'explication des variétés qui s'observent entre les diverses copies de chacun d'eux, de placer en tête des poèmes français un texte critique du poème latin de Marbode, qui en est la source,' et en outre 'd'étudier et même de publier certaines rédactions latines, apparentées de plus ou moins près au poème de Marbode et qui peuvent avoir été utilisées par les auteurs de lapidaires français.'

M. Studer et Miss Evans reconnaissent eux-mêmes très ouvertement la part de 'pionnier' qui revient à Paul Meyer. 'We have ventured,' disent-ils, p. xix, 'to take up the torch that fell from his hands and trust that his shade will approve our action.' Il n'y a aucun doute: son ombre, même si elle est aussi difficile à contenter que l'était sa propre personne, ne pourra que se réjouir de voir cette œuvre poursuivie avec autant de soin, de goût et d'érudition, quitte à ne pas être toujours d'accord avec les conclusions des deux auteurs.

Le plan de l'ouvrage est net et les divers chapitres sont harmonieusement distribués. L'introduction fournit d'abord en quelques pages tous les renseignements nécessaires sur le développement de la littérature 'lapidarienne' depuis l'antiquité jusqu'au moyen âge, sans oublier les documents tant du proche que de l'extrême Orient. Pour condenser avec une telle précision toute cette matière en si peu d'espace, il fallait avoir du sujet une maîtrise égale à celle de Miss Evans. Puis elle comprend le catalogue des manuscrits déjà publiés ou jusqu'alors inédits, consultés ou utilisés par les deux collaborateurs; elle met en relief le caractère complexe de l'étude des sources et indique l'influence exercée par Damigeron, Isidore de Séville et Marbode.

La façon dont les textes des lapidaires en vers et en prose ont été établis est exposée en tête de chaque version, et chaque version est pourvue d'un commentaire préliminaire relatif à la langue et aux rapports avec les sources et les dérivés.

On est entièrement d'accord avec les auteurs pour reconnaître qu'ils

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ont déblayé le terrain et que leurs efforts ont eu pour résultat de jeter une vive lumière sur un chapitre resté jusqu'ici fort obscur de la littérature médiévale—ce en quoi ils ont d'autant plus de mérite que le sujet est d'un intérêt purement philologique et que nul de ces traités n'a malheureusement la moindre valeur littéraire.

Il y a toutefois une question encore bien épineuse : c'est celle de la date qu'on peut attribuer au poème que M. Studer et Miss Evans appellent 'the first version of Marbode's Lapidary,' que L. Pannier avait nommé 'le premier lapidaire français' et qu'il aurait mieux valu désigner, suivant le système proposé par Paul Meyer, en prenant le premier vers comme titre : 'Evax fut un mult riches reis.' M. Studer et Miss Evans estiment que ce traité a été composé avant 1150. Ils se basent sur le fait que le 'First Anglo-Norman Prose Lapidary,' reconstitué d'après trois manuscrits, celui de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, nouv. acq. lat. 873 (G), celui du Musée Britannique, Royal 12. F. XIII (H), et celui d'Oxford, Digby 13, est une adaptation du 'First version of Marbode's Lapidary,' et qu'il *a dû* être composé vers le milieu du XII^e^ siècle. Ils reconnaissent que G et H sont du commencement du XIII^e^ siècle, mais ils font grand état de ce que l'écriture de Digby 13 *peut être* assignée à la seconde moitié du XII^e^ siècle. Ils *supposent* alors qu'un certain nombre d'années *ont pu* s'écouler entre la composition du poème et celle de l'adaptation en prose et ils arrivent ainsi à *se* convaincre de la réalité de la date qu'ils proposent pour la 'First version of Marbode's Lapidary.' Ils trouvent d'ailleurs la corroboration de leur hypothèse dans des faits linguistiques qui leur *paraissent* eux aussi ne pouvoir remonter qu'à 1150 au plus tard. Les raisons tirées de la paléographie et de la langue sont trop sujettes à caution pour être utilisées en un problème aussi complexe : d'abord nous n'avons pas de criterium suffisant pour distinguer les écritures d'époques si rapprochées : des scribes nés vers 1125 pouvaient écrire de façon à peu près identique en 1150 et en 1180. Ensuite notre connaissance de l'anglo-normand du XII^e^ siècle est vraiment trop restreinte et trop rudimentaire pour nous permettre de porter sur la datation des jugements aussi tranchants. Les cas d'enclise, pour ne prendre qu'un des traits signalés comme 'caractéristiques,' p. 23, n'ont pas encore été l'objet d'une étude chronologique approfondie. D'ailleurs ils sont très peu nombreux dans le ms. A. Des cinq cas signalés par les auteurs v. 328, 466, 602, 942, 943, celui du vers 466 est douteux. Il n'en reste donc que quatre d'assurés contre lesquels on peut mentionner les formes pleines des vers : 5 *Les set arz sot, si en fut maistre* ; 110 *Si le desfent, ja n'avra sei* ; 394 *E si en sunt de cinc maneres* ; 461 *Si en fait un esperiment* ; etc. De plus celui de A v. 110 qui donne *Sil* au lieu de *Si le* tend plutôt à infirmer la thèse de cette soi-disant ancienneté puisque c'est une véritable faute, et la même observation s'applique aux vers 58 et 110 où il faut lire *Ke ne* au lieu de *Ken* et *Si le* au lieu de *Sil*.

Toutefois, si l'on n'est pas convaincu, on doit reconnaître aux auteurs le mérite d'avoir exécuté des travaux d'approche extrêmement in-

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génieux et auxquels on ne pourra négliger d'avoir recours quand on reprendra l'étude de ce point.

Les notes, les tables et le glossaire constituent une mine de renseignements des plus utiles et la table des sources 'is a gem in itself.'

En somme nous devons être reconnaissants aux deux auteurs de nous avoir donné un ouvrage qui exigeait tant de patience et de doigté. C'est une contribution de premier ordre à l'histoire de la littérature médiévale et elle attirera de la façon la plus flatteuse l'attention des érudits sur l'école de philologie romane de l'Université d'Oxford.

LOUIS BRANDIN.

LONDON.

PIERO RÉBORA. *L'Italia nel Dramma inglese* (1558–1642). Milan: Modernissima. 1925. 8vo. 319 pp. L. 15.

It is curious how the least dramatic and most peaceful of Italian Renaissance painters is associated, through Bandello, with two of the most lurid of English Elizabethan tragedies. Among Bernardino Luini's frescoes on the walls of San Maurizio at Milan, in one of the lunettes behind the high altar, kneels Ippolita Sforza Bentivoglio in whose presence was Delio when Antonio Bologna 'sonò di liuto, e cantò un pietoso capitolo, che egli dei casi suoi aveva composto ed intonato,' the 'casi' which became the subject of Webster's *Duchess of Malfi*; and the Contessa di Cellant, the protagonist of Marston's *Insatiate Countess*, appears probably in one of the side chapels under the disguise of St Catherine of Alexandria: 'E chi bramasse veder il volto suo ritratto dal vivo, vada nella chiesa del Monistero maggiore, e là dentro la vedrà dipinta.' Thus far Bandello (I, 4, I, 26), one of the chief connecting links between the Elizabethan drama and Italian life of the Cinquecento. In the attractive and vivacious volume before us, Professor Rébora claims no fresh 'scoperta,' and makes no appeal 'ai filologi scaltriti nel mestiere,' but addresses himself primarily to the Italian reader, his purpose being simply to elucidate 'il significato che l'Italia e la coltura italiana ebbero per Shakespeare e per i suoi compagni drammaturghi dell' età elisabettiana' (p. 10). After a brief introduction on the cultural conditions of Elizabethan England with respect to Italian literature, he surveys the English drama as revealing Italian elements and Italian motives from the first Elizabethan dramatists and the precursors of Shakespeare, through the pastoral play, the masque, the 'Commedia dell' arte,' to 'Riflessi italiani sulla commedia inglese,' 'il Machiavellismo nel dramma elisabettiano,' and 'la vita italiana nella tragedia romantica inglese,' the book ending with two chapters on 'Motivi italiani in Shakespeare.' In dealing with the pastoral drama, Professor Rébora duly notes the researches of Miss Violet Jeffery in this *Review*; may we take it as a tribute to the virility of her style that he refers to her as 'Il Jeffery' (pp. 74–75)? He has some noteworthy pages on the motive of 'machiavellismo,' which he finds 'onnipresente nella tragedia elisabettiana' (p. 178). In this connection it will not, I expect, have escaped

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his notice that a famous passage in *Hamlet* (Act IV, Sc. V, 'There's such divinity doth hedge a king,' etc.) is merely a poetical rendering of a sentence in the *Discorsi* (iii, 6). Coleridge, it will be remembered, was so impressed with this noble sentiment that he called it 'proof, as indeed all else is, that Shakespeare never intended us to see the king with Hamlet's eyes.' In reality, Shakespeare is here making the villain of the piece talk 'murderous Machiavell' pure and simple.

We have found Professor Rébora particularly stimulating in his study of certain plays: for instance, Ben Jonson's *Volpone*, assuredly—with its attempt at genuine Italian colouring—one of the most significant for his purpose; the comedy in which the chief types 'sono tutti usciti dalla Venezia dell' Aretino' (p. 140). Among the tragedies he would assign a somewhat analogous position to Ford's *'Tis Pity*: 'Ford è l'autore più profondamente impregnato di mentalità e di sentimenti italiani; ancorchè abbia penetrato quasi unicamente le caratteristiche peggiori, più estreme e morbose dell' anima italiana del cinquecento' (p. 214). The field is so vast that the author naturally is compelled to leave some plays of minor importance unnoticed; but we should have welcomed a word about Barnabe Barnes' curious tragedy on Pope Alexander VI, which attempts to apply the method of the English chronicle play to an Italian subject. Incidentally, and from a different standpoint, Professor Rébora joins with Letterio di Francia in ejecting Bandello from his usurped throne; Giraldi Cinzio, who now seems to be coming to his own among the writers of the Cinquecento, appears as a far more admirable and significant figure. With respect to Shakespeare, he holds that 'la filologia delle fonti' has not much left to discover. If the two chapters devoted to Italian motives and influences in the Shakespearian drama do not perhaps add appreciably to the knowledge of English students on the subject, they are at least pleasant reading and the matter is skilfully handled. The whole book shows Professor Rébora again an able and sympathetic interpreter of English life and letters to his countrymen, and the present reviewer will not be the only English reader to find that these pages send him back with a fresh interest to not a few of the minor dramas of the Elizabethan epoch.

EDMUND G. GARDNER.

LONDON.

Ángel de Saavedra, Duque de Rivas. A Critical Study. By E. ALLISON PEERS. (Extrait de la *Revue Hispanique*, Tome LVIII.) 1923. 600 pp.

This book is not merely an expanded form of the same author's *Rivas and Romanticism in Spain* (1923), already reviewed in these columns (January, 1925). Conception and execution are quite distinct. The earlier work was a collection of genial essays, grouped about the various literary qualities of the Spanish writer,—spirited and spontaneous, a rich synthetic criticism. The aim of this much longer volume

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is to furnish an adequate biography, and a detailed and documented study of Rivas' individual works. Its style is somewhat matter of fact; analysis has mastered the broad outlook, and one misses, undoubtedly, in the copious exposition and argumentation, the enthusiasm of the other.

There is astonishingly little repetition of phrase in the two. Despite the fact that the ground covered is at times necessarily identical, Professor Peers displays an artist's horror of the cliché, and though his sentence be cast in the same mould, he nearly always manages a new epithet, a fresh illustration. For this reason, and yet more on account of his greater freedom of expression in *Rivas and Romanticism*, the present volume does not supersede the first. In order to obtain the author's entire thought, it will be found needful to read both.

One would like to say that the lovable Duke has now received the definitive study which was his due. The latest research about his life is joined to much new material touching the sources of certain of his works and the various currents of influence which guided him. Professor Peers' unusual penetration into the significance of the detail has here full scope. The Bibliography is greatly extended, and there are two Appendices, one an elaborate 'Tabular Summary of the Works generally considered as Sources of the *Moro Expósito*,' the other 'Unpublished Letters by or relative to the Duque de Rivas.'

There is no need to repeat in this place general remarks made on the former occasion. Professor Peers' admirable scholarship makes any reservations appear ungrateful, yet some cannot be avoided. The proportion of labour and space devoted to the two *chefs-d'œuvre* (speaking relatively), *El Moro Expósito* and *Don Álvaro*, does seem unwarranted. Surely the 170 pages which the former commands involve a close scrutiny under which that uneven epic falters. The insistence upon 'light' and 'colour' scarcely convinces one that Rivas' adjectives and epithets were not often stereotypes, void of freshness as of effect. *Don Álvaro* may be a Spanish masterpiece, but it is a *brainless* one, and the reviewer can find in it not a profound, well designed conception, but simply the result of the impingement of the prevailing current of philosophic thought upon a mind not in the least philosophical, and unconsciously enslaved by the national religious belief of Spain. That result was disconcerting confusion. The merits of the play are those of a spontaneous, not a reflective, genius.

If this be a question of personal opinion, it is hardly that when one regrets that a study so extensive and thorough has not been made to embrace all of Rivas' productions, and hence is not the final word. Consideration of the prose *Historia de la Sublevación de Nápoles* did not, says Professor Peers (p. 479), enter into his plan. The historical sources of the minor plays *Lanuza* and *Arias Gonzalo* deserved a word, and much more those of the *Romances históricos* and the *Leyendas*, yet they receive no investigation. Lastly, the absence of a comprehensive index is a genuine weakness.

It may be, then, that the most permanent values of this volume

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lie in the biography and in the minute critical analyses of *El Moro Expósito, Don Álvaro* and *El Desengaño en un Sueño.* The broad generalizations may be found equally well, and read with greater ease, in *Rivas and Romanticism.*

S. GRISWOLD MORLEY.

BERKELEY, CAL., U.S.A.

Gehalt und Form. Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Literaturwissenschaft und zur allgemeinen Geistesgeschichte. VON ROBERT PETSCH. (*Hamburgische Texte und Untersuchungen,* II, 2.) Dortmund: F. W. Rehfus. 1925. 572 pp. 18 M.

This volume of collected essays includes papers and addresses extending over a considerable period of time (1903–1924), which are reprinted (according to an introductory note) in their original form, and thus possess a historical as well as a critical interest. They fall, not without some overlapping, into four sections: Drama, The Theory of Tragedy, The Faust Legend and Goethe's Faust, and essays dealing with the period of 'German Idealism.' The Introduction to the essays gives a clue to their historical interest by tracing the development of the author's studies from the classics to German Literature. The central interest of the volume (as might be expected in the work of the compiler of a *Deutsche Dramaturgie* and the commentator of *Faust*) is the drama; while the essays on *Faust* and the Faust legend form a large and important section.

A study of dramatic theory inevitably presupposes a study of classical drama; and the essays on the Theory of Tragedy in Greek Antiquity, and on the Use of the Chorus in ancient and modern Drama, sufficiently demonstrate Professor Petsch's intimate knowledge of the classics. A general philosophical survey of the development of drama in *Zwei Pole des Dramas* shows the trend of his studies; that they are mainly undertaken from a comparative point of view (i.e. with reference to the development of German drama) only adds to their interest. This is, in fact, a salient feature of the earlier group of essays.

With a discussion of Goethe and the problem of Tragedy we draw nearer to the heart of Professor Petsch's investigation. His keen interest and extraordinarily detailed knowledge become strikingly evident in such passages as the delicate analysis of *Wilhelm Meister*, the discussion of the tragic idea in *Tasso*, or the general distinction between Greek drama and the dramas of Shakespeare, Lessing, Schiller, Goethe and Hebbel. In this essay, and in that on Schiller's conception of Tragedy, the intimate connection between the first and second sections of the volume is plainly shown.

The third group consists of twelve papers on the Faust legend and Goethe's *Faust*; the substance of some of these is familiar to a wider circle of readers since the recent publication of Professor Petsch's edition of *Faust.* The first essay contains a detailed and interesting analysis of the magician legend in general, and its relation to the

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legend of Faust in particular. This is supplemented later by an account of the parallel legend of Theophilus, by the text of the mediaeval Latin *Militarius*, as well as by magician scenes from a seventeenth-century Latin drama of *Theophilus*, and by a discussion of the seventeenth-century Dutch *Faust* drama of the actor-manager Jacob van Rijndorp. A separate survey of the puppet plays, such as is indicated in a note (p. 306), would have been a very welcome addition to this general section.

In *Beiträge zur Erklärung des 'Urfaust'* the critic attempts to use constructively the vast mass of 'philological' criticism of *Faust*, and to solve the much-debated question of chronology. The real aim of this essay (and of those immediately following it) is to determine the order of the various stages of Goethe's conception—an undertaking where many critics have lost themselves in a maze of detail. It is one of the great merits of Professor Petsch's *Faust* criticism that it not only avoids philological elaboration, but also keeps steadily in view the main lines of development in the *Faust* drama, showing the importance in the whole scheme of each particular change. The question of the organic unity of the Walpurgisnacht scene is dealt with in a separate paper, and the importance of the third and final stage of its conception, which shows Faust returning to Gretchen because he has become surfeited with sensual pleasure, is convincingly demonstrated. Equally clear is the final summary of the dramatic as well as the ethical significance of the Walpurgisnacht. The remaining four essays of this group are concerned with the Second Part of *Faust*. In *Goethes Faust, Der Tragödie zweiter Teil*, Professor Petsch summarises the results of recent research on *Faust II*. In particular he discusses the view of Croce that there is no artistic unity in the Second Part, and that this diminishes its value as a work of art. He takes the only line that appears possible against Croce's telling arguments, viz. that *Faust II* represents, in an 'ideal' manner, untrammelled by conventions of space and time, a sequence of great moments in Faust's life; and that its dramatic unity is dependent on the realisation of their cumulative effect upon his spirit. The criticism of an 'extrinsic and general unity which can be stated in a few words' (Croce, *Goethe*, London, 1923, p. 185) is perhaps hardly met; but a comparison (interesting, if not entirely convincing) of Goethe's methods with those of present-day 'Expressionism' illuminates Professor Petsch's conception of the Second Part.

The suggestive essay on *Goethes Faust und das griechische Altertum*, and those on *Helena und Euphorion* and *Fausts Gang zu den Müttern*, are supplementary to the main essay on *Der Tragödie zweiter Teil* as are the minor essays on *Faust I* to the general *Beiträge zur Erklärung des 'Urfaust.'* Throughout this section the unity of *Faust* in its diversity is emphasised. This emphasis is not the least merit of the essays, and is by no means superfluous, in view of the mass of disintegrating criticism, of which Professor Petsch gives a discriminating survey.

The fourth division, less homogeneous than the others, yet contains some noteworthy criticism. The four papers are on unconnected sub-

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jects—Klopstock, Wilhelm Heinse, Hölderlin, and Goethe's views on immortality. All but one, however, are of recent date; and in them we seem to find the fruits of much of the earlier study of classical literature and literary theory. The title of the volume (which challenges the translator) seems peculiarly appropriate to the essays of this final section. Such passages as the delicate appreciation of the content and form of Klopstock's poetry, and the protest against the current criticism that it lacks vividness, prove a deep insight into its essential originality:

> Klopstocks Dichtung will nicht schildern und treffen; sie will auch nicht die unmittelbar sinnfällige und die Sinne reizende Erscheinung ihrer Gegenstände erfassen und steigern; sie will noch weniger abstrakte Gedanken über die Dinge und über ihren Eindruck auf uns selber...in Reime bringen. Sie will überhaupt kein abgeschlossenes Erlebnis hintennach, aus der Erinnerung 'verdichten.' Klopstocks Dichten ist Erlebnis, ist bewusstes, gesteigertes, sich ablösendes und in der Ablösung von der Erfahrung vollendetes Erlebnis... (p. 467).

Similarly, the analysis of Hölderlin's relations to Greece, the contrast drawn between his view of Nature and that of Goethe in his maturity, the appreciation of the peculiarly plastic quality of his poetry, with all its 'delicate moonshine,' are examples of a criticism at once learned and intuitive. Indeed, throughout a volume of formidable dimensions the reader is impressed by this combination of qualities; and if the essays, owing to their philosophical tinge, are somewhat difficult of access, they are always interesting.

EDNA PURDIE.

BANGOR, N. WALES.

J. M. R. Lenz und die Deutsche Romantik. Von HEINZ KINDERMANN. Vienna: W. Braumüller. 1925. xvii + 367 pp. 10 M.

The author sets out to consider the elements of Romanticism in the works of Lenz, who has suffered, like so many other poets, from the criticism of the pundits. One literary historian after another has copied an adverse reference from a predecessor, without troubling to examine the works of the poet himself, and Lenz has never really recovered from the severe judgment delivered by his erstwhile friend in *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, to which the prevailing opinion of his work and character may ultimately be traced. He was very much more than the Goethe-imitator which so many critics have professed to see in him, and if he and his contemporaries had not been so vastly overshadowed by Goethe and Schiller, it would have been seen long ago that he was a genius.

The most important elements in Lenz's work which herald the Romantic movement are a distinct infusion of irony, and anticipations of Novalis' attitude to the problems of life and love. The fundamental conception of the latter's *Hymnen an die Nacht* is already to be found in the earliest work of Lenz, who possessed what Friedrich Schlegel called 'der Kunstsinn für den Tod.' When the prevailing temper was that of the Anacreontic poets, when Goethe was mainly absorbed by the theme of love, Lenz was already occupied with the problem of

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death. When Novalis saw in Julie a mystic transference of his first love-object, Sophie, he was confirming the theory of Lenz, who says that when a man falls in love a second time, he only loves 'seine erste Idee in einem neuen Gegenstand.' This was a problem of great consequence to many of the Romanticists, and Lenz's attitude was related to theirs. There is also to be seen in Lenz 'die Polarität der Ekstase,' on the one hand limitless emotional imagination, on the other the self-torture of ironic analysis of his own ego, what Fritz Strich calls 'romantische Dissonanz.'

It would have been very useful if the author had added a short chapter summarizing his results. The links between Sturm und Drang and Romanticism are gradually being discovered, but there are still comparatively unknown writers who provide indispensable clues. The authors of *Anton Reiser* and *Ardinghello* are only two who have been much neglected in this respect, and modern methods of research should yield fruitful results.

WILLIAM ROSE.

LONDON.

Cerdd Dafod sef celfyddyd barddoniaeth Cymraeg. By Sir JOHN MORRIS-JONES. London: H. Milford. 1925. xxviii + 382 pp. 12*s.* 6*d.*

This book is by the professor of Welsh Language in Bangor College (North Wales), and purports to be an account of Welsh poetic art (*vide* wrapper), including both rhetoric and prosody. But the work is too scrappy, and too much is omitted to justify the sub-title. The rhetoric, defined by more rhetoric, is not the special Welsh art, but rhetoric in general, with a jumble of notions on aesthetics drawn indiscriminately from all quarters. But for the author's inherent lack of urbanity, much of the matter might be described as Augustan at its worst. The conception of poetry is entirely mechanical, as would be expected of an author so obsessed by the barbaric splendours of mediaeval alliteration. The light touch and fine sensitive handling of the later ballad stanza are ignored as though they were beyond his comprehension.

The section on prosody embodies the labours of other writers on Welsh prosody, but without acknowledgments to recent writers. The handling of MS. sources is uncritical; indeed obviously irregular formations are accepted on the strength of single readings in uncollated MSS. The blunders over some of the strophes are very bad; the statistical work is grossly inaccurate, and the phonetics wild *a priori* theories. The Caerwys Eisteddfodau of 1523 and 1567 were not academies of letters as the author seems to think, but legal sessions held by the Council of the Marches under Chester, for the exemption of professional entertainers from conscription for manual labour. He might have known that, had he any knowledge of English industrial history. He makes categorical statements as to legislation on prosody in these sessions, but without a tittle of credible evidence. There was nothing to prevent the bardic assessors from laying down rules, but where is the evidence

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that they attempted so arrogant a thing? As for the session of 1451 in Carmarthen, where is the evidence that it was ever held, besides the not disinterested and incredible account by Jones of Gellilyfdy in the early seventeenth century?

The historical part of the prosody is valueless. The author has got hold of Gummere, and has found the origin of all the Welsh metres at one swoop. Misled, in his ignorance of rhythm, by the induced accentual regularity of the compound lines, such as 5 + 4, 5 + 5, 6 + 4, 4 + 4, with their brace of induced accents in each section and 3+5 and 3+3+3, with their 3 for the line, he has made up his mind that his predecessors in Welsh prosody knew nothing about it, when they described bardic metrics as unrhythmical. With these rhythms in hand, the double-two and three simplified into 4 and 6 beats, he runs the bardic metres straight home to the prehistoric dance. He could have saved himself from this absurdity by a little statistical work on the 7-syllable line, which, being undivided, would test the theory of rhythm, by giving a regular number of beats. But alas, it will not, even by reasonable faking. It runs from 2 to 4, and down crashes Sir John Morris-Jones's superstructure. A slight knowledge of Middle-Latin line-structure would have saved him from his theory, as well as from ascribing Taliesin doggerel in twelfth-century Latin-Church metres, to the sixth century. But he shows by other blunders that he knows nothing about Middle-Latin metrics, the most important subject for him to know; nor about mediaeval church history even in Wales, to say nothing of England and France; nor about music, mediaeval or early modern; and yet has the assurance to write a history of Welsh prosody. In what country besides Wales would a book of this kind be possible?

Sir John Morris-Jones sneers at the ignorance of early and mid nineteenth-century Welsh prosodists; but after all, they were abreast of the very creditable scholarship of their day, and that is a good deal more than could be said of their critic. It may have been difficult for him to forgive M. Loth, whose name, but not whose labours, he ignores, and Zimmer; but he might have written more generously of Sir John Rhys, his old teacher and loyal friend. Rhys was not the ignoramus that his pupil imagines he was, and Rhys's one book on early Welsh metrics is not quite so ill-informed and uncritical as the present volume.

J. Glyn Davies.

Liverpool.

SHORT NOTICES.

No words are needed to recommend the fifth volume, covering the year 1924, of the *Annual Bibliography of English Language and Literature* edited by Miss A. C. Paues for the Mod. Hum. Research Association (Cambridge: Bowes and Bowes, 1925. 164 pp. 6*s*.). This issue contains 2274 entries. (Should not 1118 and 1119 however form a single entry?) Thanks to the labours of Miss Paues and nearly a score of foreign helpers an enormous number of periodicals have been ransacked

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for articles and reviews, those given in the 'List of Abbreviations' forming only a small fraction of them. Even a Hebrew work in Hebrew on Milton has not been overlooked. The continued life of the Bibliography is good evidence that it has been found useful, and we hope that its position is now assured.

G. C. M. S.

A new grammar of handy proportions, *Our Living Language, A New Guide to English Grammar*, by J. H. G. Grattan and P. Gurney (London: T. Nelson, 1925. xxii + 323 pp. 3*s.* 6*d.*), is the product of a happy collaboration between a researcher and a professional teacher. It deftly steers a midway course between its Latinizing predecessors and the revolutionary demands of Brunot and of Jespersen, who leaves his unmistakeable impress on the treatment of Time and Tense. The ascertainable speech-usages of educated contemporaries supply a not too rigid norm; there is no Draconian legislation in the manner of the historical or logical purist. Stylistic values are discriminated in accordance with the 'appropriateness' to a particular subject-matter of various constructions (here we might compare E. Otto, *Was versteht man unter Stil?* 1914). Proceeding from the sentence as their basis, the authors at once bring home to the student the intricacy and in a few cases the imperfect solubility of the problems involved. He is compelled to think strenuously instead of being pap-fed. The fresh treatment of the 'parts of speech' necessitates a few coinages. Jespersen's *adjuncts* and *subjuncts* fail of acceptance, though the terms *qualifiers* and *verbal particles* cover but a few of their implications. One might hesitate to endorse the use of *post-position* proposed for the post-fixed particle of a verbal group, e.g. 'he was laughed *at*,' in view of its present application to a post-fixed particle in a nominal group especially in the Finno-Ugrian languages, but the terminology employed in a functional classification of the interrogative pronouns, viz. *identifying, descriptive, selective, emphatic*, is worthy of consideration. The treatment of *case* and the relations comprehended under that category is less convincing. We are given a dichotomous division into *fundamental* (nominative, accusative, dative—pace Jespersen!—and genitive) and *external* or *adverbial* (prepositional case-phrases). The criterion of word-order is hardly a sufficiently firm formal prop for the retention of the word *dative* for the personal pronoun in 'I gave him the book,' for it breaks down when we collocate two short pronouns 'I gave him it' or 'I gave it him.' And yet the reviewer must own to a lurking apprehension (perhaps through the bias of foreign tongues) of a semantic differentiation of the direct and indirect object in English even when no formal distinction is present. The question is whether the divergence in thought deserves to find separate designations in the grammars as contrasted with a single term to denote the convergence in expression. The book is so richly stocked with curious and apt quotations that one is tempted to cap 'it's me' (cf. the sane remarks, p. 26) with a sentence from *Pearson's Magazine*, December, 1925, p. 590, in which the objective form seems

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inescapable: 'get him to assure your husband that he—your husband—is not *him*, Mr Constantine Murgatroyd'! Throughout, the work takes cognizance of the other school languages wherever relevant. It should do great service in revitalizing the study of grammar and it is to be hoped it will be widely adopted.

W. E. C.

Mr J. H. Jagger's collection of lectures on *Modern English* (London: University of London Press, 1925. 236 pp. 5*s*.) must inevitably suffer by comparison with the work of Grattan and Gurney. The diagrams on pp. 50, 51 are sufficient to damn the author as a phonetician, even if one might overlook the astounding statement (p. 50) that the consonants *w* and *x* are stops! Still, there are some interesting passages further on where he has quarried in the *New English Dictionary* and grouped together some good specimens. As to the word *pebble* which (p. 135) first appears 1000–1050 A.D., I would draw attention to West Frisian *babbelstientsjes* (s.v. Dijkstra's dictionary), and one must demur to the generalization (p. 203) that *bread and butter* represents the normal grouping of accents in such binary phrases (in view of *tattered and torn*, *bubble and squeak*, *Darby and Joan*, *bacon and eggs*, etc.). The wording sometimes shows a deplorable looseness or is too downright and unqualified. This is a pity, as the author shows enthusiasm for his subject and has an eye for points which appeal.

W. E. C.

The appearance of the first instalment of *English Literary Autographs* 1550–1650—thirty folio sheets of beautifully executed facsimiles—is an event which may have far-reaching consequences in literary research, especially in the determination of the authorship of works existing in MS. form. For this, as for so many other services to exact scholarship, we are primarily indebted to Dr W. W. Greg who in collaboration with other experts—Mr Gilson, the Keeper of MSS. in the British Museum, Mr Hilary Jenkinson, Dr R. B. M^{c}Kerrow and Mr A. W. Pollard, late Keeper of Printed Books—has selected and edited the specimens of handwriting here reproduced. When it is added that the work is issued by the Clarendon Press, a guarantee is at once given that the execution does not fall short of the high demands of the Editor.

Part I, now before us, is given to dramatists—it is proposed to devote thirty more plates to poets, another thirty to prose-writers and to reserve ten plates for any new material that may come to light. The expense is borne not by a Society but by private subscribers, but 'the work is being produced as for a society; that is, the editors are giving their services; the money received will as far as possible be spent on the work, any balance being devoted to some similar object, and audited accounts will be printed.' The terms of subscription are three yearly payments of 30*s*. each, or one sum of £4. 4*s*. 0*d*. paid in advance. The issue is limited to 250 sets. It is hoped that the remaining parts may appear in 1926 and 1927.

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In the present part will be found reproductions of the handwriting of some thirty-five dramatists or reputed dramatists, of that of some Masters of the Revels, and of a page of Henslowe's Diary. The dramatists include Chettle, Dekker, Chapman, Massinger, Kyd, Peele, Lyly, Marston, Lodge, Nashe, T. Heywood, Jonson, Davenant and Cowley, besides a number of lesser fame. Shakespeare's handwriting has been so much reproduced and discussed elsewhere that it was not necessary to illustrate it here: while if we have no examples of the hand of Marlowe, Greene, Beaumont, Fletcher, Webster, Ford, Shirley or (I suppose), Randolph, it is because, in the Editor's opinion, no indisputable examples are known to us. His judgment is not to be contested, but I could have wished that he had found it possible to include as Randolph's some part of the *Praeludium* (Add. MS. 37,425) attributed to Randolph by Lord Chancellor Clarendon, and indicated as his, as I believe, by internal evidence, while the MS., as Dr Greg has stated, has signs of an author's MS. We have in the Trinity College Admission Book under April 9, 1624, the words 'Thomas Randolph discipulus iuratus et admissus' and a further signature reproduced by Hazlitt from the books of the University, so that comparison is possible. It may be of course that Dr Greg reckons Randolph among poets rather than dramatists and is reserving him for Part II.

The importance of the present publication, which no one who sees it will consider too highly priced, will be easily apparent. By its means not only the authorship of some doubtful MS. may be determined, but an editor driven to conjectural emendation may check his proposals by attention to the known handwriting of the writer he is dealing with. 'The application of this principle in recent work on Shakespeare may be taken as a landmark in the progress of literary study,' and we now have the means of applying the principle more widely and obtaining from it much more than we have done at present. It should be added that each passage facsimiled is also printed, that significant features of the contents or handwriting of each group are commented on, and that a most useful life of the dramatist, based in part on the researches of Sir E. K. Chambers, has been supplied by Dr Greg.

G. C. M. S.

A handy and prettily bound and printed edition of Dekker's *Foure Birds Of Noahs Arke* (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1925. xvi + 286 pp. 7*s.* 6*d.*) is of special interest as the first complete reprint of this fantastically entitled and justly praised book of prayers, of which only one perfect original is known to survive. Mr F. P. Wilson, in a short editorial introduction, writes with appreciation of the beauty of its language: like *The Pilgrim's Progress*' it 'shows what sweetness and what dignity a man of the people could compass who was nurtured upon the traditions of biblical prose'—the prose of the earlier English versions, for in 1609 the Authorized Version was yet to come. Compared with *The Guls Horne-Booke*, which was published in the same year, it illustrates a very different side of Dekker's talent. Its earnestness excludes mirth and

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wit; but in its meditative passages we hear the voice of the keen observer and satirist of social abuses, as when he says of covetousness, 'it is a sinne that turneth courtiers into beggars, and yet maketh them weare monopolies on their backes, when the common-wealth shivereth through cold .... it is a bell, whose sound so deafes the poore mans voice, that his wrongs cannot bee heard.' Of the cadences to which Dekker sets 'the language in which,' as he says, 'we talk to God,' the tune is given in the beautiful conclusion to his preface. 'If thou art yong, here is pleasure for thee: if old, here is comfort: if thou art poore, here is riches; if thou hast enough, here is more: use this physicke wel, and live well: runne this circle truely, and die wel: that is the goale: winne that, winne Heaven. Fare-well.' In such simple prose the melodies of the eternal chime ring clearly.

A. H. T.

Dr Alfred C. Hunter need not be apologetic for his monograph on Suard (*J. B. A. Suard: un Introducteur de la littérature anglaise en France.* Paris: É. Champion, 1925. vii + 193 pp. 15 fr.), which forms the twenty-second volume of Professor Baldensperger's *Bibliothèque de la Revue de littérature comparée.* Suard may not be a writer or translator of distinction, but his *Journal étranger* is a pivotal work in the 'comparative literature' of the eighteenth century. Dr Hunter's account of the infiltration of English literature into France before that journal is written with freshness and independence, although I cannot follow him when he tells us (p. 20) that for forty years 'les écrits de Voltaire offrirent un obstacle insurmontable à la pleine compréhension de Shakespeare.' One might rather ask: where would France's knowledge of Shakespeare have been, had Voltaire not been so concerned about him? The account of the *Journal étranger* itself is excellent and most welcome; one regrets, indeed, that Dr Hunter had not extended his detailed study to other international journals of the age, such as the *Journal encyclopédique,* with which Suard was for a time connected. The latter, I observe, he describes as 'le plus vivace' of the French reviews of the time; my impression of it is rather that it was the dullest; at least it rapidly became so. The *Année littéraire* has, of course, already been dealt with in an excellent monograph by M. Van Tieghem. Dr Hunter has evidently missed a Heidelberg dissertation, *Das Journal étranger und seine Bedeutung für die Verbreitung deutscher Literatur in Frankreich,* by Johannes Gärtner, Mainz, 1905, which he might have found useful.

J. G. R.

In editing *The History of the Damnable Life and Deserved Death of Doctor John Faustus* (London: G. Routledge and Sons. xvi + 327 pp. 7*s.* 6*d.*) Dr W. Rose has made a welcome addition to the attractive and rapidly growing series of 'Broadway Translations.' He presents us with a carefully modernized text of the English Faust Book of 1592, and of the Wagner Book of 1594, with twenty-four appropriate illustrations,

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chiefly from wood-cuts. The Introduction, which deals in successive chapters with The Historical Personage, The German Faust Book, Faust in England, The Faust Drama in Germany, and the Wagner Book, will satisfy both the casual reader and the student of German. A select bibliography is appended, but it might well have included Friedrich Kluge, *Vom geschichtlichen Doctor Faust* (1896; also in *Bunte Blätter*, 1908), C. H. Herford, *Studies in the Literary Relations of England and Germany in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1886), and Kuno Fischer, *Goethes Faust*, I, *Die Faustdichtung vor Goethe* (1901).

Dr Rose arranges his material with a sure hand and gives it an attractive form. He discusses faithfully the chief references to Faust before the appearance of the 'Volksbuch,' although he can give us no new data for the accepted identification of the Georgius Sabellicus, *Faustus junior* of Trithemius (1507), with the Johannes Faustus of Manlius (1563). The successive editions of the German *Faustbuch* are then discussed, and the accumulation of legend round the figure of Faust is explained, though it is not strictly correct to attribute (p. 41) the germ of the Gretchen tragedy to 'Der Christlich Meynende' (1725), rather than to his predecessor, Pfitzer (1674).

The first reference to Dr Faust in England belongs to the year 1572, and the extant edition of the English translation of the first *Faustbuch* appeared in 1592. There was clearly an earlier edition (*c.* 1588), now lost, on which, as Dr Rose observes, Marlowe based his *Tragical History of Dr Faustus*. Had Dr Rose wished to pursue the subsequent influence of the legend on English literature, he would no doubt have quoted Herford's fundamental work, which is perhaps beyond the scope of an introduction to the Faust Book.

There is, however, a direct reference to Faust in an English work of some importance which Dr Rose appears to have overlooked, viz. Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary*. Although not published until 1617, this lengthy work contains a detailed account of Moryson's travels in Europe and the near East between 1591 and 1597. In describing his sojourn at Wittenberg in the summer of 1591 he says, 'They shew a house wherein Doctor Faustus a famous conjurer dwelt. They say that this Doctor lived there about the yeere 1500, and had a tree all blasted and burnt in the adjoyning Wood, where hee practised his Magick Art, and that hee died, or rather was fetched by the Divell, in a village neere the Towne. I did see the tree so burnt; but walking at leasure through all the Villages adjoyning, I could never heare any memory of his end.' Curiously enough, the Preface to the English Wagner Book (p. 216 of the volume before us) mentions this same tree: 'There is yet to be seen his tree, a great hollow Trunk, wherein he used to read Nigromancy to his scholars, not far from the Town in a very remote place, which I think is sufficient testimony to any reasonable ear.' Even more interesting is the title-page of 1594, which asserts that *The Second Report of Dr John Faustus, containing his appearances, and the deedes of Wagner* was written by 'an English Gentleman student in Wittenberg, an Vniversity of Germany in Saxony.' Now, Moryson himself matriculated

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at this university in 1591. The possibility of some connection between him and the Wagner Book at once suggests itself—but only to be dismissed on closer examination of his work. No support will be found for any such conjecture in either the style or the matter of the *Itinerary*.

G. W.

The title of Mr O. P. Schinnerer's study, *Woman in the Life and Work of Gutzkow* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press; London: H. Milford, 1924. xi + 127 pp. $2), is perhaps an unfortunate one, for it suggests the kind of investigation which may degenerate into mere psychological gossip. Mr Schinnerer escapes this danger, but his first two chapters do not add materially to our knowledge of this unhappy author, since they throw no new light on his relations with Rosalie Scheidemantel and Therese von Bacheracht. The third chapter however deals fairly adequately with Gutzkow's interest in Saint-Simonism, although the author labours under the very serious disadvantage of possessing no first-hand knowledge of this strange religion. He refers to the sketches given by J. Dresch in *Gutzkow et la jeune Allemagne*, Paris, 1904, by Henri Lichtenberger, *Henri Heine Penseur*, Paris, 1905, by J. Proelss, *Das junge Deutschland*, Stuttgart, 1892, and by Moritz Veit, *Saint Simon und der Saint-Simonismus*, Leipzig, 1834; but to none of the works of the Saint-Simonians themselves. It is not surprising therefore that the reader is left with a very vague idea of these theories, and that the careful analysis of Gutzkow's references and allusions fails to arouse the deep interest which the subject undoubtedly deserves. Mr Schinnerer's deductions and conclusions are accurate but unilluminating, and although his attitude towards Gutzkow is sympathetic, he lacks the deep insight necessary to interpret aright so complex and so tragic a personality. His portrait is a good likeness, but without the finer lights and shades, and he never comes to grips with the sinister demon of cruelty, so apparent in Gutzkow's dealings with women, and which is the crux of the situation here.

E. M. B.

We have pleasure in drawing attention to *The Germanic Review*, which has just been established as a sister-journal to *The Romanic Review* by Columbia University, New York. The new review is edited by the Department of Germanic Languages in the University, and published by the University Press at an annual subscription of $4. The business manager is Mr Otto P. Schinnerer, to whom communications should be addressed. We have included the principal contents of the first number (January, 1926) in our list of New Publications.

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NEW PUBLICATIONS.

December, 1925–February, 1926.

GENERAL.

CARTER, H., The New Spirit in the European Theatre, 1914–1924. London, E. Benn. 25*s.*

FARINELLI, A., Ensayos y discursos de crítica literaria hispano-europea. Rome, Istit. Cristoforo Colombo. L. 40.

FIELD, H. F., Comparative Syntax and some Modern Theories of the Subjunctive (*Mod. Phil.*, 2, Nov.).

FLEMMING, W., Epik und Dramatik. Versuch einer Wesensdeutung. (Wissen und Wirken, xxvii.) Karlsruhe, G. Braun. 1 M. 80.

JESPERSEN, O., Mennesked, nasjon og individ i sproget. (Also in English: Mankind, Nation and Individual from a Linguistic Point of View.) Oslo, H. Aschehoug. 6 kr. 50.

LANDA, M. J., The Jew in Drama. London, King. 12*s.* 6*d.*

MEILLET, A., La méthode comparative en linguistique historique (Inst. for sammenlignende Kulturforskning, A, ii). Oslo, H. Aschehoug.

PAGET, SIR R., The Nature of Human Speech; R. BRIDGES, Reviews and Miscellaneous Notes (S.P.E. Tract, No. xxii). Oxford, Clarendon Press. 3*s.* 6*d.*

RANKE, F., Tristan und Isold (Bücher des Mittelalters, III). Munich, F. Bruckmann. 8 M. 50.

SMELLIE, A., The Reformation in its Literature. London, A. Melrose. 10*s.* 6*d.*

Studies in Rhetoric and Public Speaking in Honor of J. A. Winans. New York, Century Co.

WILLIAMS, C. A., Oriental Affinities of the Legend of the Hairy Anchorite, I (Univ. of Illinois Stud. in Lang. and Lit., x, 2). Urbana, Univ. of Illinois Press. $1.

ROMANCE LANGUAGES.

Mediaeval Latin.

BECK, C., Mittellateinische Dichtung. Eine Auswahl Gedichte aus dem 8. bis 13. Jahrh. (Sammlung Göschen, 927.) Berlin, W. de Gruyter. 1 M. 50.

BRUN, A., La littérature en langue latine en Provence au moyen Age. Paris, E. Champion. 10 fr.

PARRY, J. J., The Vita Merlini (Univ. of Illinois Stud. in Lang. and Lit., x, 3). Urbana, Univ. of Illinois Press. $1.50.

PEZ, BERNARD, Liber de Miraculis Mariae. Ed. by T. F. Crane. (Cornell Univ. Studies in Romance Languages, I.) Ithaca, Cornell Univ.; London, H. Milford. 11*s.* 6*d.*

Italian.

Anthology of Italian Lyrics from the 13th Century to the Present Day. Chosen and transl. by R. Rendel. London, J. Lane. 6*s.*

CASATI, G., Dizionario degli Scrittori d' Italia. I, A–B. Milan, Ghirlanda. L. 25.

CIPPICO, A., The Poetry of Ugo Foscolo (from Proceedings of the British Academy). London, H. Milford. 1*s.*

Dante-Jahrbuch, Deutsches. Herausg. von H. Daffner. IX. Weimar, R. Wagner.

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De Benedetti, I. A., L'Arte di L. Ariosto nell' 'Orlando Furioso.' Bologna, Zanichelli. L. 12.

Ferrari, L., Le traduzioni italiane del teatro tragico francese nei secoli xvii e xviii. Paris, É. Champion. 40 fr.

Flori, E., Il teatro di U. Foscolo. Bologna, Zanichelli. L. 25.

Monello, S., Spigolature ducentesche. i. Guittone d' Arezzo. Avola, S. Cagliola. L. 5.

Montefiore, E., Correnti spirituali nel xvii e xviii secolo. Rome, Maglione e Strini. L. 9.

Musumeci, G., L'eroico, il lirico ed il comico nei melodrammi del Metastasio. Catania, Tip. Salesiana. L. 12.50.

Naselli, C., Domenico Cavalca (Bibl. de Cultura letteraria). Città di Castello, Il Solco. L. 9.

Rimatori del dolce stil nuovo: G. Cavalcanti, Lapo Gianni, Gianni Alfani, Cino da Pistoia, Dino Frescobaldi. Introd. e note di L. de Benedetto. Turin, Unione. L. 10.

Rolli, P., Liriche. Con note di C. Calcaterra. Turin, Unione. L. 15.

Testi italiani antichi. A cura di S. Frascino. (Sammlung roman. Übungstexte, v.) Halle, M. Niemeyer. 1 M. 60.

Valli, L., La chiave della Divina Commedia. Bologna, Zanichelli. L. 8.

Provençal.

Trobadorgedichte. Dreissig Stücke altprovenzalischer Lyrik. Zum ersten Male kritisch bearbeitet von A. Kolsen. (Sammlung roman. Übungstexte, vi.) Halle, M. Niemeyer. 2 M.

Roumanian.

Pascu, G., Dictionnaire étymologique macédo-roumain. i. Jassy, Cultura Națională. 16 M.

Spanish.

Anibal, C. E., Mira de Amescua. i. El Arpa de David. ii. Lisardo: his Pseudonym. (Ohio State Univ. Studies, ii, 6.) Columbus, Ohio, State Univ.

Bell, Aubrey F. G., Contemporary Spanish Literature. New York, A. A. Knopf. $3.

Dramatic Theory in Spain. Ed. by H. J. Chaytor. Cambridge, Univ. Press. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Morley, S. G., Spanish Ballad Problems. The Native Historical Themes. (Univ. of California Publ. in Mod. Phil., xiii, 2.) Berkeley, Cal., Univ. of California. 25 c.

Peers, E. A., San Pedro de Alcántara (*Bull. Span. Stud.*, iii, 10, Mar.).

French.

(*a*) *General* (*incl. Linguistic*).

Brunot, F., Histoire de la langue française. vii. Propagation du français en France jusqu'à la fin de l'ancien régime. Paris, A. Colin. 50 fr.

Hennig, J., Die französische Sprache im Munde der Belgier und die Marollenmundart Brüssels. Heidelberg, J. Groos. 1 M. 80.

Huguet, E., Dictionnaire de la langue française du xviie siècle. i. Paris, É. Champion.

(*b*) *Old French, Anglo-Norman.*

Altfranzösische Liedersammlung, Eine. Der anonyme Teil der Liederhandschrift KNPX. Herausg. von H. Spanke. (Romanische Bibl., xxii.) Halle, M. Niemeyer. 15 M.

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Aucassin et Nicolette. Éd. par M. Roques. (Classiques franç. du moyen âge, xli.) Paris, É. Champion. 7 fr.

Eneas. Éd. par S. de Graave. (Classiques franç. du moyen âge, xliv.) Paris, É. Champion. 12 fr.

GASTON, G., L'Amour dans le Roman de la Rose. Paris, Baudinière. 7 fr. 50.

Le Lai d'Haveloc, and Gaimar's Haveloc Episode. Ed. by A. Bell. Manchester, Univ. of Manchester Press. 7*s.* 6*d.*

Rolandslied, Das altfranzösische. Herausg. von A. Hilka. (Rolandsliedmaterialien, i.) (Sammlung roman. Übungstexte, iii, iv.) Halle, M. Niemeyer. 3 M. 20.

SCHÜRR, F., Das altfranzösische Epos. Zur Stilgeschichte und inneren Form der Gotik. Munich, M. Hueber. 14 M.

WILLIAMS, R., The 'Merveillous' in the Epic. Paris, É. Champion. 12 fr.

(*c*) *Modern French.*

ADDAMIANO, N., Il Rinascimento in Francia: P. Ronsard. Saggio di letteratura comparata. Palermo, Sandron. L. 20.

BALDENSPERGER, F., Dans l'intimité d'Ellénore (*Rev. de litt. comp.*, vi, 1, Jan.).

BALZAC, H. DE, Cromwell. Tragédie en cinq actes et en vers. Facsimilé du MS. Éd. par W. S. Hastings. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 70*s.*

BARTHOU, L., Lettres inédites d'A. de Vigny à V. Hugo (1820–31). Paris, Émile-Paul.

BETTELHEIM, A., Balzac. Eine Biographie. Munich, C. H. Beck. 14 M.

BORDEAUX, H., La fin du voyage de Lamartine en Orient (*Rev. d. d. Mondes*, Jan. 15).

BOULENGER, J., Renan et ses critiques. Paris, Éditions du siècle. 8 fr. 50.

BOYÉ, M. P., Un disciple de Ronsard: Pierre de Bouchaud (*Nouv. Rev. fr.*, Dec. 1).

BOYER, F., Les lectures de Stendhal (*Merc. de France*, Dec. 1).

CHÉREL, A., Fénelon au 18e siècle en France (1715–1820). Paris, É. Champion. 30 fr.

CHINARD, G., L'Exotisme américain dans la littérature française. 3 tomes. Paris, Les Belles Lettres. Each 9 fr.

COHEN, G., Le séjour de Saint-Évremond en Holland (*suite*) (*Rev. de litt. comp.*, vi, 1, Jan.).

DITCHY, J. K., La Mer dans l'œuvre littéraire de V. Hugo. Paris, Les Belles Lettres. 10 fr.

DUBECH, J. Racine politique: Bajazet (*Rev. universelle*, Nov. 15).

DURRY, M. J., Chateaubriand ambassadeur à Rome (*Rev. d'Hist. litt.*, xxxii, 4, Oct.).

FAURE, E., Montaigne et ses trois premiers-nés. Paris, Crès. 10 fr.

FUBINI, M., J. Racine e la critica delle sue tragedie. Turin, Unione. L. 12.50.

GUÉRIN, E. DE, Lettres à Louise de Bayne, II (1835–47). Paris, Gabalda. 20 fr.

HAAS, J., Kurzgefasste französische Literaturgeschichte. III. 1715–1820. Halle, M. Niemeyer. 8 M.

HALFLANTS, P., Romanciers, 1850–1900. Paris, Lannoy et Giraudon. 12 fr.

HAVENS, G. R., The Nature Doctrine of Voltaire (*Publ. M. L. A. Amer.*, xi, 41, Dec.).

HAZARD, P., Les Enseignements d'un MS. inédit de Chateaubriand (*Journ. des Sav.*, Sept., Oct.).

HUGO, V., Pensées et poèmes inédits. Éd. par P. Paraf. Paris, Goulot.

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KAPP, M., Die Frauengestalten in Molières Werken. Halle, M. Niemeyer. 2 M. 20.

KLEMPERER, V., Geschichte der französischen Literatur, v, 1. Die Romantik. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 10 M.

KRAMER, C., A. Chénier et la poésie parnassienne. Paris, É. Champion. 25 fr.

LANGLOIS, M., Souvenirs d'une Précieuse: 'Bélize' (Anne de Bellinanzi) (*Rev. d'Hist. litt.*, xxxii, 4, Oct.).

LATREILLE, C., La Mère de Lamartine. Paris, Van Oest. 10 fr.

LEGOUIS, É., G. G. de Beaurieu et son 'Élève de la Nature,' 1763. The Taylorian Lecture, 1925. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 2*s*.

LEMOINE, J., Mme de Sévigné, d'après des documents inédits. I. Les Origines. Paris, Hachette. 20 fr.

MARTINO, P., Parnasse et symbolisme. Paris, A. Colin. 7 fr.

MISTLER, J., Lettres inédites de Mme de Staël (*Rev. de Paris*, Dec. 1, Jan. 15).

MONGLOND, A., Vies préromantiques. Paris, Les Belles Lettres. 12 fr.

MORTIER, A., Un ancêtre italien de Georges Dandin (*Rev. de litt. comp.*, vi, 1, Jan.).

PALGEN, R., Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, auteur dramatique. Paris, É. Champion 12 fr.

PIERRE-QUINT, L., Marcel Proust. Sa vie, son œuvre. Paris, S. Kra.

PRIMOLI, COMTE, La Princesse Mathilde et Th. Gautier (*Rev. d. d. Mondes*, Nov. 15).

RICE, A. R., Rousseau and the Poetry of Nature in Eighteenth-Century France (Smith College Studies in Modern Languages, vi, 3, 4). Northampton, Mass., Smith College. $1.50.

ROUSSEAU, J. J., Correspondance générale, annotée par T. Dufour. II. Paris, A. Colin. 30 fr.

SAINTE-BEUVE, A., Mes Cahiers (*Rev. d. d. Mondes*, Dec. 15, Jan. 15, Feb. 1).

SAINT-SIMON, H. DE, Lettres d'un habitant de Genève, suivies de deux documents inédits. Introd. par A. Pereire. Paris, Presses universitaires. 10 fr.

SCHINZ, A., La Collection J. J. Rousseau de la Bibliothèque de J. P. Morgan (Smith College Studies in Modern Languages, vii, 1). Northampton, Mass., Smith College. 75 c.

SEARLES, C., The First Six Decades of French Seventeenth-Century Comedy (*Mod. Phil.*, xxiii, 2, Nov.).

SEILLIÈRE, E., Du quiétisme au socialisme romantique. Paris, Alcan. 10 fr.

VÉZINET, F., Autour de Voltaire. Avec quelques inédits. Paris, É. Champion. 7 fr.

VIANEY, P., Les grands poètes de la nature en France à la fin du 18e siècle (*Rev. des Cours et Conf.*, Jan. 15).

VODOZ, J., 'La fée aux miettes.' Essai sur le rôle du subconscient dans l'œuvre de Ch. Nodier. Paris, É. Champion. 20 fr.

ZWEIG, S., R. Rolland. Der Mann und das Werk. 3. Aufl. Frankfort, Rütten und Loening. 8 M.

GERMANIC LANGUAGES.

Germanica. Eduard Sievers zum 75. Geburtstage. Halle, M. Niemeyer. 36 M.

JØRGENSEN, T., Om anglo-frisiske, heruliske og burgundiske Indskrifter med de ældre Runer fra Nordens tre Riger. Hæfte 1–3. Copenhagen, Sønderborg. Each 4 kr.

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NAUMANN, H., Frühgermanentum. Heldenlieder und Sprüche. Übersetzt und eingeleitet. Munich, R. Piper. 6 M. 50.

PROKOSCH, E., The Hypothesis of a Pre-Germanic Substratum (*Germanic Rev.*, i, 1, Jan.).

ROBERTSON, J. G., Goethe and Byron (Publ. of the English Goethe Soc., New Ser., ii). London, A. Moring.

ROOTH, E., Altgermanische Wortstudien. Halle, M. Niemeyer.

Gothic.

STURTEVANT, A. M., Gothica (*Journ. Engl. Germ. Phil.*, xxiv, 4, Oct.).

Scandinavian.

EHRENSVÄRD, C. A., Skrifter. Utg. av G. Berg. II. (Svenska författare, x.) Stockholm, A. Bonnier. 15 kr. 50.

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Volume XXI July, 1926 Number 3

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AND

EDMUND G. GARDNER

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
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VOLUME XXI JULY, 1926 NUMBER 3

THE MAIDSTONE TEXT OF THE 'PROVERBS OF ALFRED.'

THE *Proverbs of Alfred*, in Maidstone MS. A. 13, stand on fol. 93*a*, compactly written in three columns, all by the same hand. On the lower margin of the page another hand (likewise of the thirteenth century) has inscribed a single couplet which occurs in the *Poema Morale* (vv. 149–150):

Spines brede is Spiþe Spete So is of þilde dure
al to dure he it a-bihþ þe ȝifh þar-fore is Spere.

On the last ruled line of the page, just at the right of the second column, are still visible three (?) words almost entirely erased, which may perhaps represent the signature of a scribe. These words begin with 'Am̄' [i.e. Amen] and appear to end with 'adde.' None of the letters extends below the ruled line. Mr Golding, the Curator of the Maidstone Museum, writes that the parchment is at this point very thin and that these words are 'quite beyond the help of a reagent.'

On the upper margin of the page, written apparently by the same hand, is the following series of Middle English characters, together with their respective names:

þorn	andt	ye	wen	þath	yod
þ	7	ȝ	ƿ	ƿ	ı

It is noteworthy that several erasures appear in this row of peculiar characters. Just to the right of the first, and just to the left of the third have been erased what were apparently first attempts to represent these characters. Similarly, the name of the sixth character is written over an erasure.

Similar rows of these peculiar Middle English characters, together with their designations, are found in MS. McClean 123 in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge[1], and in the Trinity Coll. Camb. MS. B. 14. 39[2]. In the McClean MS. these characters and their names are written on the verso of fol. 114 so that they directly face the text of the *Poema Morale* which begins on fol. 115. In the Trinity College MS. they are written on the lower margin of the first page of the *Proverbs of Alfred*. Professor

[1] As described by Miss Anna Paues, *Anglia* xxx, p. 218.
[2] As noted by Professor Skeat in the introduction to his edition of the *Proverbs of Alfred*, Oxford, 1907, p. xiv.

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Skeat suggests that 'before the scribe began to write out the poem, he made a note of four new characters which he had to employ.' However, the position of this row of characters in the Trinity MS. would indicate that they were added *after* the copying of the text, in which case it seems likely that they were added for the sake of the reader rather than for the guidance of the scribe.

Moreover, in the case of the Maidstone MS. if these characters were written for the guidance of the scribe it is strange indeed that he neglected to follow his 'instructions.' For in the first five sections of the *Proverbs* he writes in every case 'w' instead of 'p,' and instead of using the sign '7' he continues to spell out 'and' until he comes to the seventh section of his text. Nor have I noticed a single instance in which the contraction 'þ' is written for 'þat.'

In connection with the scribe's abrupt change from 'w' to 'p' at the beginning of section 10 it should be noted that in the first thirty-five lines of the Maidstone text there are no less than six cases in which 'w' was mistakenly written for 'ȝ': (81) *owen* for *oȝen*; *chariweth* for *chariȝeth*; (111) *hwung* for *hȝung* (i.e. an aspirated *ȝung*); (112) *wyuen* for *ȝyuen*; (117) *wiuen* for *ȝiuen*; (124) *awen* for *aȝen*. These errors are easily accounted for if we suppose that in the text from which the Maidstone scribe was copying 'w' was in every case written 'p,' a character much more closely resembling 'ȝ.' The scribe seems at first to have confused the ȝ's with the p's in his copy and accordingly in several cases rendered 'ȝ' as 'w.' But on reaching line 128 (Trinity Coll. MS. numbering) he recognized the distinction and thereafter invariably rendered the 'ȝ' by a French *g* (clearly distinguished in form from the English *g*). It may be noted that in one instance at least the Trinity scribe also confused these characters, for at line 113 he wrote 'ȝise' for 'pise.' The Trinity scribe uses 'p' for 'w' throughout his text of the *Proverbs*.

The Maidstone MS. unfortunately does not preserve a full text of the *Proverbs of Alfred*: the first three sections of the poem, as well as the last five, are entirely omitted and what we have is merely a series of selections. Nevertheless, these selections amount to 266 lines. Counting the lines in the Jesus Coll. and Trinity Coll. MSS. from the point where the Maidstone MS. begins to the point where it ends, we find that there are 384 lines in the text of Jesus and 430 in the text of Trinity. In other words, the Maidstone selections, when compared with the corresponding portion of the *Proverbs* preserved in the other two MSS., run to considerably more than half the length of the longer text. And

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an examination of the Maidstone text will show that it is superior to either of those hitherto published, and also that it offers material assistance in determining the relations of the Trinity and Jesus texts to the archetypal MS.

Before presenting the text of the Maidstone MS. it is necessary to consider the question of the proper arrangement of the *Proverbs*, in regard to which the Jesus and Trinity texts differ widely. Our prime authority in this matter is, of course, the archetypal MS., Cotton Galba A. xix, now lost, of which an account is given by Sir John Spelman in his *Ælfredi Magni Vita*. Sir John's statement that 'by the courtesy of Sir Thomas [Cotton]' he was 'provided with a copy of them' [*sc.* the *Proverbs*] may be accepted as proving conclusively that he based his account upon the Cotton MS. According to his statement, the *Proverbs* were divided into 31 sections (or 32 sections according to the reckoning of the modern editors, since he did not assign a number to the introductory section). The text of the Cotton MS., then, corresponded in length much more closely to the 34 sections in the Trinity MS. than to the Jesus MS. with 23 sections.

Accordingly, it was unfortunate that Morris in his parallel column edition from the Trinity and Jesus MSS. for the E.E.T.S. should have broken up the sections of the Trinity text and rearranged it according to the order of the Jesus MS. Still further confusion was caused in the line-numbering by the assumption that the extra lines occurring in a number of the sections in the Jesus text represent in every case omissions on the part of the Trinity scribe, whereas it is much more probable that they are in most instances later expansions. Skeat, although he deplored Morris's rearrangement of the text, followed it in his own edition of the *Proverbs*. Borgström[1] is to be commended for restoring the order and the line-numbering of the Trinity text—following this by the text according to the Jesus MS. with its own line-numbers. The most recent editor of the *Proverbs*, Dr Hall[2], prints only the text of the Jesus MS. But he chose for metrical reasons to discard the traditional arrangement of the text in short lines and thereby has introduced a new system of line-numbers—to the distress of the reader who endeavours to follow his valuable notes.

In order to avoid further confusion I shall, in presenting the Maidstone text, place at the left-hand the line-numbers according to the

[1] *The Proverbs of Alfred*, re-edited from the MSS. with an Introd., Notes, and Glossary, by Edv. Borgström, Lund, 1908.

[2] Joseph Hall, *Selections from Early Middle English*, Oxford, 1920, pp. 18–28.

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Trinity text as edited by Borgström and shall add in parenthesis on the right-hand margin the line-numbers according to the E.E.T.S. and Skeat's editions. The section numbers (printed in parenthesis in the centre of the line) are those of the corresponding sections in the Trinity text.

Dicta Alfredi

(4)

72 þe erl and þe aþeling (74)
þe ben under þe king
þat lond to leden (76)
mid laweliche deden
76 boþe þe clerc an te cniht
Demen euenliche riht
for after þat þe man soweth (82)
þar after he sal mowen
80 and efrilches mannes dom
to his owen dure chariweth. (85)

(6)

96 Wih-vten wisdom (119)
is wele un-wurh
for þoh man hauede
hundt seuenti akeres
100 an hes hauede sowen
al mid rede golde (124)
And te glod grewe
so gras doþ on erþe
104 Ne were his wele
nocht þe wurhere (128)
bute he him of fremde
frend iwerche
108 for what is gold bute ston
Bute it hafe wis man. (132)

(7)

111 Sholde nefre hwungman (134)
wyuen him to iuele
þo him hise wise (136)
wel ne like
Ne þoh he ne welde
116 at þat he wolde
for crist mai wiuen
þanne he wule (140)
god after iuele
120 weleþe after wrakesih
wel is him þath sapen is. (143)

(8)

123 Sorwe hit is to rowen (145)
awen þe se-flode
so it is to Swinken
aȝenes vniselþe (148)
ac wel is him on ȝuþe
128 þe swinch was iȝiuene
her on werlde
wele to winnen (152)
And he muȝe in elde
132 ednesse helden
And he m(id) is welþe
wirche godes wulle (156)
þanne is his ȝuȝþe
136 swiþe wel bitoȝen.

(9)

138 ȝif þu hauest welþe (181)
in þisse werlde
140 ne gin þu nefre for-þi
al to wlonc wurþen
for ahte nis non eldere stren (184)
ac is godes lone
144 þanne it is his wille
þer fro we sullen wenden
and ure oȝene lif (188)
mid alle forþ leten
148 þanne sullen ure fon
to ure fe gripen
welden ure madmes (192)
and liten vs bi-menen.

(10)

153 Mani man peneþh (160)
þath he pene ne þarf
longes liues
156 and him sal liȝen þe prench
For þanne he his lif
alre best luueþ (164)
þanne scal he leten

97 un-wurh] *the* h *has been touched up as though to alter it to* þ.
100 hes hauede] *written as one word.* 102 glod] *error for* gold.
104 were] re *interlined above.*
111 hwungman] *the* w *is crowded as though written in later.*
117 wiuen] *error for* ȝiuen.
124 awen] we *written over other letters; error for* aȝen.
127 ȝuþe] *the* þ *has been altered from* h.
135 ȝuȝþe] *first written* ȝuȝehe; *corrected in margin.*
153 *From this point the scribe ceases to write* w *and uses* p *instead.*

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lif his oȝen
Nis no purt poxsen
in pude ne in felde
þat efre muȝe þe feiȝe
fere up-helden (168)
Not no man þe time
hþanne he scal henne rimen
ne no man þe ende
hþanne he scal heþen penden (172)
Drichtin hit one pot
- domes louerd
hþanne pe ure lif
leten scullen. (176)

(11)

Lef þu þe noht to spiþe (196)
uppe þe se flode
If þu hauest madmes manie
and inoȝe gold & siluer
it scal purþen to noht (200)
to duste it scal driuen
Drihten scal lifen efre
& mani man for his gold
haueþh godes erre (204)
& þurh his siluer
his soule he for-leseþ
Betere him bicome
boren þat he ne pere. (208)

(12)

Pisdom alle pele ouergoþ (216)
Siker he mai sitten
hpo him mide sendeþ
for þoh his pele him at-go (220)
his pit ne pent him nefre fro
Ne mai he nefre for-fare
hpo him to fere haueþ
hpiles þat his lif (224)
lasten mote.

(13)

if þu hauest soriȝe (227)
seiȝe þu it noht þe areȝe
Seie it þine sadel boȝe
& rid te singinde
þanne seiþ þe man
þath þine pise ne can (232)
þat te þine pise
pel likeþ
Sorȝe if þu hauest
& te areȝe it seist (236)
bi foren he þ(e) bimeneþ
bihinden he þe biteleþ
þu it miht sege spilch man
þat it te ful puel an (240)
Spilch man þu mith sege þi sor
he polde þat tu hauedest mor
for-hidet in þin herte stille
for-helet piþ þe areȝe (244)
let tu nefre þe ar(e)ȝe piten
al þat þe ne likeþ.

(14)

þis child is fader blisse (428)
if it so bitideþ
þat tu bern peldest
hpiles it his litel
ler hit mannes þepes (432)
þanne it is poxen
it scal penden þer-to
þanne scal þi bern
þas þe beth purþen (436)
& if þu letest him pelden
al pille his oȝen
þanne he cumeþ to elde
sore it scal him repen (440)
& me scal banne þe pit
þat him furst tahte
þanne scal þi bern
þi bode ouergangen (444)
betere þe pere
bern þat tu nahtest
for betere is bern unborn
þanne unibeten. (448)

(15)

Drunken & vn-drunken (459)
efre is pisdom pel god
þarf noman drinken þe lasse
þoh he be piþ ale þis
Ac he þat drinkeþ
& disiȝeþ þer among (464)
So þat he for drunken
Desiȝeþ him purcheþ
He scal ligen ale niht

184 soule] *before this word the scribe wrote* foule *and then drew a line through it.*
193 pele] *before this word the scribe wrote* þ all *and then drew a line through them.*
195 mide] *before this word is an erased letter, apparently* h.
198 nefre] MS. neuefre *with dots under* ue *for deletion.*
203 soriȝe] *possibly* sorvȝe; *a letter has been crowded in.*
213 MS. he þ: *a light stroke through the* h. *The third letter is probably* þ *although the stem is so short that it more resembles* þ.
233 *After* pelden *the scribe wrote a word of two letters (apparently* .l), *and then erased it.*
237 banne] *in the margin opposite this word the same scribe has written* curse.
253 MS. Disiȝeþ *with first* i *dotted for deletion and* e *written above.*
254 ale] *read* alle.

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litel scal he slepen (468)
Him suhþ sorȝe to
so doþ salt on flesce
sukeþ þur his liche
so doþ leche blod (472)
& his morȝen slep
scal ben mucheles þe persse
hpo so on euen
iuele haueþ idrunken. (476)

(28)

if þu in þin elde (557)
best pele bi-delest
& tu ne cunne þe leden
mid none kinne liste (560)
ne þu miht mid strengþe
þe selue sternen
þanne þonke þu þi louerd
of alle hise lone (564)
& of þin oȝen lif
& of þe daies liht
& of alle þe murhþe
þat he þe for man makede (568)
& hpider so þu pende
sai þu attenende
þurþe þat i-purþe
purþe godes pille. (572)

(17)

pur-þu nefre so pod (269)
ne so pin drunken
þat efre seiȝe þu þi pif
al þat is ille (272)
For þoh hoe seȝe þe bi-foren
þine fon alle
& tu hire mid porde
praþþed hauedest (276)
hoe ne scolde it leten
for þinge
þat ho ne scolde þe up-Breiden
of þine bale-siþes (280)
for pimman is pord-pod
& haueþ tunge to spift
þoh hoe pel polde
ne mei hoe noht piþ-helden. (284)

(18)

pur-þu nefre so pod (478)
ne so dusi o þi mod
þat efre seiȝe þu þi frond
al þat te ne likeþ
ne alle þe þonkes
þat tu þoht hauest
for ofte sibbe men (484)
foken hem bi-tpenen
& if so bi-tideþ
proþe þat ȝe purþen
þanne pot þin oȝe fend (488)
þat er piste þi frend
betere þe bicome
þi pord pere helden
for hpanne muþ maþeleþ (492)
more þanne he scolde
þanne scollen his eren
eft it iheren.

(19)

Mani man peneþ (344)
þat he pene ne þarf
frend þat he habbe
þer me him faire bi-hath
seȝeþ him faire bi-fore (348)
& fokel attende
So me mai þe loþe
lengest leden
Gin þu nefre leuen (352)
alle mannes speche
ne alle þe þinges
þat tu herest singe
For mani haueþ fikel muþ (356)
& he is manne for-cuþ
Scal he þe neuer cuþen
Hpanne he þe bi-spiken.

(20)

Mani appel is uten grene (305)
briht on beme
& biter piþ-innen
So is manni pimman (308)
in hire fader bure
scene under scete
& þoh hoe is scondes ful
.....
So is mani gadelig (313)
godeliche on horse
plonc op his stede
and un-purþ at þe nude. (316)

262 *Before* hpo *a word of two letters has been erased.*
494 *Before* of *one or perhaps two letters have been erased.*
282 drunken] *scribe first wrote* dro *and then drew a line through it.*
295 *After* hoe *the scribe first wrote* puel *and then cancelled the word.*
300 seiȝe] *a correction in the margin by the same hand*; ſeige *was first written and cancelled.*
305 *After* bi *the scribe first wrote* tin *and then cancelled it.*
310 *After* þe *the scribe wrote* pere *and then cancelled it.*
329 muþ] *a marginal correction by the same hand*: muh *was first written and cancelled.*
345 un-purþ] *the* þ *appears to have been altered from some other letter, perhaps* l.
nude] no *was first written and cancelled.*

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(27)

463 Elde cummeþ to tune (534)
mid fele unkuþe costes
& dohþ þe man to elden (536)
þat him self ne mai him pelden
it makeþ him þel un-muke
468 & binimeþ him is mihte
if it so tideþ (540)
þat tu her so longe abidest
& tu in þin elde
472 þerldes þele poldest
þi duȝeþe gin þu delen (544)
þine dere frend
hþiles þine daȝes duȝe
476 & tu þe selue laste muȝe
Haue þu none lefe (548)
to þo þat after þe bilefe
to sune no to dohter
480 ne none of þine foster
for fepe frend finde (552)
þanne þe heþen funde
For he þat is uten biloken
484 he is inne for-ȝeten.

(16)

274 þo is him þat iuel þif (256)
275 Bringeþ to is cot lif (257)

463 The text from this point is written with a different pen but by the same hand.
474 frend] *the scribe first wrote* stond *and then cancelled it; next he wrote* hend *and afterwards altered it to* frend.
477 lefe] *a marginal correction by the same hand; scribe originally wrote* lefre.
478 bilefe] *altered from* belefre.
481 *After* for *a word of two letters, probably* þi, *has been erased.*
275 Bringeþ] *the scribe first wrote* Bpin *and then erased it.*

Before proceeding to discuss the Maidstone text it will be useful to consider also certain transcripts of portions of the archetypal MS., Cotton Galba A. xix. These transcripts—the sole surviving relics of the lost Cotton text—consist of three documents, a clear account of which has already been given in Professor Skeat's Introduction (pp. xxii–xxv):

(1) An inaccurate print of the first 94 lines of the *Proverbs*, included by Spelman in his *Ælfredi Magni Vita*, mentioned above[1].

(2) A series of extracts from the *Proverbs* copied early in the seventeenth century by Richard James, Bodley's Librarian, in a commonplace book (now MS. James 6 in the Bodleian Library)[2]. These extracts were made by James from a complete transcript of the Cotton MS. made by Mr Th. Allen, who died in 1633, which unfortunately has since disappeared[3].

[1] Borgström reprints the text of the *Proverbs* as given by Spelman. Hall (*op. cit.*, p. 286) calls attention to the fact that considerable differences appear in the three extant versions of Spelman: (1) Hearne's transcript of Spelman's *Life* as prepared for the press—now Rawl. D. 324; (2) the *Life* in English published in 1709; the Latin translation of the *Life* published in 1678, of which there is a fragmentary copy preserved in Stowe MS. 163, Art. 18. I am unable to collate the printed edition with these transcripts.

[2] James added the following marginal note in regard to these *Proverbs*: 'Alfredi conciones forsan iste liber ille est qui ad finem catalogi cuiusdam in MS. cod. B. 19. 7. Th. dicitur Elfredi liber Anglicus.' The MS. to which James here refers by its ancient press-mark was identified for me by Mr H. H. E. Craster as MS. Bodley 163 (Sum. Cat. No. 2016). On fol. 261 of this MS. is a catalogue in an eleventh-century hand of some seventy books, probably in the library of Peterborough Abbey. This list of books was printed as a 'Peterborough Catalogue' by R. Pauli (*Neues Archiv*, II, p. 433). In this list is included 'Elfridi regis liber anglicus,' clearly the book to which James referred. But no authority appears for identifying this English book with the *Proverbs*.

[3] Hall (*op. cit.*, p. 286) corrects the error made by Skeat (p. xxiii) in identifying this Allen MS. with MS. Digby 4, 'which once contained "Alfredi Regis Parabolae."'

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(3) Wanley's extremely accurate transcript of the first thirty lines of the *Proverbs*—all that remained in his time of the precious Cotton text—as published by him in Hickes's *Thesaurus.*

The readings of the James MS. are cited by Professor Skeat in the footnotes of his edition of the *Proverbs*, but the important testimony which the text supplies as to the readings of the lost Cotton MS. warrants us in printing it in full, even though it be only 'the copy of a copy.' By comparing the first thirty lines with Wanley's copy made directly from the Cotton MS. the reader will be able to judge for himself as to the accuracy of the Allen-James transcript. The passages within brackets—not included in James's excerpts—have been supplied from the text of Spelman's *Vita.*

(1)

At sifforde
seten þeines manie,
fele biscopes,
fele boclered·
erles prude·
& cnihtes eȝleche·
þer pas erle alfrich
of þe laȝe spuðe þis·
& ec alfrede
enȝle hirde·
enȝle derlinȝ·
on Enȝlond he þas kinȝ·
hem he ȝan leren·
spo hi heren mihten·
hu hi here lif
leden scolden·
Alfred he þas on onȝelond
a kinȝ þel spiðe stronȝ·
he þas kinȝ & clerc·
þel he luvede ȝodes perc·
he þas pise on his porde·
& þare on his speche·
he þas þe piseste man
þat þas on Enȝelond·

(2)

þus cpað Alured
enȝle frofre·
polde ȝe nu liþen
& lusten ȝure louerd
& he ȝu polde þisen
pisliche þinges
hu ȝe mihten þerldes
purðscipe þelden
& ec ȝure soule
samne to Criste
[Wise weren the cwethen
the saide the king Alfred
Mildeliche I mune yu
mine dere frend
arme and edi
ledi luviende
that ye] Alle dreden
ȝure drihten criste
[luviend him and licen
for he is Loverd of lif
he is one God
over all Godnesse
[1] .....
He is one blisse
over all blessedness
He is one manne
milde master
he one folce
fader And frofre
he is one riht-wise
and riche king
That him ne scal be pane[2]
noht of his will
Hwo him herc on werld
wurthend and eth[3]

(3)

Thus cwath Alvred
engle frofre]
Ne mai no riht cinȝ
ben under criste self
bute he be boclered
[4]and þis o loare
he his þittes þel icþeme
& he cunne lettres

[1] Lines 47, 48 according to Trinity and Jesus MSS. are omitted.
[2] *Read* þane.
[3] *Read* wurþen ðenkeþ.
[4] This line is omitted in both Trinity and Jesus MSS.

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68 locen himselfe
hu he scall his lond
laȝelice helden

(4)

[Thus cwath Alvred
[1]engle frofre]
72 þe erl & þe aþelinȝ
þo ben under þe cinȝ
þe lond to leden
mid laȝelice deden
76 boðe þe clerc & þe cniht
demen euenliche riht
for after þat te man sopeþ
þer after he scall mopen
80 [And efrilces mannes Dom
to his ogen dure charigeth

(5)

Thus cwath Alvred]
þe cniht bihoueð
84 ceneliche to cnopen
uor to perie þe lond
of hunȝer & of hereȝonȝ
þat te churche haue ȝriþ
88 & te cherl be in friþ
hise sedes to sopen
his medes to mopen
his plopes to driuen
92 to ure alre bilif
þis is þe knihtes laȝe
to locen þat it pel fare

(6)

[Sic inquit Ælfredus]
96 piðuten pisdom
is pelðe pel unpurð
for þoh o man ahte
hunt-seuenti aceres
100 & hes hauede sopen
al mid rede ȝolde
& te ȝold ȝrepe
spo ȝras doð on erðe
104 ne pere his pelðe
noht purþ
but he hime of fremðe
frende ipurche·
108 uor hpat is gold but ston·
bute it haue pis man·
.....

(16)

265 ne ȝin þu nefre þi pif
bir hire plite chesen·
ne uor non ehte
268 to þi buri brinȝen·
.....
274 þo is him þ ifel pif
275 brinȝeð to his cot lif
.....

(20)

334 mani appel is uten grene·
& brihte on beme :
336 & bitter piðinnen·
so is mani pimman
in hire fader bure·
scene under scete·
340 & þoh he is scondes full
.....

(21)

358 hpo so lat his pif
his master purden·
ne scal he nefre ben
361 his pordes louerd
.....

(24)

404 if þu hauest duȝeðe·
& drihten it te sendeþ
ne ȝin þu nefre þi lif
to narplice leden·
408 ne þine faires
to faste helden·
for þere ehte is ihud·
þer is soreȝe inoh·
412 sicer ic it te seȝȝe·
lef it if þe liceð·
spulc man mai after þe
þi pelðe pelden·
416 ofte binne þi buri
bliðe sitten·
þ te ne pile heren
mid muðe munigen·
420 ac efre him ofþincheþ
panne he of þe þencheþ·
.....

(25)

439 uor it seiþ in þe led
440 cold red is cpene red·
.....

(26)

460 ofte tunȝe breceþ bon·
461 þeih ne habbe him selue non·
.....

(32)

611 þe biche biteþ ille·
612 þoh he berce stille
.....Explicit liber Alfredi MS. Th. Allen.

[1] This line is omitted in both Trinity and Jesus MSS.

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In considering the relationship of *M* (Maidstone) to the other texts of the *Proverbs* the first point to be observed is, that, except for the transposition of sections 28 and 16, the order of the selections agrees with that of *T*, and *RJ* (James MS.). That this was also the order of *C* (Cotton Galba MS.) is fairly well established by *S* (Spelman), in whose account—though not complete—the sections appear in the following sequence (using the numbers of Trinity): 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, *6*, *7*, *14*, *28*, *29*, *30*[1].

Against this general agreement the single exception is *J* (Jesus) which gives a text containing only 23 sections, with a widely different arrangement.

Again, in a number of sections the text of *J*, when compared with *T*, shows extra lines. In only one instance (*J* 2 : 37–38) are these extra lines supported by *S*; in every other case *M* agrees with *T* in not including them: thus *J* 4 : 80–81 and the entire section *J* 6 are lacking in *T*, *M*, *S*, and *RJ*. *J* 12 : 208 is not found in *T* or *M*. *J* 23 contains eight lines more than the corresponding sections of *T*, but again *M* agrees with *T* line for line.

In the following passages (to which others might easily be added) *M* agrees with *T* against *J* in readings which are confirmed by Spelman's Latin paraphrase:

106. of fremde (*M*), ...fremede (*T*)—of frumþe (*J*). The reading of *J* has been defended by Borgström and Hall, who evidently neglected to note *S*: 'nisi prius ex inimicis amicae fierent.'

112. ȝyuen [MS. wyuen] him to iuele (*M*), ȝiuen him to huuele (*T*)—howȳen to swiþe (*J*). *S* reads: 'ad malum ne unquam declinet.'

244. unibeten (*M*), vnbeten (*T*)—vnbuhsum (*J*). *S* reads: 'non castigari.'

Although in general *M* shows far closer resemblance to *T* than to *J*, a detailed comparison of the texts yields the following list of agreements with *J* as against *T*. In these cases it is to be observed that the reading of *T* is unsupported by any other text, whereas in several instances *M* and *J* are confirmed by *RJ* or *S*.

100. hauede sowen (*M*, *RJ*), hadde isowen (*J*)—heȝed saȝin (*T*).
101. al mid (*M*, *RJ*), alle myd (*J*)—mid (*T*).
111. hȝungman (*M*), yong mon (*J*), juvenis (*S*)—ȝise mon (*T*).
121. saþen is (*M*), ischapen is (*J*), ad id conformatus est (*S*)—mot ascapen (*T*).
147. alle forþ-leten (*M*), alle for-leten (*J*)—sorw letin (*T*).
151. liten (*M*), leten (*J*)—lutil (*T*).
158. luueþ (*M*), luuede (*J*)—trowed (*T*).
163. þe feiȝe (*M*), þas feye (*J*)—*T* omits.
164. fere (*M*) (<OE. feorh), furþ (*J*)—þe lif (*T*).
165. Not (*MJ*)—wot (*T*).

[1] Italic numbers are used to designate sections which Spelman gives in Latin paraphrase.

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177. inoȝe (*M*), inowe (*J*)—moch (*T*).
185. bicome (*M*), bycome (*J*)—were (*T*).
194. sitten (*M*), sitte (*J*)—*T* omits.
201. mote (*MJ*)—may (*T*).
214. biteleþ (*M*), teleþ (*J*)—scarned (*T*).
224. fader (*MJ*)—fadiris (*T*).
226. bern (*MJ*)—chil (*T*).
282. þin drunken (*M*), wyn-drunke (*J*)—drunken (*T*).
323. me me þe loþe (*M*), me may þane loþe (*J*)—mon mai welþe (*T*).
324. leden (*M*), lede (*J*)—helden (*T*).
329. muþ (*MJ*)—mod (*T*).
330. for-cuþ (*MJ*)—cuð (*T*).
331. cuþen (*M*), cuþe (*J*)—knewen (*T*).
338. fader (*MJ*, *RJ*)—faire (*T*).
340. scondesful (*M*, *RJ*), schendful (*J*)—*T* omits.
345. at þe nude (*M*), at þare neode (*J*)—on wike (*T*).

Still more significant are certain passages in which *M* seems to preserve the authentic reading against both *T* and *J*.

117. *TJ* agree in reading 'god'; *M* reads 'crist,' which is confirmed by Spelman's 'Christus.'

120. *T* reads 'wrake se'; *J* changes to 'wowe'; *M* reads 'wrakesih.' This is a notable archaism, inasmuch as the OE. 'wræc-sīð' is otherwise unknown in Mid. Eng. The scribe of *T* evidently was puzzled by it, and *J* substituted an entirely different word.

312. *T* reads 'mameliþ'; *M* 'maþeleþ' (<OE. maðelian).

486–7. *T* reads 'if þu i þin elde best/pelþes bidelid'; *M*: 'if þu in þin elde best/pele bi-delest,' which seems to be closer to Spelman: 'Si natu grandior factus opibus quidem abundes.'

To sum up then, *M* must have been copied from a MS. which preserved the earlier textual tradition which was the common basis of *T* and *J*, but which in both MSS. has been much corrupted. Moreover, the occurrence in *M* of 'crist' against the reading 'god' in both *T* and *J* would indicate that the source of *M* is to be attached to the Stammbaum at a point *above* the forking of *T* and *J*. It would be idle to speculate as to whether *M* was actually copied from the lost Cotton Galba MS., which, for convenience, I have referred to as the archetypal MS. The probability is that several early MSS. of the *Proverbs* were in circulation of which no record survives. Nor do I propose now to discuss the question of the date at which the *Proverbs* were composed. It will be sufficient here to observe that the more archaic forms in the Maidstone text, and the possibility suggested by comparing it with the Trinity and Jesus texts, that other early MSS. were in existence, must inevitably tend to push back the composition of the *Proverbs of Alfred* to a date somewhat earlier than that warranted by previous evidence.

P.S. The suggestion made in my former article (*Modern Language Review*, January 1926) that, in view of the verses praising the Cistercian

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order and paying special honour to St Lawrence, the Maidstone MS. was most likely compiled at Revesby Abbey, must be retracted. Professor T. Atkinson Jenkins has kindly pointed out to me that the verses in question are a fragment of *Les Vers de la Mort*, a poem of fifty stanzas edited by Wulff and Walberg for the Société des Anciens Textes français in 1905. This poem, as the editors have shown (p. xv), was composed by Bishop Helinand between 1194 and 1197. Accordingly, since there is no longer any reason for considering Revesby Abbey, the Maidstone MS. may now be connected, first and last, with the Cluniac priory of St Andrew at Northampton.

It is somewhat surprising, I confess, that verses lauding the white monks should have been copied without omission or alteration in a book belonging to a Cluniac house. Among the MSS. of this poem collated by its editors I note another (Turin cod. gall. 134) which likewise appears to have been written in a Cluniac monastery, but in this case the line

Tuit cil de l'ordene de Cistiaus

has been altered to read

Chil di Clugni et de Cistiaus.

The monks of Northampton, apparently, showed a more catholic spirit.

I am grateful for the information contributed by Professor Jenkins, for its effect is, by the elimination of Revesby, to establish the unbroken connection of the Maidstone MS. with the Northampton priory.

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JAMES MELVILL: AN OBSCURED MAN OF LETTERS

OBSCURED—but not necessarily obscure. To historians of Scotland James Melvill's is a household name. Bibliographers are aware of rare prints with his initials on the title-page. He wrote a fair amount of fugitive poetry—or metre; so much that the mere titles could scarcely be omitted from a history of Scottish literature. In this sense he is not so much an obscure writer as one whose literary quality has become obscured. He had a gift hidden by controversial excesses. We have come to expect from him poems of a barren antiquarian interest or a chronicle of ecclesiastical facts. Yet he has something more to give to those prepared for a search.

We may put aside his verses. So far as possible we may disregard him as a historical personage. And we are left with a private gentleman who knew how to describe simple episodes. It does not sound much; but it is sufficient to include some passages of genuine though unpretentious literature.

But first we must see him in his setting. In 1556 or 1557 he was born into a society filled with one absorbing topic—the progress of the Scottish Reformation. From earliest childhood he lived in an atmosphere of narrow but fervent and concentrated thinking. By temperament a scholar, he was among the pioneers who attempted the study of Greek; but to the end of his days his mental environment was Hebraic, not Hellenic. The chief facts of his life may be briefly stated. He went to school at Montrose, and thereafter to St Leonard's College, St Andrews. He succumbed to the spell of his uncle, the great Andrew Melville, and became a Regent under him, first at the University of Glasgow, and subsequently at St Andrews. So much for his academic record. He became parish minister at Anstruther, and later at Kilrenny; but his influence extended far beyond the little kingdom of Fife. A leading man at the General Assemblies, he followed Andrew Melville into the heats of controversy. King James had small reason to appreciate him; and for a time he was obliged to leave Scotland. After the Union of the Crowns he was chosen as one of the Presbyterian representatives at the Hampton Court Conference. To the day of his death he ranked among the foremost Scottish ecclesiastics of his time.

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Towards middle life, when he realised the extraordinary importance of the incidents he had seen from the inside, he began to write his reminiscences. He claimed for his *Diary*[1] that it was not so much a chronicle of public events, as a record of individual experience. The *Diary* proper closed in the year 1601. The continuation covering the years from 1601 to 1609 was more official in character. It described public occurrences in which the writer had taken part; but it descended to few, if any, episodes of a private or domestic interest; and almost inevitably the literary quality became dimmer. The *Diary* in fact is a book to be used with discrimination. It is often uninspired; much of it is taken up with official reports and wearisome controversies. Yet James Melvill had certain zests which held him in a spell; and when these touched him he wrote like a man incapable of dullness.

We are always sure that he will hold us when he speaks about his childhood and youth. To modern readers there is something pitiful in the precocity expected from this motherless baby. 'About the fyft yeir of my age,' he remarked, 'the Grate Buik was put in my hand[2].' He soon felt the 'Sprit of sanctification begining to work sum motiones' within him. A little eight-year-old, alone in the fields, he would say his prayers 'with a sweit moving' in his heart. He abhorred and rebuked swearing. Lying in bed he would listen to the religious exercises of the 'godlie matron' who tended him—one 'seiklie, and giffen to read and pray in hir bed[3].' A strange, sensitive little boy he must have been. But there was another side to the picture, with archery, fencing, and handling of 'the glub for goff.' At Montrose he spent about five years in this way—'a happie and golden tyme, indeid.' There at school he went through a somewhat prodigious course; but he hastened to add that his judgment was then 'smored[4] and dark, sa that the thing quhilk I gat was mair be rat ryme[5] nor knawlage[6].'

Soon after this we come to the record of childish offences—'the bernlie evill' of 'pyking[7],' which brought upon his head the sore threatenings of his beloved sister 'Isbel[8].' Or we hear of two 'lurd[9]'

[1] The *Diary* has been printed from the original MS. by the Bannatyne Club (1829) and the Wodrow Society (1842), both of which versions are now becoming somewhat rare. There are some orthographical differences in the two versions. The edition brought out by the Wodrow Society also contains what is believed to be a continuation of the same diary, 'A True Narratioune of the Declyneing Aige of the Kirk of Scotland, from M.D.XCVI. to M.DC.X.' This concluding portion, however, is not taken from the author's own manuscript. The Wodrow Society version contains several glossarial notes and a full index. The Bannatyne Club edition contains a less detailed index.

[2] P. 16. (Wodrow Society. The page references throughout refer to this edition.)

[3] P. 17. [4] Smothered, obscure.

[5] A piece of doggerel verse; a rigmarole. (*N.E.D.*) [6] P. 17.

[7] Pilfering. [8] P. 19. [9] Clumsy, stupid.

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faults committed as it were 'with fyre and sword'—the first when he nearly burnt down the school, and the second when he attacked a 'condisciple' with a pen-knife[1]. He seems to have made no allowance for the fact that the actual injury was due to the victim's rashness. 'He feared, and lifting now a lag, now the uther[2], rasht on his lag upon my knyff.' James' penitence was a serious business. He became 'sa humble, sa feared, sa greived'; he yielded many tears, fasted and mourned so intensely, that his master could not rise to further penalty. But his 'righteus' God was not so lenient, and punished him with his own weapon. 'I...haid bought a pennie-worthe of aples, and cutting and eatting the sam in the Linkes, as I put the cheive[3] in (my) mouthe, I began to lope upe upon a litle sandie bray, haiffing the pen-knyff in my right hand, I fell, and thairwithe strak my selff, missing my wombe, an inche deipe in the inwart syde of the left knie, even to the bean[4], wherby the aequitie of God's judgment and my conscience strak me sa, that I was the mair war of knyffes all my dayes.'

It is a piquant little story. He was equally frank in recording the compliments he received. When he was about thirteen he was appointed to read aloud part of the Catechism on Sabbath afternoons. The people liked his clear voice and the 'feiling' with which he pronounced the words. One godly honest matron made much of the child, calling him 'hir lytle sweit angle[5].' At the same time he was listening eagerly to a blind man with 'a singular guid voice,' who taught the boys the tunes of the Psalms; or he was learning by heart the 'Gude and Godly Ballates'—'with great diversitie of toones[6].' He was not what we should call a 'natural' boy, though he had his streaks of original sin. He was then something of a cross between sinner and saint. High-spirited he appears to have been; sensitive, and with a quick sense for beauty.

Then came the question of vocation. His father wished to set him to harvest labour; and so great was the awe in which his children held him, that argument was impossible. James, sent on an errand to the smithy, was suddenly overcome with despair, fell to the ground, and prayed for a way of escape into 'the schollar's lyff.' With 'joy and grait contentment in hart' he went on his way, performed the errand, and returned, 'praising my God, singing sum Psalmes[7].' Soon after this through the instrumentality of Mr William Collace, a Regent[8] at

[1] P. 21. [2] Now one leg, now the other. [3] Slice. [4] Bone.
[5] P. 22. [6] P. 22. [7] P. 24.
[8] In the Scottish Universities a Regent was 'one of several instructors forming part of the teaching staff of a college, who undertook the tuition of a certain number of students from the time of their entrance to the end of their course.' (*N.E.D.*)

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St Andrews, the father laid aside all obstacles; and James went with his new friend to study at St Leonard's College. 'Rebecca was never blyther to go with the servant of Abraham, nor I was to go with him[1]. Yet when he arrived at College, all was humiliation. He could not follow his instructor. 'I did nathing but bursted and grat[2] at his lessones, and was of mynd to haiff gone ham agean[3].' Fortunately however he was susceptible to encouragement; and in a short time he was thrilling to the new life around him. Most wonderful experience of all, he heard John Knox preaching, and took notes of a sermon in a little book; 'Bot when he enterit to application, he maid me sa to grew[4] and tremble, that I could nocht hald a pen to wryt[5].'

Everywhere he seems to have received kindness. He boarded in the house of one Andro Greine, 'whase wyff also was ane of my mothers[6].' He loved music fondly, and was encouraged by the Regent to learn the 'pinalds[7]'; but 'perceaving me ower mikle caried efter that, he dishanted[8] and left of[9].' Music was not to be trusted near one so impetuous as James Melvill. It was the 'grait mercie' of God which checked him thus at the outset. 'For, giff I haid atteined to anie reasonable missure thairin, I haid never don guid utherwayes, in respect of my amorus disposition.'

He seemed quite honest in his self-depreciation. 'My light young nature was giffen mair to be superficiall nor solid, circumferentiall nor centrik....Onlie now and then I fand sum sweit and constant motiones of the feir and love of God within me[10].' Quick and delicate in his perceptions, highly strung, receptive, he did not appear to realise the charm of his youthful fervours.

We need not deal more fully with the serious side of his education. In the midst of study he had an eye open to the world. He noted men with an extraordinary precision; and sudden portraits flash across his pages. One of the first depicts the young king, 'the sweitest sight in Europe that day, for strange and extraordinar gifts of ingyne, judgment, memorie, and langage. I hard[11] him discours, walking upe and doun in the auld Lady Marr's hand, of knawlage and ignorance, to my grait mervell and estonishment[12].' There were to be more portraits of the Sovereign, none so flattering as the first; but none more vivid.

[1] P. 24. [2] Sobbed and wept (footnote, p. 25); or, burst out weeping.
[3] P. 25. [4] Shudder. [5] P. 26. [6] P. 29. [7] Spinet.
[8] 'To cease to haunt, frequent or resort to.' (*N.E.D.*, under *dishaunt*.) The Bann. Club version has 'dishairted,' lost heart, was discouraged.
[9] P. 29. [10] P. 36. [11] Heard.
[12] P. 48. At this time King James was little more than eight years old. He was born in June 1566, and the meeting here recorded took place in the autumn of 1574.

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Meanwhile life was beginning to claim James Melvill. He started to preach in public. The week when he was preparing for his ordeals, he dreamed of his father's death; and a few days later he heard that his dream had coincided with actual fact; 'At the closing of whase mouthe,' he commented, 'God thus opened myne[1].' But it was through teaching that his life work opened. As a Regent at Glasgow he soon came into the limelight. He had trouble with a pupil convicted of 'grait faultes, namlie, absenting him selff from the kirk, and pleying the loun on the Sabbathe.' Thence arose a stirring feud conducted with remarkable zest on both sides; and it was terminated by nothing short of an appeal to the Privy Council. The whole episode[2] is told with extraordinary verve, and should not be weakened by detached quotation. This to James Melvill had been no trivial matter; and years afterwards he described it with his mind eager and glowing.

In the early portions of the *Diary* we are always liable to meet with refreshment. Soon after this adventure we come to matters pitched in a different key. The hero is falling in love.

> I was then in the floure of my age, about a twa and twentie and thrie and twentie yeirs; a young man nocht unlovlie, and of a nature verie loving and amorus.... Manie lovers haid I, and sum loves also; monie occasiones, in dyvers places and sortes of persones, and nocht of inferior rank[3].

He was, he admitted, 'a vean[4], vyll, corrupt youthe,' saved from ruin by occupation with his calling, and 'a certean schamfastnes of a bashfull nature.' At this susceptible turn he met the daughter of Mr John Durie. He loved her, a mere child not yet in her teens. But it would almost appear as if he had first fallen in love with the father.

> Sa, be my hanting to the Generall Assemblies in Edinbruche, and takin with the godlie ordour and exerceise in the familie of Jhone Durie, and with that cairfull walkine with God I saw in him; as also with sum appeirance of God's fear and honestie I saw in the face and fasones[5] of the bern,...I resolvit with my God to settle my hart ther, tak hir for my love, and put all uther out of my hart: And this almost a four yeir befor our mariage.

It seems to have been a fairly good union. We do not hear much of this, his first wife, but always in terms of affection—'the sweit tender-harted young las that I haid maried.'

James Melvill's emotions found more copious expression when he considered the tribulations of his uncle 'Mr Andro': for an hour he let his 'affectiones brak out, and go louse at randon[6].' We hear less, as time goes on, of such passionate outbursts of grief. But the strange piquancy of the narrative continues. His uncle, charged in the first

[1] Pp. 50–1. [2] Pp. 69 ff. [3] P. 79. [4] Vain.
[5] Manners. [6] P. 145.

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place with treasonable preaching, and secondly with contempt of court, only escaped imprisonment by flight from Scotland. James himself learnt that Archbishop Adamson held a warrant for his own apprehension, and had to flee disguised as 'a shipbroken sie-man[1],' risking life in an open boat. 'I rowit my selff, till the hyd[2] cam af my fingars, mair acquented with the pen nor working on an are[3].' In England his first child was born, 'whom, be imitation of Josephe, I callit Ephraim, because God haid maid me fruictfull in a strange land[4].'

Eventually he returned to Scotland where the note of controversy became more insistent. Sometimes the mere record of quarrels could be remarkably effective. 'Mr Andro' was forced to deliver a model lesson before King James and the poet Du Bartas; and he did it in such a manner that the King 'was verie angrie all that night[5].' As for the chief enemy Archbishop Adamson, his arguments were nowhere. 'With a mightie parrhesie and fluide of eloquence, he (Mr Andro) dinges tham sa down, that the Bischope was dasht and strukken als dum as the stok he satt upon[6]!'

In a short time this sort of incident is to oust all others off the scene. But for a few years more we have respite. We hear, for instance, how Melvill's parishioners at Anstruther got the better of pirates[7]; or we read of his dealings at the time of the Armada with Spaniards cast ashore near his own village[8]. Still more intimate is the account of his boy's death, a child 'fallon[9] beautifull, loving, and mirrhie[10].' 'I was accustomed,' he wrote, 'to sett him at the end of the table in tyme of denner and supper, as the Egyptiens did the picture of dead[11], till acquent me thairwith....He was my first propyne and hansell[12] to heavin.' Most effective of all is the apparently trivial detail with which the story closes:

> I can nocht forget a strange thing at his deathe. I haid a pear[13] of fyne milk whait[14] dowes[15], quhilk I fed in the hous: The ane wharof that day of his deathe could nocht be haldin af his cradle, bot stopped from sitting above it, crape[16] in, and sitt in under it, and died with him: The uther, at my hamcoming on the morn, as I was washing my hands, cam, lighted at my futt, and pitiuslie crying, 'Pipe, pipe, pipe!' ran a litle away from me. Then I called for peyes[17] and beanes to giff it; bot they schew me it wald nocht eatt. I tuk it upe, and put pikles[18] in the mouthe of it, but it schuk tham out of the throt; and parting from me with a pitifull piping, within twa or thrie houre died also.

Turn the pages, and again the note changes. We hear of a College Regent who has enemies in the town; and with a sudden flash we see

[1] Pp. 168 ff. [2] Skin. [3] Oar. [4] P. 220. [5] P. 255.
[6] P. 256. [7] Pp. 257 ff. [8] Pp. 261 ff.
[9] Extremely. [10] Pp. 269 ff. [11] Death. [12] Present and offering.
[13] Pair. [14] White. [15] Pigeons. [16] Crept.
[17] Pease. [18] Grains.

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him passing unsuspecting to a scene of tumult: 'going from his hous in the town to the Collage, his gown on, his book in the a hand, and sand-glass in the uther, meditating on his Lessone[1].' Or again we may be recalled to the insistence of private sorrows, among them the death of a baby daughter, 'a sarie las that never leuche[2].'

As has been said the *Diary* tends to become less private in its significance. There are dreary pages of official reports—routine work into which the writer threw his heart. Yet there are unexpected rifts in the clouds. James Melvill was incapable of passing by any passionate incident; and he invariably fastened upon salient personalities. We are constantly brought into the very presence of the King and Andrew Melville. The mere adjectives in a passage like this have a sharp distinctive quality. When the King had interrupted James Melvill, 'Mr Andro doucht[3] nocht abyd it, bot brak af upon the King in sa zealus, powerfull, and unresistable a maner, that whowbeit the King used his authoritie in maist crabbit and colerik maner, yit Mr Andro bure him down, and outtered the Commissoun as from the mightie God[4].' We may take another situation, more sound this time, than picture. 'Mr Andro brak out with his wounted humor of fredome and zeall, and ther they hecled on till all the hous, and clos[5], bathe hard[6], mikle of a large houre[7].'

It was always the same story with these two men; but it was never described with the same phrase. When summoned to London 'Mr Andro' behaved fiercely; he 'talkit all his mynd in his awin maner, roundly, soundly, fully, friely, and fervently, almaist the space of ane hour, not omitting any poynt he could remember[8].' Add to these phrases the 'angry smyle' of the King, and the picture is complete. It would be difficult to find in any literature a more forcible presentation of infuriated men.

Sometimes also there are sudden touches of ironic narrative. During their stay in London the Presbyterian divines were usually treated to good meals. But once there was a hitch; and it did not go unrecorded. 'And becaus we wer attendit on by no honnest man, of any countinance, to leid us to dinner as befoir,...our braines full of wyne and musick, and our stomakes emptie of victuallis, we come home to dyne at Kingistoune[9].'

[1] P. 273. [2] Laughed. (P. 323. Also p. 309.) [3] Could. [4] P. 370.
[5] An entry or passage leading from the street to dwelling-houses, out-houses or stables at the back; or a common stair communicating with the different floors or 'flats' of a building. The term is also variously extended to include the common stair, the open lane or alley, or the court to which such an entry leads. (*N.E.D.*)
[6] Heard. [7] P. 416. [8] P. 659. [9] P. 663.

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These allusions have been taken simply in the order of their occurrence. It would be possible to arrange them under different types—personal revelation, domestic incident, portrayal of character, and so forth. But any such classification would be false to the spirit of a book whose charm consists in its unexpectedness. As the *Diary* progresses we come to expect less from it; and sometimes we suspect that the writer himself was becoming encrusted with the officialdom which hardened over his pages. Yet almost to the end there are sudden moments of relief—times when we consider, not *what* was being argued, but *who* was swept into discussion. We are always liable to escape from controversy into the apprehension of personality. We can hardly draw a line across any one page and say, 'This is the literary boundary.' The literary quality becomes more intermittent, but we feel to the end that given fit opportunity James Melvill never lost the faculty to cope with it.

Here we are speaking of the end rather than the beginning; but it is the start and not the finish that compels our interest. In this book there is an element of magic; and we must respond to it, even though we know the spell will break. There is a peculiar fascination in watching a rich and sensitive nature struggling, albeit unconsciously, against an untoward environment. We see the sunlight fading; but the storm has its allurement—and finally its desolations. The intimacies pass out of the story, the little confessions of failure or phantasy, the records of swift emotion. We hear less of the trivialities which make for friendly intercourse. As we see less of the man himself his world fades out of our sight. His general interest in all men and all things narrowed itself down to a preoccupation with one large theme. Even Andrew Melville, his great idol, took second place; he was but an instrument for the furtherance of Christ's kingdom. Thus we hear more of a great cause, and less of the men committed to its service; and the appeal of the cause itself sounds stiffly. We cry out for human beings. We wish that James Melvill, a born observer of men, had not lost his vision in the life of action. He seemed made to watch and appreciate the world around him; but he took up the burden of its direction. And the burden was too heavy. It crushed his spontaneity of phrase, and deadened his pages with an unwelcome reticence.

Yet we should not end with a grudge. We can go back to the beginning. We can live with the boy or the eager youth; and we need not look beyond. For this buoyant vitality was a real thing in which we may share. And what more do we require?

MARJORY A. BALD.

EDINBURGH.

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SIR JOHN DENHAM'S 'COOPER'S HILL.'

SIR JOHN DENHAM was famous in his own day, and for a hundred years after, chiefly for having written *Cooper's Hill*, the first pirated edition of which appeared in 1642[1]. Because of this poem, 'He seems to have been, at least among us, the author of a species of composition that may be denominated *local poetry*, of which the fundamental subject is some particular landscape, to be poetically described, with the addition of such embellishments as may be supplied by historical retrospection, or incidental meditation[2].' This is best seen by summarizing the poem.

After an invocation to *Cooper's Hill*, the poet looks from its 'auspicious height,' and sees London and St Paul's Cathedral in the distance. He admires the vastness of the cathedral, and reflects on the life in a city, contrasting its tumult with the serenity of private life. Then, looking nearer, he sees Windsor Castle, which moves him to give an account of some of the famous kings of whom Windsor can boast, Edward III, the Black Prince, etc., ending with a compliment to Charles I and Henrietta Maria. Next to Windsor a ruined abbey, Chertsey, provokes a sharp satire on Henry VIII, and a condemnation of both religious lethargy and religious zeal. The poet then turns to the Thames itself, but gives not so much a physical description as a discussion of its beneficial effects on agriculture, its commerce, etc. Next he describes in general terms the valley's scenery whose mixture of stream, wood, mountain and meadow gives delight. Through the meadow Charles I often passes toward the hunt. This leads the poet to a spirited description of a stag hunt in which the quarry falls beneath the King's shaft. The scene of this hunt, Runnymede, is also the scene of another, more weighty struggle, which resulted in the yielding of arbitrary power by the signing of the Magna Charta. Finally, the poet discusses the privileges and responsibilities of kingship, and the relations between the king and his people.

It is evident that the nature description is relatively unimportant, being to a large extent conventional or vaguely general, and serving merely as a peg on which to hang ethical and philosophical reflections.

[1] COOPER'S/HILL./A POËME./(Device)/London Printed for *Tho. Walkley*,/and are to be sold at his shop at the Signe/of the Flying Horse between York-house/and Britaines Burse. 1642.

[2] Johnson, *Lives of the Poets* (ed. Waugh), I, p. 90.

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The stag hunt is, perhaps, an exception to this rule; it is more spirited, and its movement is less impeded by reflective passages than the rest of the poem, but a stag hunt is, after all, hardly nature description.

There are, of course, earlier poems about local scenery—Drayton's *Polyolbion*, Jonson's *Penshurst*, and others—but all of these lack the didactic element that is characteristic of *Cooper's Hill*, and that marks it as the original of a distinctive type. It has also been stated that *Cooper's Hill* is 'obviously after the model of the *Mosella* of Ausonius[1],' but the same objection holds; Ausonius, unlike Denham, gives the physical descriptions merely for their own sake.

In Denham's day the originality of the poem was attacked from a somewhat different angle; he was accused of not being the author, and of having bought the poem from another. Butler says:

> And now expect far greater matter of ye
> Than the bought Cooper's-Hill or borrow'd Sophy[2];

and the anonymous author of *The Session of the Poets*:

> Then in came Denham, that limping old bard,
> Whose fame on the Sophy and Cooper's Hill stands;
> And brought many stationers who swore very hard
> That nothing sold better, except 'twere his lands.
>
> But Apollo advised him to write something more
> To clear a suspicion which possessed the court,
> That Cooper's Hill, so much bragg'd on before,
> Was writ by a vicar, who had forty pound for 't[3].

This is all the charge amounts to, and it cannot be said to weaken Denham's claim to the authorship. Johnson dismisses it by remarking that the poem 'had such reputation as to excite the common artifice by which envy degrades excellence[4].' Denham's place in literature as the originator of a type of poetry which was long popular remains secure.

In its style, *Cooper's Hill* is characteristic of Denham's serious work. Its didacticism is strongly marked. Denham has little imagination, little emotion, little beauty of phrase; his strength lies in his thought, in his neatly turned expression of ethical and moral truisms. These qualities are well exemplified in *Cooper's Hill*[5].

[1] Courthope, *A History of English Poetry*, III, p. 282.

[2] *A Panegyric upon Sir John Denham's Recovery from his Madness*, ll. 16 ff.

[3] *Poems on Affairs of State, from the Time of Oliver Cromwell to the Abdication of K. James the Second*...1697, I, p. 210. This poem is not to be confused with Suckling's *A Session of the Poets*, though it seems to have been written in imitation of Suckling.

[4] Johnson, *Lives of the Poets* (ed. Waugh), I, p. 85.

[5] For comments on the style of this poem, see Elwin, *Pope, Poetry* (ed. Elwin and Courthope), I, pp. 336–7; Goldsmith, *The Beauties of English Poetry*, 1767, I, p. 81; Gosse, *From Shakespeare to Pope*, pp. 88–93; Hallam, *Introd. to the Literature of Europe*, 1842, III, pp. 30–1; Johnson, *Lives of the Poets* (ed. Waugh), I, pp. 90–1; Lord Paget, *An Essay*

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Prosodically the poem is important, since its popularity affected not only the subject matter but the manner of versification of subsequent poetry, and contributed largely toward the development of the couplet into its Augustan form. The couplets show a marked tendency to break up into units, or at least pairs; there are hardly any full stops within the line; and many of the couplets have a conciseness and antithesis that point toward Pope, e.g.:

> Who fears not to do ill, yet fears the name,
> And free from conscience, is a slave to fame. (ll. 129–30.)
>
> Though with those streams he [Thames] no resemblance hold,
> Whose foam is amber, and their gravel gold;
> His genuine, and less guilty wealth t' explore,
> Search not his bottom, but survey his shore. (ll. 165–8.)
>
> Happy when both to the same center move,
> When kings give liberty, and subjects love. (ll. 333–4.)

In this respect *Cooper's Hill* is strikingly different from Denham's earlier poem, *The Destruction of Troy*, written in 1636, with its overflow. The change may be due to the influence of Waller who at that time was associated with Denham's cousin, George Morley, later Bishop of Winchester[1]. At all events it is important to see that Denham's development had proceeded so far as to throw the weight of *Cooper's Hill* on the side of the 'closed' rather than the 'open' couplet.

Cooper's Hill is of interest to us in another respect. It offers us our only real opportunity of estimating how far Denham may be considered a conscious artist. This leads us to a consideration of the various texts.

In the preface of the first authorized edition of 1655[2], the editor states that there had been five previous impressions, 'all but meer repetitions of the same false transcript.' Of these, but three are extant: those of 1642, 1643, and 1650[3]. The text of all three, save for obvious printer's errors and inevitable differences of spelling, is identical. The above statement of the 1655 editor is, therefore, in a measure confirmed,

on Human Life, 1736, preface; Pope, *The Iliad of Homer*, 1763, III, p. 169 note; John Scott, *Critical Essays*, 1785, pp. 1 ff.; Taine, *Histoire de la Littérature anglaise*, 1863, II, p. 532; Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, 1721, II, p. 423. There are of course many other allusions to, and comments on, the poem, which do not touch the style.

[1] It is not certain whether or not Denham knew Waller personally at this time, but there is no doubt that he knew Waller's poetry, as *Cooper's Hill* has echoes of several of Waller's poems.

[2] COOPERS/HILL./Written in the yeare 1640./*Now Printed from a perfect Copy*; *And/A Corrected Impression./By* JOHN DENHAM *Esq.*;/(Device)/*LONDON*,/Printed for *Humphrey Moseley*, and are to be/sold at his Shop, at the Signe of the Princes/Armes in St *Pauls* Church-yard. 1655.

[3] 1642. See page 269, n. 1.

COOPERS/HILL./A Poëme,/(Device)/*Printed in the yeare M.DC.XLIII.*

COOPERS/HILL/A Poeme./The Second Edition with/Additions./*Written by* JOHN DENHAM *Esq.*;/(Device)/LONDON/Printed for *HUMPHREY MOSELEY*,/and are to be sold at his Shop, at the Signe/of the Princes Armes in St. *Pauls*/Church-yard. 1650.

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and we may with confidence assume that all the later pirated editions were simply reprints of the 1642 edition.

The 1655 text differs only in a few minor details from that of the collected edition of 1668, which is the final form.

There are, in addition to these printed texts, two manuscripts in the British Museum, MS. Harley 367, which lacks the first 65 lines, and MS. Harley 837. These are practically identical, and represent a state of the text very similar to that of 1642. A few minor differences between the MSS. can be ignored; they consist merely of omissions of couplets, and other small verbal variations undoubtedly due to scribal slips. In only two significant instances do the MSS. differ. These will be discussed later.

The text of the MSS. differs both from the 1642 (1643 and 1650) text, and from the 1655 (1668) text, and presents something of a chronological problem. MS. H. 367, after concluding the poem, adds, 'The above is Part of Sir John Denham's Cooper's Hill—last Edition.' This tempts one to say that the MSS. give the text of (1) one of the five pirated editions previous to 1655 that is lost, or (2) an edition of 1660 referred to in Kennet's *Chronicle*, no copy of which has been found[1].

Both of these suppositions, however, are impossible: (1) it cannot be an edition anterior to 1655, since all five of these were identical, and the MSS. text differs from that of 1642; (2) it cannot be the 1660 edition, for that would mean that Denham fixed the final form of his text in 1655, reverted in 1660 to the 1642 text, and in 1668, in the collected edition of his poems, again used the 1655 form.

We must conclude, therefore, that the MSS. represent a manuscript text (neither are in Denham's handwriting) intermediate between the 1642 and the 1655 state. This would account for the only two differences between them; MS. H. 837 inserts a couplet found nowhere else, and MS. H. 367 expands a four line simile to eight lines. Both of these are manuscript experiments that were later cancelled.

The chief variations of the MSS. text from that of 1642 are as follows:

1. A passage of the 1642 edition is dropped in MS. H. 837 (MS. H. 367 being defective), and does not reappear in 1655. This is an allusion to men making and unmaking plots, and there is some reason

[1] 'Cooper's Hill. A Poem. The third edition with additions. By John Denham Esquire, with a Prologue and Epilogue to the Sophy; and Verses to Mr Richard Fanshaw, Esq., upon his ingenious Translation of Pastor Fido into English. London for Humphrey Moseley 1660. 4to.' White Kennet, *A Register and Chronicle, Ecclesiastical and Civil*...1728, p. 299.

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to suppose that Denham cancelled it on the discovery of Waller's plot in 1643. The passage would therefore not occur in any subsequent copy of his manuscript or in the authorized editions, but would continue to appear in the reprints of the pirated 1642 edition.

2. A four-line comparison of the River Thames to a lover forsaking his mistress is expanded in MS. H. 367 to eight lines. Denham had sufficient taste to reject both versions of the simile altogether in the 1655 edition.

3. In both MSS. a six-line simile between a stag at bay and a sinking ship is introduced, which does not appear in 1642, and which recurs in a condensed and improved form in 1655.

When we turn to the first authorized edition of 1655, we find that Denham has made many changes from the earlier text. It is perhaps unnecessary to analyse these changes in detail. In general, they are for the better: passages are condensed, and given added conciseness; various weak couplets, one or two political passages and several poor similes are omitted. These revisions, which won Pope's praise[1], show that Denham's artistic sense was sufficiently acute to enable him to improve his work.

The most important of all these differences is the first appearance in 1655 of the famous apostrophe to the Thames, upon which Denham's fame now chiefly rests:

> Oh could I flow like thee, and make thy stream
> My great example as it is my theme!
> Though deep, yet clear; though gentle, yet not dull;
> Strong without rage; without o'erflowing full. (ll. 189–92.)

These lines are so much finer than anything else in Denham's work that there has been some slight questioning of his authorship. Gosse insinuates that Waller may be the author, but admits that there is no evidence to support such a suggestion[2]. In *Notes and Queries*[3], a passage of one of Roger Ascham's letters is produced as a source: 'Est enim in verbis deligendis tam peritus...suavis ubique sine fastidio, gravis semper sine molestia: sic fluens ut numquam redundet, sic sonans ut numquam perstrepat, sic plenus ut numquam turgescat; sic omnibus perfectus numeris, ut nec addi ei aliquid, nec demi quicquam, mea opinione, possit[4].' Yet the parallel, while interesting, is by no means conclusive.

A far more probable source is to be found in the poems of William

[1] Joseph Spence, *Anecdotes, Observations*, etc., 1820, pp. 281–3.
[2] T. H. Ward, *The English Poets*, 1880, II, p. 280.
[3] Fourth Series, XII, p. 493.
[4] Ascham, *Epistolae*, 1590, p. 254.

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Cartwright. Cartwright, an ardent royalist, lived at Oxford, and was so well thought of by the King that on his death, in 1642, Charles wore mourning for him. There is no evidence that Denham knew Cartwright personally, but it seems highly improbable that he should not have known of him. Denham also was a royalist, and followed the court of Charles to Oxford, where Cartwright's fame must still have been fresh. Moreover, Denham seems to have been well read in the poetry of his contemporaries, and would very probably have acquainted himself with Cartwright's poems when the first edition appeared. This was in 1651, after the first pirated edition of *Cooper's Hill* of 1642, but before the first authorized edition of 1655. Among Cartwright's poems was one entitled *In Memory of the most worthy Benjamin Johnson.* (This had, indeed, appeared in 1638 in a collection of elegies on Jonson entitled *Jonsonus Virbius*, but in this form it could easily have escaped Denham's attention, more easily at any rate than in a collection of Cartwright's own poems.) In this poem the following lines occur:

> But thou still putst true passion on; dost write
> With the same courage that try'd captaines fight;
> Giv'st the right blush and colour unto things;
> Low without creeping, high w'thout losse of wings;
> Smooth, yet not weake, and by a thorough care,
> Bigge without swelling, without painting faire[1]. (ll. 119–24.)

Here the parallel is certainly striking, and there can be little doubt that Denham is indebted to Cartwright for the phrasing and the movement of the verse in his famous lines. Yet, even so, Denham's essential originality is not seriously weakened. His verses are metrically superior to Cartwright's, and the objects compared in the simile are different, which, of course, changes the whole thought, and makes Denham's a far more poetical one. Moreover, Denham had already expressed the underlying thought in 1642. There we read:

> O could my verse freely and smoothly flow
> As thy [Thames] pure flood, heaven should no longer know
> Her old Eridanus; thy purer streame
> Should bathe the gods, and be the poet's theme.

In 1655 this had become:

> O could my lines fully and smoothly flow—etc.,

where the change from *freely* to *fully* brings us one step nearer the final form, and may have suggested the rhyme word *full.* In addition,

[1] William Oldys remarks: 'Denham's fine lines alluding to the Thames from Cartwright or Randolph or both; on Fletcher, etc.' (MS. note in the British Museum copy, C 28. g. 1, of Langbaine, *An Account of the English Dramatic Poets.*) The above parallel is pointed out in *Notes and Queries*, 4th Series, IV, p. 511. Goffin, *The Life and Poems of William Cartwright*, 1918, also calls attention to it, p. 198 note.

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the distinguishing features of Denham's couplets, the beauty of the comparison of the flow of the verse to the flow of the stream, and the simultaneous illustration of the simile in the skilful onomatopoeia, stamp the lines as his alone.

There can be no serious doubt, therefore, of his originality in writing the quatrain that admits him to the ranks of authentic poets, and that 'must be numbered among those felicities which cannot be produced at will by wit and labour, but must arise unexpectedly in some hour propitious to poetry[1].'

The quatrain became immensely famous; yet, fine as it is, its reputation was not due solely to its intrinsic merits. In the dedication of his translation of the *Aeneis* in 1697, Dryden offers it as a test of poetical insight. 'I am sure,' he says, 'there are few who make verses have observ'd the sweetness of these two lines in Cooper's Hill...and there are fewer yet who can find the reason for that sweetness[2].' Thus challenged, the critics set themselves to solve the riddle, an effort which resulted in such long analyses as those of Hughes, Say, Mason, Lord Monboddo, and Johnson[3], and in an increased fame for the poem. Following Dryden there began a steady stream of quotations, imitations, and allusions to these lines that has continued to the present day—there is one in Meredith's *Diana of the Crossways*[4].

Dryden's belief that no one before him had called attention to these lines is probably correct. In 1657, Poole[5] includes five quotations from *Cooper's Hill*, but omits the quatrain; in 1666, an anonymous poem appeared, entitled *St Leonard's Hill*[6]. This is a close imitation of the general plan of *Cooper's Hill*, and has several long passages which are

[1] Johnson, *Lives of the Poets* (ed. Waugh), I, p. 92.

[2] Dryden, *Poetical Works* (Cambridge ed.), p. 512.

[3] Hughes, see Say, below; Samuel Say, *Poems on Several Occasions: and two Critical Essays*, 1745, pp. 151–3 (Say quotes Hughes's essay, which I have not otherwise seen); John Mason, *An Essay on the Power of Numbers...in Poetical Composition*, 1749, p. 59; James Burnet, Lord Monboddo, *Of the Origin and Progress of Language*, 1774–1809, II, pp. 389–90, note; Johnson, *Lives of the Poets* (ed. Waugh), I, pp. 91–2.

[4] It is impossible to cite here all these references. I have so far collected 38, which unquestionably represent only a small fraction of those actually made. That they must have been numerous is shown by Swift:

> Nor let my votaries show their skill
> In aping lines from Cooper's Hill;
> For know I cannot bear to hear
> The mimicry of 'deep yet clear.'
>
> *Apollo's Edict*, ll. 46–9.

[5] Joshua Poole, *The English Parnassus: or a Helpe to English Poesie*, 1657.

[6] ST. LEONARD'S/HILL./A POEM./Written by R. F. Gent./Licensed, *May* the 14th. 1666/*Roger L'Estrange.*/(Device)/*LONDON*, Printed for *John Simms*, at the/Cross-keyes in *Cornhill*, near the Royal/Exchange. 1666. (The British Museum assigns the book to Robert Fage.)

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hardly more than rewritings of Denham's verse, but these lines to the Thames are unnoticed.

Yet the fame of *Cooper's Hill* did not depend entirely on this single passage. Its blend of description and reflection was new; its didacticism appealed to the minds of Denham's contemporaries and successors; the movement of its verse appealed to their ears. As we have seen, it at once became popular. First printed in 1642, it went through five editions before 1655; it found its way into a book of quotations in 1657; an imitation of it appeared in 1666. For more than a century it was one of the most famous poems in the language. From 1642 to 1826 it was published 24 times (including two editions of a Latin translation), separately or in collections, and was of course included in the collected editions of Denham's poems, of which there were 19 down to 1857. There are indications of several more editions that have disappeared. Herrick, Vaughan, Addison, Swift, Goldsmith, and other lesser writers refer to it; Pope was largely influenced by it.

The fame of *Cooper's Hill* endured until late in the eighteenth century. In 1766 appeared COOPER'S HILL./A/POEM./ADDRESS'D TO/Sir WATKIN WILLIAMS WYNNE, Bart./LONDON:/Printed for W. WOOD, in WARWICK-LANE,/AND/M. HINGESTON, near TEMPLE BAR./(Price TWO SHILLINGS and SIX-PENCE)[1]; apart from the title, this poem is evidently influenced by Denham's *Cooper's Hill*, as it has several passages in imitation of it. In 1767 appeared COOPER'S WELL./(Quotation. Horace.)/A/FRAGMENT,/WRITTEN BY THE HONOURABLE/Sir JOHN DENHAM, Knight of the BATH,/AND/AUTHOR of the Celebrated Poem of COOPER'S HILL,/ found amongst the Papers of a late Noble LORD. Dated/in the Year 1667./LONDON:/Printed for the AUTHOR;/And Sold by C. MORAN, in the Great Piazza, Covent Garden./MDCCLXVII[2]. This is a close and highly indecent parody of Denham's poem. In 1785 John Scott published a long critical analysis of the original[3], and in attacking it speaks of it as a poem which everyone has been taught to admire for its beautiful descriptions, interesting histories, and rational sentiments.

Yet the importance of *Cooper's Hill* is measured not only by the number of editions, references, etc., but also by the great number of poems that sprang up in imitation of it. The earliest was, as we have

[1] My authority for the date of publication is Watt, *Bibliotheca Britannica*. I can find no other evidence, internal or otherwise, to support this. The only copy of the poem I have seen is in my possession.

[2] For a discussion of the authorship of *Cooper's Well*, see under 'Denham' in the printed catalogue of the Wrenn Library.

[3] *Critical Essays on some of the Poems of several English Poets*, p. 34.

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seen, *St Leonard's Hill*, in 1666, and following this came Waller's *On St James's Park*, Pope's *Windsor Forest*, Garth's *Claremont*, Dyer's *Grongar Hill* and many others. Havens cites 46 'hill' poems down to 1821[1], and we cannot doubt that most of them were inspired directly or indirectly by *Cooper's Hill*. Johnson says that smaller poets, following Denham, 'have left scarce a corner of the island not dignified either by rhyme or blank verse[2],' and *The Gentleman's Magazine* complains in 1788 that 'readers have been used to see the Muses labouring up... many hills since Cooper's and Grongar, and some gentle bard reclining on almost every mole-hill[3].'

Cooper's Hill is Denham's chief title to fame. His occasional poetry is of no permanent value; his only play is an amateurish example of an outworn mode; his translations are of significance only in serving as models for Dryden and Pope. But in writing *Cooper's Hill*, he attained a lasting place in the history of English literature. By this poem he established a new and long popular type of descriptive poetry in which he surpassed all his imitators, and established himself as one of the famous poets of England for more than a hundred years; by it he influenced the development of the heroic couplet, aiding largely in its evolution into the 'closed' Augustan form. Finally, in *Cooper's Hill* he was visited with the gift of tongues, and for four lines attained that finished utterance that is the goal of all who write.

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[1] R. D. Havens, *The Influence of Milton on English Poetry*, Appendix C.
[2] Johnson, *Lives of the Poets* (ed. Waugh), I, p. 91. [3] Havens, *Ibid.*, p. 248.

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GAIMAR AND THE EDGAR-ÆLFÐRYÐ STORY.

THE romantic story of Ælfðryð and her marriage, first with Æðelwold of East Anglia and then with Edgar the king, is related by William of Malmesbury in his *Gesta Regum Anglorum* (II, 8) and, some twenty or thirty years later, by Gaimar in his *Estoire des Engleis* (vv. 3567–3974), but the differences are so great that we must speak of two versions of the story. For long the only investigation was that of Freeman in his *Historical Essays*, who concluded that Gaimar's version represented an earlier form of the story than William's. If this were so, then a series of incidents showing marked ecclesiastical bias—spiritual affinity as a bar to marriage, intervention by the archbishop (Dunstan)—have been omitted by the latter. Unfortunately, though at first sight Freeman's argumentation seems convincing, one or two little points arouse suspicion; he introduces into the discussion a third account—that in the *Chronicon Johannis Bromton*—which is later than either of the others and derived in part from the *Estoire des Engleis*, and seems to prefer it to Gaimar, but is, at the same time, uncertain in his relative chronology of the three accounts. In 1915 C. Teubner in a Halle dissertation (*Die Edgarsage und ihr Verhältnis zur Ermenrich- und Tristansage*) re-examined the whole question, refuting Freeman's views and maintaining that William's version represents the earlier form and that the differences between it and Gaimar's are mostly additions due to the latter, who would thus have a considerable personal share in the development of the story. In his first contention he is, in my opinion, undoubtedly correct, for, as he points out, it is in the highest degree improbable that William would have omitted the story of Dunstan's intervention—he figures prominently in this portion of the *Gesta*—had it been known to him. On the other hand, his account of Gaimar's share in the development of the story, and of the form known to him, calls, I think, for some revision.

I.

Was William's account known to Gaimar? Teubner (*op. cit.*, pp. 24–5) affirms this on the following grounds:

(i) In view of the wide popularity of the *Gesta* it is to be assumed that Gaimar both knew and used the work. The same would apply to Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum*, but there is no certain proof

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that this work was known to Gaimar. Further it is hardly valid to argue (pp. 19–20) that Gaimar may have been induced to make Dunstan intervene in his story because William records his intervention in Edgar's affair with the nun, and then (p. 25) to cite this as an example of Gaimar's use of William.

(ii) Although Gaimar does not know where Æðelwold was murdered, he afterwards refers to Wherwell—the scene of the crime according to William—as the place to which Ælfðryð retired in her penitent later years, and this reference he can only derive from the *Gesta*. If Gaimar took the name from William at all, it was not from his Edgar story but from his account of Edward the Martyr, where, however, the resemblance is not sufficiently close to make borrowing more than a possibility.

(iii) A similarity of expression: William has 'Edgarus clavo clavum expellens, fraude scilicet fraudem eludens,' and Gaimar says '[Edgar] volt errer de mal en pis.' The verbal likeness is not very great and is not close enough to prove contact.

(iv) The foundation of abbeys in Gaimar is the counterpart of the foundation of a monastery in William. The latter was in expiation of a crime, the former an instance of royal munificence, so the two hardly correspond.

(v) Both writers had relations with Robert of Gloucester, through whom Gaimar may easily have obtained a copy of William's work. It is only very indirectly indeed that Gaimar can be said to have been in touch with William's patron, and this argument cannot be taken seriously.

Two other reasons might have been advanced by Teubner in support of his contention. (*a*) Up to the reign of Edgar, Gaimar's *Estoire* is in the main a fairly close translation of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*; with his account of Edgar and Ælfðryð his work becomes less a chronicle and more of a history—in intention, if not in fact. (*b*) Both William and Gaimar relate the Edgar story, refer to Ælfðryð's opposing Edward and favouring Ethelred, relate the death of Edward—agreeing in outline though differing in detail—and refer to Ælfðryð's penitence after this event and residence at Wherwell. It is only here that there is any apparent contact between William and Gaimar and, though it is tempting to ascribe Gaimar's changed attitude to his having become acquainted with the *Gesta*, the available evidence does not allow of this, and all we can say is that he may have read William's work while writing his *Estoire des Engleis*.

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II.

Is the extended parallel with the Uriah story due to Gaimar? Teubner (p. 17) affirms his belief 'dass erst Gaimar, der viel weniger Historiker war als William, und dem als Priester die Ähnlichkeit der Edgarsage mit der Geschichte von David, Uria und Bathseba auffiel, jene danach erweitert hat.' His views are briefly as follows. The triangle—Edgar, Æðelwold, Ælfðryð—offered a certain resemblance to the biblical story and this was the starting-point for Gaimar's extensions, which include not only the despatching of Æðelwold to York—as assumed by Freeman—but also the intervention of Dunstan (equated with the prophet Nathan), the delay before the remarriage, and the final forgiveness by Dunstan. There was, as yet, no motive for the archbishop to intervene; but Gaimar supplied this by making Edgar become godfather to the child of Æðelwold and Ælfðryð and thus, in Canon Law, unable to marry the lady at any subsequent date. He was led to adopt this motive of spiritual affinity by the separation of Edwy and Ælfgifu at the instance of archbishop Odo (recorded in *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* [D] s.a. 958), in which Dunstan played a part. Further an additional incentive to ascribe the intervention to Dunstan may have been the part played by him in the affair of Edgar and the nun related by William.

There are three obstacles to my complete acceptance of this view:

(i) The initial parallel is closer in William—where Ælfðryð deliberately encourages the king and the relationship may be guilty—than in Gaimar—where the initiative is taken entirely by the king and the relationship remains innocent.

(ii) The insistence on Gaimar's clerical outlook as an additional probability favouring his extension of the parallel seems to me unwarranted; it is noticeable that he usually omits references to Church affairs in his translation and elsewhere his attitude (cf. his opinion of William Rufus) is scarcely that of an ecclesiastic.

(iii) The annal which records Edwy's separation is found only in one version of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (viz. D) and consequently was most probably unknown to Gaimar whose source—here at all events—was very closely related to another version (viz. E) as shown by his translation of two entries found only there (and in the later F) and by the obvious padding to which he resorts in order to appear to say anything at all about Edwy.

Of course I do not deny the resemblance between the circumstances attendant on Edwy's separation and the intervention of Dunstan in

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Gaimar's version of the Edgar story; but, though it is possible that there is some connection between them at an earlier stage in the tradition, I do not think it is as important as another parallel from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* to which I shall refer in the study of Gaimar's treatment of the story upon which I now enter.

The deception of the king by the wooer and the marriage of the latter to the lady is common to both our authors, but from this point they diverge considerably. In William it is not until Æðelwold is panic-stricken on hearing of Edgar's intended visit that he informs his wife of the deceit, whereas in Gaimar he had revealed his treachery shortly after the marriage. This has important consequences, for, by so doing, he has exposed himself to disclosure and to the king's revenge; to forestall this, by preventing Edgar from ever obtaining the lady, he persuades him to act as godfather to their newly-born child. It is, however, the only possible method in view of the subsequent course of the story, for the marriage of Æðelwold and Ælfðryð had been sanctioned in open court (cf. vv. 3675–8: 'D'iloc turnad, al rei revint, A un cuncile qu'il tint, Cuntes i ot, baruns chasez, E arcevesques e abez') after public declaration that she was an unsuitable match for the king because—and this is the only reason—her lack of beauty belied the reports which had first aroused the king's interest in her. This scheme of Æðelwold's is but a further instance of his cunning which, together with his treachery, is stressed by Gaimar with the aid of every device at his disposal—uncomplimentary epithets (e.g. 'cil traïtur,' 'cil losengier,' 'cil defaez'), moral reflexions (cf. vv. 3721–2: 'Hum qui traïst n'ad nule lei Nel deit l'um creire par sa fei')—and shown in action by the contrast between his favoured position and his subsequent deceit and by his preparation of support and choice of a suitable opportunity before reporting the result of his errand.

But how did Æðelwold, alderman of East Anglia and brother of Æðelwin 'Dei Amicus,' a man, so far as we know, of the highest character, develop into the consummate villain depicted by Gaimar? Teubner (*op. cit.*, pp. 27–32) ascribes the change to the influence of the Danish form of the Swanhild story; though this explains the introduction of the treacherous wooing, it does so only if we assume that Æðelwold's character had already deteriorated—a point rather lost sight of in the dissertation. Nevertheless it is possible, I think, to advance a parallel from English annals which would pave the way for Æðelwold's downward progress. In the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, s.a. 901–5 (not in the E version and not mentioned by Gaimar), we read how Æðelwold

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(son of Edward's uncle) revolted after Edward's accession, occupied Wimborne (Dorset) and Twinham (Hants.), was besieged in the former by Edward, escaped and sought refuge with the Northumbrian Danes; how the woman was captured whom he had taken, without royal leave and in spite of episcopal prohibition due to her having been a nun; how he returned by sea to East Anglia, stirred up the Danes to invade Mercia and the Thames valley, and was killed at the battle of the Holme (site uncertain). Early confusion between this and the later Æðelwold would account for the unfavourable view of Ælfðryð's husband, for his having been associated with Hampshire (Wherwell) rather than with East Anglia, and for his violent death under uncertain circumstances; I would suggest that this confusion had taken place before the influence of the Swanhild story made itself felt, that, in fact, it was because of the apparent dispute between king and subject over a woman that that story was able to exert its influence at all.

We have seen how Æðelwold's cunning leads him, in Gaimar's account, to inveigle the king into spiritual relationship with Ælfðryð, but that is not all. Not only is this the only method by which the villain can forestall the king's revenge, but it is also the only possible ground for Dunstan's subsequent intervention. Teubner (*op. cit.*, p. 21) mentions the forgiveness of Ælfðryð by Dunstan as further evidence of Gaimar's use of the Uriah parallel, but to this there are two objections: (i) strictly he should have forgiven Edgar, and (ii) Ælfðryð—in respect of the marriage—had nothing to be forgiven. Rather Gaimar's text shows clearly (cf. vv. 4084–8: 'Saint Dunstan transid, co crei, L'arcevesque de Cantuorbire, Elftroed asolt de la grant ire; Ainz qu'il transist, li pardonad E penitence li chargad') that Dunstan forgave her long-continued enmity to him, and that the cause of it was his impugning her marriage with Edgar (cf. vv. 3959–64: 'La reïne, quant ele l'oid [*sc.* his admonition], Vers l'arcevesque s'en marid Si fort l'en devint enemie, Pas nel amot jur de sa vie. Lui ne chalut, pas ne voleit Que hum feïst tort, laissast le dreit'). Historically Ælfðryð and Dunstan appear to have been in opposition politically and one of the underlying motives may have been his aspersion of her marriage, for if, as some believed, Edward (of Shaftesbury) was illegitimate, then the son of her marriage with Edgar had a better claim to the throne unless his status, too, were doubtful. She was, moreover, suspect of connivance in the murder of Edward, and was supposed to have erected a nunnery at Wherwell in expiation of that crime. Now Gaimar's reference (viz. vv. 4089–96: 'A Warwelle s'espeneïd, Bien servid Deu, iloc transid. La

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est le cors, co dit l'estoire, Les nunains funt de li memoire—Messes matines e servises E oreisuns en plusurs guises. Ore en face Deus sun plaisir, Qui poeir ad de li garir') shows interest in, and possible personal acquaintance with, Wherwell—not unlikely in view of his residence in Hampshire—maintains the same favourable attitude as that displayed in his version of the Edgar story, and mentions *l'estoire* as his source just as he does in his account of her marriage with Edgar. This all suggests that he derives his account from a story localised at Wherwell, favourable to Ælfðryð—Gaimar does not commit himself in the matter of her connivance in the assassination of Edward—and already introducing her marriage as a factor in her opposition to Dunstan.

Gaimar's development of the Edgar story has thus several starting-points; he has accentuated the treachery and cunning of Æðelwold, he has used his violent death under uncertain circumstances—I am not so sure as Teubner (*op. cit.*, p. 23) that William's account of his death at Edgar's hand is an original feature of the story, for it may have been modified by him to suit the Cambyses-Praixaspes parallel (son's flattering answer to his father's murderer)—to suggest by the introduction of the letters a parallel with the Uriah story, he has specified the cause of friction between Ælfðryð and Dunstan, finally he has introduced (or expanded) the motive of spiritual affinity in order to build a bridge between the first and last of his developments, and has woven the whole into a coherent and well motivated story with considerable literary skill.

III.

Did the story pass through Wales before it reached Gaimar? Teubner (*op. cit.*, pp. 32–6) affirms this very strongly on the following grounds:

(i) Ælfðryð was the daughter of a wealthy and powerful Devonshire noble and, as the inhabitants must have taken considerable interest in such a tale about their queen, the Edgar story could easily have taken root in this part of the country.

(ii) The scene of the wedding is Gloucester, in which the Welsh must have been interested, and so they were probably responsible for its introduction into the story.

(iii) The presence of the barons of the South-West at the ceremony is emphasised, Cornwall in particular being mentioned.

(iv) Very prominent is the part assigned to the kings of Wales, a feature which must have been added to the story by the Welsh because Gaimar had no occasion to refer to them.

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(v) Gaimar says he made use of Welsh books and in introducing the story—Teubner accepts the view set forth by Gross in his dissertation (*Gaimar, Die Komposition seiner Reimchronik*, etc., p. 133) that Gaimar is here using a written source—relates how the king 'regnot sur tuz les reis E sur Escoz e sur Waleis, Unc puis qu'Arthur s'en fud alez N'en ot nul reis tel poestez' (vv. 3571–4), which is important because, as Gaimar had nothing to do with Arthur, mentioning him some eight times in his Haveloc story but nowhere else in his *Estoire des Engleis*, the introduction of the name here cannot be due to him.

It is to be noted that, though his evidence, such as it is, points strongly in the direction of Wales, Teubner is loath to abandon any possibility of connection with Cornwall. As he accepts unreservedly J. Loth's localisation of the Tristan story in that county and attempts to establish the influence of the Edgar on the Tristan story in the further course of his dissertation, the reason for his insistence on any possible Cornish connection for our story is clear.

Nevertheless I think he is completely at fault in this section of his investigation and consider all the important passages adduced by him are additions made by Gaimar.

(*a*) The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* does not mention the scene of the wedding of Edgar and Ælfðryð, but is it necessary to invoke the Welsh in order to account for the choice of Gloucester? According to Gaimar, the king, after learning of Æðelwold's death, summons the widow to court. As, in the twelfth century, courts were not infrequently held at Gloucester, which is conveniently situated with regard to Devonshire, Gaimar would not require to think very hard before deciding in its favour. Nor would such a reference by him—even without extenuating circumstances—be unexampled. Quite early in his *Estoire*, while describing the conquests of Cerdic, he relates how Cirencester was captured by means of the stratagem of the fire-bearing sparrows and adds (v. 866) 'E Glouecestre refud prise'—apparently because the Saxon advance, to which he refers immediately afterwards, would otherwise be impossible. Again, in this very Edgar story, we have evidence which suggests that contemporary conditions were not absent from his mind in filling out details. Thus Edgar gives his commission to Æðelwold ('Terre de nort li cumandad, Tut justisast del Humbre avant...Hastivement e sans targier Alt pur le païs adrescier. Les brefs recut tels cum il volt,' vv. 3846 ff.) in a court held at Salisbury (v. 3838), where, in 1096, a court was held in connection with Mowbray's conspiracy in Northumberland. Further certain phrases—'ses vestemenz reals vestid'

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(v. 3919); 'li reis corune d'or portad' (v. 3923)—in Gaimar's account of the wedding festivities suggest that Edgar's coronation may have been at the back of his mind. This actually took place at Bath, but in the same annal—*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (E) s.a. 972—is related Edgar's meeting with the six kings at Chester. The form of the name used, viz. Lægecestre, apparently meant to Gaimar Leicester (cf. v. 1083, where the confusion is made by him as it is in the present annal in the D recension of the *Chronicle*); a fleet could hardly assemble there, but a hasty reading of the annal would suggest that the meeting took place not too far from Bath, and Gloucester, which had been mentioned by him in conjunction with Bath early in his work (vv. 993–4), would naturally occur to him, the more so as it would fit in so admirably with the situation of Ælfðryð's inheritance. All this does not prove that Gaimar introduced the reference to Gloucester, but it does, to my mind, make his responsibility for it probable.

(*b*) The special prominence of the kings of Wales at the wedding festivities is undeniable, but it is much more probable that Gaimar is responsible for the addition than that it is to be ascribed to the Welsh. In his account of the feast given by William Rufus in his new hall at Westminster, Gaimar says: 'Li reis par merveillus barnage Oïd la messe en sun estage. Les reis de Wales i esteient, Les espees porter deveient, E bien voleient desraisnier Que co esteit lur dreit mestier' (vv. 6007 ff.). Then he goes on to describe how the Norman lords would not suffer this, but bore the swords themselves, how Hugh, Earl of Chester, was too proud to do such service, how the king good-humouredly turned his refusal to advantage (by giving him his 'verge d'or') and how this privilege belonged to the earl and his heirs. Elsewhere he has a panegyric of Earl Hugh and his open house and magnificent estate, so clearly he had some interest in the family (who, it may be noted in passing, had estates in Lincolnshire) and was relating the story—either from personal knowledge or from their tradition—to their honour. But the passage just quoted also clearly refers to his statement, in his account of Edgar's wedding festivities, that: 'Sa feste tint enz en ses sales, Mult honurad les reis de Wales, Les treis espees cil porterent Si cum li clerc ainz l'ordenerent' (vv. 3931 ff.). For this he had every motive because, by showing how old was the custom displaced, indirectly he increases the honour shown to the earl by William Rufus. Further, what more fitting occasion for this privilege to be claimed and allowed—his words can hardly be interpreted to mean that it was conferred here for the first time—than the historic meeting of the six kings, some of whom were

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almost certainly Welsh, recorded in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (E) s.a. 972? Though all this suggests, to my mind, that Gaimar is responsible for the introduction of the Welsh kings and their swords into the Edgar story, it is quite probable that the tradition of such a privilege existed independently in Wales.

(*c*) The comparison with Arthur occurs in a context which derives from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, and not from the 'Einleitung, deren Angaben sich nicht in der Chronik finden und auch nicht von der Art sind, dass sie einen Bestandteil einer mündlichen fortgepflanzten Erzählung bilden konnten' (Gross, *op. cit.*, p. 133) as Teubner (*op. cit.*, p. 34) asserts, and is consequently not part of the Edgar story. It is clear from Gaimar's use of 'emperere' that he is emphasising the imperial character of Edgar's sovereignty, just as Geoffrey of Monmouth does that of Arthur. Historically this claim seems to have been made for Edgar and for none of his predecessors—the special circumstances of his coronation may be connected with this title (cf. Plummer, ii, 161)—and the comparison was a natural one for Gaimar to make. That, apart from his Haveloc episode, he only mentions Arthur on this occasion is no reason for denying the introduction of the name to him, for no other suitable place offered itself; also this imperial conception of Arthur seems to be Anglo-Norman rather than Welsh, the same comparison being made by Roger of Hoveden in an addition to the panegyric s.a. 975, which is derived from the *Historia Post Bedam* and resembles that in Florence of Worcester. Further, we have a parallel to this isolated reference elsewhere in the *Estoire des Engleis*. After his account of William Rufus and his campaign against Le Mans, Gaimar goes on to say that, could he have reigned a little longer, 'A Rome alast pur chalengier L'ancien dreit d'icel païs Que Brennes i ot e Belins' (vv. 5974–6). This is his only reference to Brennus and Belinus as conquerors, though, in his account of the treaty between Canute and Edmund Ironside, he refers to Belinus as a maker of roads, but surely it cannot be maintained that Gaimar is not responsible for the addition? Neither is this probable in the earlier instance, for the ultimate source of both references is Geoffrey of Monmouth.

(*d*) It is uncertain whether Teubner (*op. cit.*, p. 34), by alluding first to Gaimar's use of Welsh books and then to the comparison of Edgar with Arthur, means us to infer a causal relation, but in the first assertion—as we have just seen was the case in the second—there seems to be an error of fact. He nowhere quotes or refers to Gaimar's mention of Welsh books as one of the sources of the *Estoire des Engleis*, but is

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probably thinking of the longer epilogue to that work found only in the Royal MS. There it is stated that Gaimar 'purchaca maint esamplaire, Liveres engleis e par gramaire E en romanz e en latin, Ainz k'en pust traire a la fin.' The Welsh books seem to be due to a misunderstanding of the immediately following lines in which Gaimar is said to have obtained, through the good offices of his patrons, a book sent to Walter Espec, a well-known northern baron, by Robert of Gloucester who 'fist translater icele geste Solum les liveres as Waleis K'il aveient des Bretons reis.' Whether these books were in Welsh or in Latin is immaterial, because, according to the epilogue, they were not consulted by Gaimar and were concerned solely with 'Bretons reis.'

Apart from the three major arguments, which, in view of what has been said, can no longer be upheld, the other two reasons advanced by Teubner, viz. local interest and the presence of local barons, are of no value. The first is simply an *a priori* assumption, and the second is explained by the historical data of the story.

It will be seen that I reject absolutely his contention that the story passed through Wales before reaching Gaimar; such allusions to Wales as occur are not an integral part of the story of Edgar and Ælfðryð, but are additions, which are intimately connected with the rest of the *Estoire des Engleis* or arise from preoccupations natural to the author of that work, and therefore to be ascribed to him.

IV.

In what direction, then, must Teubner's general conclusion be modified? It seems to me no longer possible to assume so confidently that Gaimar used a written source for his version of the Edgar story, though he may have done so; nor does it seem so certain that he used a double source—William of Malmesbury and another. Further, when we have subtracted from his version all the additions made by him for the twofold purpose of making his story more consistent and more artistic and of fitting it into his chronicle, it seems to me that we are left with a purely local story with its centre at Wherwell. It is, therefore, not improbable that it developed at that well-known Hampshire nunnery and that there it became known to Gaimar while engaged in composing his *Estoire des Engleis*. Finally, in so far as it depends on the assumed passage of the Edgar story through Wales, Teubner's main thesis of a connection between this and the Tristan story can no longer be maintained, though the theory is not devoid of interest and some points of resemblance are suggestive.

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BAUDELAIRE, VERLAINE AND VERHAEREN.

I.

TOWARDS the end of his life, Charles Baudelaire spent several years in Belgium, where he left a progeny of more or less servile imitators. The verse they produced abounds in the more specious characteristics of Decadent poetry. A cult of perversity and *recherché* sins, a weakness for luxuriating in real or imaginary woes, a glut of ecstasies, depressions and disillusions, became the stock in trade of fashionable versifiers, who exploited *ad nauseam* the fluctuations of their morbid moods. Baudelaire cannot be held responsible for the defects of his disciples, but most of their excesses had degenerated from seed sown in the *Fleurs du Mal.* Their greatest crime was, as Laforgue said, the woeful attempt to imitate a certain feverish intensity, which Gautier had seen to be the essential and most original characteristic of Baudelaire's genius, and which he defined in the course of a comparison with Delacroix. The painter, he thought, must have attracted the poet by the very malady of his talent, 'si troublé, si inquiet, si nerveux, si chercheur, si exaspéré, si *paroxyste*, qu'on nous passe ce mot qui seul rend bien notre pensée, et si tourmenté des malaises, des mélancolies, des ardeurs fébriles, des efforts convulsifs et des rêves de l'époque.' (*Fleurs du Mal: Notice, éd. déf.*)

Of the literary descendants of Baudelaire in Belgium, Émile Verhaeren alone seems to rival the master as a poet of paroxysm. For all the morbidity of its early phases, his work has escaped the shallow indulgence in vice, the factitious reactions of spleen and ideal, cultivated by his immediate predecessors. The sombre desperation of a book like *Les Débâcles* leaves no place for doubt as to the reality of the anguish there depicted. Its contents are so many images of torment, outbursts of rage, protests against destiny, set down directly in rugged, onomatopoetic rhythms, the creation of which was both an extreme exasperation and a supreme triumph. The poems are marred in places by the wilful extravagances of the author's manner at the time; but it would be impossible for an intelligent reader to confuse their excesses with the artificial excitations of a *fin de siècle* aesthete. To a poet of Verhaeren's passionate sincerity and positive realism such a 'model' would have been intolerable; but he would not be likely to ignore the one volume that could direct him in the task of 'exteriorising' the *débâcle* of his

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personality in the clutches of neurosis. To the writer of *Les Débâcles*, as to the author of *Les Fleurs du Mal*, art was more than a languid recreation, it was a solace for the ills of living, a victory, even, over life itself, may be, a last religion. In emulation of the monks, whom he commends for the rigorous devotion of their lives, Verhaeren had declared:

> Je vivrai seul aussi, tout seul, avec mon art...
> Car il ne reste rien que l'art sur cette terre
> Pour tenter un cerveau puissant et solitaire
> Et le griser de rouge et tonique liqueur.
> (*Les Moines: Aux Moines.*)

But in the formidable task of sublimating the pain of experience into the joy of art, neither poet can be said to have achieved much success. 'O moine fainéant!' cries Baudelaire,

> quand saurais-je donc faire
> Du spectacle vivant de ma triste misère
> Le travail de mes mains et l'amour de mes yeux?
> (*Fleurs du Mal*, IX.)

The agony remained in the soul even when beauty had been achieved in expression. And it is not surprising that, in despair of themselves, deceived by the conditions of life and disillusioned as to the saving power of art, they experienced at times a profound revulsion of spirit which drove them almost to suicide. A haunting idealism remained a constant element in both natures, and it was the conflict between this and the forces of dissolution within them that caused the deepest anguish of mind and heart.

Far less subtle, less sophisticated than Baudelaire, Verhaeren was the happier in the solution of his personal problem. Having never abandoned the desire for belief, he escaped the consequences of a foreclosed and deliberate refusal to give credence or to take on trust. It was Baudelaire who cultivated the attitude of the sceptic. Recurrent moods of religious aspiration could not deter him from the cynical indulgence of a penchant for incredulity which became, with him, a bizarre pose—the pose of the poetical blasphemer who derives a perverse gratification from the moral gravity of his offence.

Verhaeren succeeded where Baudelaire failed, because he was able to retain a certain limited function of the will, perhaps no more than an illusion of voluntary choice, which at least meant the retention of belief in himself. In the ignominy of suffering, he could conceive the heroism of allying himself so desperately with his fate as to become its instrument, and with his own hands exasperate his torment (*Les Débâcles: Dialogue*). This marks one of the greatest differences between

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him and his predecessor. Baudelaire was held in thrall by the conflicting desire to appease and yet foster his ills. Verhaeren was saved from his by an active determination to dominate, through identifying himself with, them. Baudelaire's power of will was undermined from the outset. In the prologue to the *Fleurs du Mal* we read:

> Sur l'oreiller du mal c'est Satan Trismégiste
> Qui berce longuement notre esprit enchanté,
> Et le riche métal de notre volonté
> Est tout vaporisé par ce savant chimiste.

The consequences of his self-abandonment are seen in *Le Gouffre* (*Fleurs du Mal*, CII). The conviction of the vanity of effort, the fear of the infinite, of silence and of sleep, leave but the longing for annihilation. Not that Verhaeren's poetry is free from the same abandoned strain. Instances will often be found in the poems of his second phase, showing a temporary relinquishment of the will to resist or accept, in the last stages of exhaustion and despair. In the introductory poem to *Les Soirs*, *Les Malades* are thoroughgoing sceptics who have lost all hope, save the hope of complete dissolution; yet even now, they can speculate as to the virtue of a wilful acquiescence in their torment:

> Si le bonheur régnait dans ce mâle égoïsme:
> Souffrir pour soi, tout seul, mais par sa volonté?

This difference in moral standpoint constitutes an underlying distinction between the work of the two poets. In comparison with it, the resemblances are superficial. Where they resemble each other most is in the desire to turn the rebellious material of personal pain into poems whose strength and beauty reside largely in their novelty and strangeness. Baudelaire's attempt called forth Victor Hugo's compliment on the addition of a *frisson nouveau* to French poetry; and to some extent, at least, Verhaeren must have profited by the originality of his predecessor. Not so much in matters of mood and emotion—for a poet's feelings are his own—as in the manner and technique of expression. The nature of Verhaeren's indebtedness may best be described as a tendency to adapt to his uses some of the methods designed, and some of the devices adopted by Baudelaire for the expression of new varieties of poetic subject-matter.

II.

Among the many contradictory elements so subtly blended in the *Fleurs du Mal*, certain suggestions of a robust sensuality could not fail to have attracted the author of *Les Flamandes*. Baudelaire's ideal of womanhood was represented in art by Lady Macbeth or Michael Angelo's Night, rather than by the pallid creatures of a more fastidious taste:

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Je laisse à Gavarni, poëte des chloroses,
Son troupeau gazouillant de beautés d'hôpital,
Car je ne puis trouver parmi ces pâles roses
Une fleur qui ressemble à mon rouge idéal.
(*Fleurs du Mal*, XIX.)

A reminiscence of this contrast appears in Verhaeren's poem, *Art flamand*, where he commends the old masters for similar preferences, in terms the most emphatic of which are identical with those of the original:

Vous conceviez, maîtres vantés,
Avec de larges opulences,
Avec de *rouges* violences,
Les corps charnus de vos beautés.

Les femmes *pâles* et moroses
Ne miraient pas dans vos tableaux,
Comme la lune au fond des eaux,
Leurs langueurs et leurs *chloroses*.

Sometimes in both poets this robust admiration of the flesh is sublimated into an almost religious adoration of Beauty. They can find no symbol to celebrate the luxuriant charms of their mistresses, except in the most exalted and magnificent aspects of nature. Compare, in this respect, the piece beginning:

Je t'adore à l'égale de la voûte nocturne...
(*Fleurs du Mal*, XXV.)

with:

Je voudrais posséder pour dire tes splendeurs,
Le plain-chant triomphal des vagues sur les sables,
Ou les poumons géants des vents intarissables...
(*Au Bord de la Route: Cantique.*)

But Verhaeren's sensualism is healthier than Baudelaire's. His *idéal charnel* has all the glowing health and rich vitality of the women of Rubens. The candid violence, the hot sunlight and ripe flesh of *Les Flamandes* remind one rather of Maupassant's *Vers*, in comparison with which Baudelaire's taste appears artificial and corrupt. For despite the virility of his artistic ideal of womanhood, in actual experience Baudelaire abhorred the natural, adored the emaciated and abnormal. Even when his interest tires of the painted charms that he found in the streets, he yearns for the monstrous allurements of *La Géante* (*Fleurs du Mal*, XX). Unnatural fancies of this sort rarely occur in Verhaeren's poetry, though there may be a reminiscence of Baudelaire's sonnet in the line:

Et tu t'étends lascive et géante, insurgeant...
(*Au Bord de la Route: Cantique.*)

In quite another sphere, Verhaeren must have learnt much from Baudelaire's manner of suggesting a particular mood by means of a symbolism drawn from natural scenery. This was complicated by

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frequent recourse to Catholic imagery. In both cases, the poetic fancy was imbued with an atmosphere of ecclesiastical ritual, which provided each with a ready stock of splendid figures. It is interesting to note how often these are used to render effects of twilight. In Baudelaire's *Harmonie du Soir* (*Fleurs du Mal*, XLVIII), the sky is 'triste et beau comme un grand reposoir'; in the fading light, the flowers evaporate like censers. Variations of such figures abound in *Les Moines*, Verhaeren's second volume, especially in the intermittent sonnets called *Soir religieux*. For both poets, the trees are 'des moines mortuaires,' and the stars, 'les feux de grands cierges.'

Still closer and more striking is the similarity in their use of the 'pathetic fallacy.' In giving his impressions of gloomy landscapes viewed through a sombre temperament, Verhaeren owes much to his predecessor. The opening of one of his most characteristic pieces, *Les Brumes*:

> Heures mornes d'hiver, mélancoliquement
> Et douloureusement, roulez sur mes pensées
> Et sur mon cœur, vos longs linceuls d'enterrement...

shows just that predilection for the funereal aspects of nature which we find in Baudelaire's piece, *Brume et Pluies*, where the same image actually occurs:

> Endormeuses saisons! je vous aime et vous loue
> D'envelopper ainsi mon cœur et mon cerveau
> D'un linceul vaporeux et d'un vague tombeau...
> (*Fleurs du Mal*, CXXV.)

Rain seems to have had as much fascination for the one as for the other, suggesting similar images to both:

> Quand la pluie étalant ses immenses traînées
> D'une vaste prison imite les barreaux.

These lines come from a piece (*Spleen*, LXXX) which, in spirit and method, was undoubtedly a model for much of Verhaeren's lugubrious nature poetry. An overwhelming dread of the frigid oppression and horror of winter was likewise a common *motif*. 'Toute l'hiver va rentrer dans mon être,' writes Baudelaire,

> Et, comme le soleil dans son enfer polaire,
> Mon cœur ne sera plus qu'un bloc rouge et glacé.
> (*Fleurs du Mal*, LVII.)

Verhaeren writes:

> Oh! l'infini du morne hiver! il incarcère
> Notre âme en un étau géant qui se resserre...
> (*Au Bord de la Route: En Décembre.*)

The method employed in these specimens of the pathetic fallacy is

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elaborated in a piece by Baudelaire, which has the significant title, *Horreur sympathique*:

Cieux déchirés comme des grèves,
En vous se mire mon orgueil!
Vos vastes nuages en deuil
Sont les corbillards de mes rêves,
Et vos lueurs sont le reflet
De l'Enfer où mon cœur se plaît!
(*Fleurs du Mal*, LXXXIV.)

Or it is condensed in Verhaeren's line:

Et mon cœur se reflète en ce soir de torture.
(*Les Soirs: Insatiablement.*)

But neither is content with this merely subjective interpretation of nature. Each abandons it frequently for a more intimate blend of external and internal gloom, in which the 'scene,' now almost purely imaginary, becomes a symbol of the mood, a 'paysage introspectif,' as in the phrase, 'Je suis un cimetière abhorré de la lune.' A bizarre form of this device is found in the idea of the soul imagined as a place of confinement, a prison, cloister or tomb:

Mon âme est un tombeau que, mauvais cénobite,
Depuis l'éternité je parcours et j'habite;
Rien n'embellit les murs de ce cloître odieux...
(*Fleurs du Mal*, IX.)

In a similar mood Verhaeren conceives of his soul as a sinister house of ebony:

—Dites, serai-je seul, dedans mon âme?—
Mon âme, hélas! maison d'ébène
Où s'est fendu, sans bruit, un soir,
Le grand miroir de mon espoir...
(*Les Flambeaux noirs: Le Roc.*)

At other times, the desolate *état d'âme* is expressed as a quest for an appropriate milieu. In one instance, the resemblance is all the more interesting for not being obvious:

Vers un cimetière isolé,
Mon cœur, comme un tambour voilé,
Va battant des marches funèbres.
(*Fleurs du Mal*, XI.)

Vers une ville au loin d'émeute et de tocsin,
Où luit le couteau nu des guillotines,
En tout à coup de fou désir, s'en va mon cœur.
(*Les Flambeaux noirs: La Révolte.*)

In moments of extreme dejection, both poets symbolise their self-abandonment as the drifting of a dismantled ship. Baudelaire sees his soul as 'une vieille gabare, sans mâts, sur une mer monstrueuse sans bords.' In his expression of this mood, Verhaeren seems nearer to Paul Verlaine than to Baudelaire. The whole idea of a piece like *Départ*,

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which opens the volume called *Les Flambeaux noirs*, is resumed in this comparison from the *Poèmes saturniens* (*L'Angoisse*):

> Lasse de vivre, ayant peur de mourir, pareille
> Au brick perdu, jouet du flux et du reflux,
> Mon âme pour d'affreux naufrages appareille ;

—although it seems evident that Verlaine himself is here under the influence of those celebrated lines from *Les Fleurs du Mal*, CLI :

> O Mort, vieux capitaine, il est temps ! levons l'ancre !
> Ce pays nous ennuie, ô Mort ! Appareillons !

The *Flambeaux noirs* shows a more deliberate probing of what is gruesome and repulsive, a more constant obsession with the ideas of rottenness and decay, than is to be found even in the *Fleurs du Mal*. A piece called *Celui du Rien* in the subsequent volume, *Les Apparus dans mes chemins*, surpasses *Une Charogne* (*Fleurs de Mal*, XXX) in the perverse art of waxing lyrical over corruption in a profusion of images which glimmer with the phosphorescent beauty of putrescence. It is the very earnestness of this strange type of poetry which, in Verhaeren's case, prevents it from being as 'successful' as Baudelaire's, or even as Théophile Gautier's. A necessary element of the true macabre style is that strain of grotesque humour or cynical irony which is so constant an element in the poetry of Baudelaire. 'J'ai cultivé mon hystérie avec jouissance et terreur,' he wrote in *Mon cœur mis à nu*. The terror of Verhaeren's experiments is unrelieved by any sense of 'enjoyment.' So that when he cultivates this vein, the prolonged, unmitigated horror of some of his productions tends to make them, for some readers at least, either revolting or ludicrous. Placed beside Baudelaire's *Mort joyeux*, Verhaeren's piece, *Mes Doigts*, emphasises another of the differences which underlie the broad resemblance in methods employed to interpret the effects of their neurosis.

III.

If, in an imaginative moment, Baudelaire could be pictured as having played for Verhaeren's benefit the rôle that Virgil played for Dante's in the descent to the Inferno, it would not be Baudelaire but Paul Verlaine who pointed the way out of the pit, although he himself was doomed to remain among the shadows.

Verlaine's influence is traceable in what we should call the Transitional phase of Verhaeren's work. It shows in two ways. The author of *Les Flamandes* and *Les Moines* is on the point of emerging from the bondage of the Parnassian manner, to adapt to his own purposes the style and form of expression practised by the succeeding School of

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Decadents or early Symbolists. He is beginning to experience new kinds of feeling, turning from the plastic and pictorial view of a static universe to cultivate moods of introspective melancholy and increasing disillusion. The real motives for this change were profoundly personal; nevertheless, in expressing them, Verhaeren was following in a direction already opened by pioneers, of whom the leading and most typical figure was Paul Verlaine. In the work of that poet he was to find certain novel and delicate models which neither Hugo and the Romanticists, nor Leconte de Lisle and the Parnassians, nor even Baudelaire, could furnish for his guidance. A close investigation seems to show that, for a brief space at least, there was a marked similarity between some of the moods and reactions experienced by Verlaine—an erring, morbidly sensitive, mystically prompted soul, lost in a world of strange modernities and corrupt fascinations—and those felt by the Verhaeren of the catastrophic Trilogy, and especially of the conversion symbolised in *Les Apparus dans mes chemins.* The similarity, it must be noted, is one mainly of atmosphere, arising out of the general tone of symbolic expression in both cases. In view of the assurance we feel of a profound analogy between parts of the two poets' work, it is surprising to realise that there are so few precise echoes of the one in the other, so few verbal reminiscences.

To begin with a broad example, Verlaine was obviously the one 'recalcitrant' whom Verhaeren found it most helpful to follow in breaking free from the rigours of Parnassianism. Among his earliest experiments in expressing more intimate moods in a more flexible and musical form, we select this from *Au Bord de la Route,* appropriately called *Vaguement*:

Voir une fleur là-bas, fragile et nonchalante,
En cadence dormir, au bout d'un rameau clair,
En cadence, le soir, fragile et nonchalante,
Dormir;—et tout à coup voir luire au clair de l'air,
Luire, comme une pierre, un insecte qui danse,
Ou bien s'immobilise au bout d'un rayon d'or;
—Et voir au bord des quais un navire en partance
Et qui s'attarde et qui hésite en son essor,
Tandis que ses marins de Flandre ou d'Aquitaine
Tous ensemble précipitent et les départs
Et les adieux; et puis, à ces choses prochaines,
A ces choses du soir confier les hasards:
Craindre si la fleur tombe ou si l'insecte passe
Ou si le clair navire érige et tend ses mâts
Vers la tempête et vers l'écume et vers l'espace
Et s'il part dans la houle énorme, au son des glas...
Ton souvenir!—et le mêler à ces présages,
A ce navire, à cet insecte, à cette fleur,
Ton souvenir qui plane, ainsi que des nuages,
Au couchant d'ombre et d'or de ma douleur.

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The gradual transformation or gradation of the mood, as it passes through a series of vaguely connected phases, each evoking the other, is significant. The continuous unravelling of the rêverie progressing, without appreciable break or pause, by an accretion of associated details and a repetition of certain *motifs*, was a mode of expression which had already been practised by some of the Parnassians, with a kind of solemn stiffness by Léon Dierx and Baudelaire, but by Verlaine with exquisite simplicity, as this piece from the *Poèmes Saturniens* will show. It is called *Crépuscule de Soir mystique*:

Le Souvenir avec le Crépuscule
Rougeoie et tremble à l'ardent horizon
De l'Espérance en flamme qui recule
Et s'agrandit ainsi qu'une cloison
Mystérieuse où mainte floraison
—Dahlia, lys, tulipe et renoncule—
S'élance autour d'un treillis, et circule
Parmi la maladive exhalation
De parfums lourds et chauds, dont le poison
—Dahlia, lys, tulipe et renoncule—
Noyant mes sens, mon âme et ma raison,
Mêle, dans une immense pâmaison,
Le Souvenir avec le Crépuscule.

But the point where the feeling and expression of Verhaeren most closely resemble Verlaine's is in connection with a certain inward change or 'conversion,' which both poets experienced, though with very different consequences. In Verhaeren's case, at the end of a long period of malady and spiritual prostration, comes an illumination which marks a radical turning point in his life and vision, in his philosophy and ideals. It was not actually a religious conversion in the sense of being a return to Catholicism, as Verlaine's was. The whole tenor of Verhaeren's subsequent work, with its definite opposition to all forms of revealed religion, is there to disprove this. And yet, strangely enough, the experience is expressed in terms of fervent Christian penitence, with a profusion of Catholic imagery. The explanation we should offer is that the Catholic colouring of the poems in question is purely symbolical, and that their tone and imagery were, to some extent, suggested by the tone and imagery of certain pieces in Verlaine's *Sagesse*.

As later in Verhaeren's case, the conversion of Verlaine is represented symbolically as having been effected by the appearance of a *bon chevalier*, whose chiding and redemptive touch changes the heart of the poet. Not, it is true, by a mythological figure like the *Saint Georges* of Verhaeren's fine poem in the *Apparus dans mes chemins*, but by a personification of misfortune, *Malheur*, whose influence is beneficent, like the uses of adversity. The earlier poem, a matter of ten alexandrine

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couplets, entirely lacks the richness, the bright and varied impulses of Verhaeren's splendid outburst. But has it not the same naïve responsiveness to a constraining influence approaching in similar form and manner?

Bon chevalier masqué qui chevauche en silence,
Le malheur a percé mon vieux cœur de sa lance.

. . . . . .

Alors le chevalier Malheur s'est rapproché,
Il a mis pied à terre et sa main m'a touché.

. . . . . .

Et voici qu'au contact glacé du doigt de fer
Un cœur me renaissait, tout un cœur pur et fier.

. . . . . .

Mais le bon chevalier, remonté sur sa bête,
En s'éloignant, me fit un signe de la tête

Et me cria (j'entends *encore* cette voix):
'Au moins, prudence! car c'est bon pour une fois.'

(*Sagesse*, I, 1.)

Here is the conclusion of Verhaeren's poem, with its similarities and its differences:

Le Saint Georges cuirassé clair
A traversé, par bonds de flamme,
Le frais matin, jusqu'à mon âme;
Il était jeune et beau de foi;
Il se pencha d'autant plus bas vers moi,
Qu'il me voyait plus à genoux;...
Devant sa vision altière,
J'ai mis, en sa pâle main fière,
Les fleurs tristes de ma douleur;
Et lui s'en est allé, m'imposant la vaillance
Et, sur le front, la marque en croix d'or de sa lance,
Droit vers son Dieu, avec mon cœur.

In both cases, too, a feminine influence plays a mediating part between the divine power and the erring spirit. Verlaine's indebtedness is hinted in the second piece in *Sagesse*:

J'étais le vaincu qu'on assiège,
Prêt à vendre son sang bien cher,
Quand, blanche en vêtements de neige,

Toute belle au front humble et fier,
Une dame vint sur la nue
Qui d'un signe fit fuir la chair...

More than the tone, the precise form of this poem is reproduced in a piece in *Les Apparus dans mes chemins* called *L'Attendue*. It might be necessary to quote at length in order to reveal the similarity of atmosphere, but one stanza will suffice to show the identity of form:

Sainte pour moi et claire et lentement
Comme une étoile, un soir d'ombre lucide,
Seule, elle s'en alla fleurir le firmament.

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There are grounds for supposing that the inspiration for this piece was the memory of a relative, an aunt of the poet, with whom he associated all the Christian virtues and much of the idealism of his youth. But it was about this time that a more concrete feminine influence came into his life. He became acquainted with the woman whom he married in 1892, and began, with her aid, to progress from a morbid condition of mind and body towards ultimate serenity and health. In 1896 appeared the first of a series of poems devoted to the rare theme of conjugal love. They are full of radiance and joyous in tone—an extraordinary change from the spirit of his previous work. By their naïve, confidential note, by their transparent sincerity, they recall the accent of but one other poet of the French tongue. A few of the pieces in the trilogy of *Les Heures* suggest comparison with one or two of the pieces in the *Bonne Chanson*, that wistful group of lyrics written by Verlaine in anticipation rather than in realisation of marriage happiness. There is a note of sustained mysticism running through Verhaeren's more numerous love poems; there are far more familiar touches in Verlaine's little studies of *intimité*. The following, for instance, while it may have prompted such a *motif* as:

> C'est la bonne heure où la lampe s'allume!
>
> (*Heures d'après-midi*, XII.)

—continues in a colloquial vein which, though part of the charm of Verlaine's manner, is not characteristic of Verhaeren:

> Le foyer, la lueur étroite de la lampe;
> La rêverie, avec le doigt contre la tempe,
> Et les yeux se perdant parmi les yeux aimés;
> L'heure du thé fumant et des livres fermés...
>
> (*Bonne Chanson*, XIV.)

Piece XVII in the same volume turns delicately on the theme of a secluded intimacy, withdrawn from the world's view:

> N'est-ce pas? en dépit des sots et des méchants
> Qui ne manqueront pas d'envier notre joie,
> Nous serons fiers parfois et toujours indulgents...
>
> Isolés dans l'amour ainsi qu'en un bois noir,
> Nos deux cœurs, exhalant leur tendresse paisible,
> Seront deux rossignols qui chantent dans le soir...

This is also the most recurrent note in Verhaeren's love poems:

> En ces heures où nous sommes perdus
> Si loin de tout ce qui n'est pas nous-mêmes...
>
> (*Les Heures claires*, XXI, and cf. VII and XVII.)

Yet another of Verhaeren's moods is anticipated in the *Bonne Chanson*. The notion of the guidance and guardianship of the woman

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is intimated by the use of similar figures. In piece XX, for instance, anyone acquainted with the *Heures* of Verhaeren will recognise familiar notes, such as:

J'allais par des chemins perfides,
Douloureusement incertain.
Vos chères mains furent mes guides.

Si pâle à l'horizon lointain
Luisait un faible espoir d'aurore.
Votre regard fut le matin...

With these compare:

Je suis venu si tard...
Et de si loin vers tes deux mains tendues...
J'étais si lourd, j'étais si las
Du vain chemin de tous mes pas.
(*Heures claires*, v.)

Au temps où longuement j'avais souffert...
Tu m'apparais l'accueillante lumière...
(*Heures claires*, XII.)

These examples will, we hope, suffice to maintain our view that, although there are no very definite verbal resemblances between Verhaeren's poems and Verlaine's, identical moods were frequently treated by both poets, and sometimes conveyed by shades and subtleties of expression so remarkably similar as to suggest that Verhaeren must have learnt certain lessons in feeling and utterance from a close study of his predecessor. It should, however, be remembered that the field of resources which Verlaine had to offer Verhaeren was, for temperamental reasons, narrow and limited. The two poets evolved differently. Their lines of development meet here and there, and then go wide apart. Verlaine, for instance, enjoyed the happy domestic moods of the *Bonne Chanson* for only a brief interval in his tragic career, whereas Verhaeren had time and occasion to cultivate and develop his, bringing them to the rich diversity of expression which blossoms in the trilogy of *Les Heures*.

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MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

Notes on Old English Poetry.

I. *Riddle* xxvii, ll. 15–17.

Nū þā gerēno ond sē rēada telg
ond þā wuldorgesteald wīde mǣre
dryhtfolca Helm, nales dol wīte.

The riddle describes the preparation of a Bible codex. The preceding lines tell how this has been covered with hide and adorned with gold and the splendid handiwork of smiths. The meaning of lines 15–17*a* is consequently clear. 'Now let those ornaments and the red dye and those splendid riches celebrate far and wide the Protector of nations.' The difficulty lies in line 17*b*. Tupper, in his edition of the *Riddles*, reads *nales dolwīte*, and translates 'and not the pains of hell.' He points out that *dol* is used in the sense of *iniquus*, and that *wīte* often refers to eternal punishment.

But *wīte* may possibly not be the noun but the 3rd pers. pres. subj. of the verb *wītan*, to impute, to lay blame upon. 'Let not the foolish man impute blame.' This may mean either 'Let not the fool find fault with the lavish ornamentation of the codex,' in which case the poet must have been thinking of the story of Jesus and Simon the Pharisee (*Luke* vii, 36 ff.); or 'Let not the fool find fault with the extolling of God,' in which case 'The fool saith in his heart, There is no God' must have been in his mind. *Dol* in the sense of 'The foolish unbeliever' occurs in *Riddle* iv, 53, *Exeter Gnomic Verses* 35, and *Seafarer* 106.

II. *The Exile's Prayer.*

This poem, included among *Gebete* in Grein-Wülker (ii, pp. 217 ff.), is a combination of a penitential hymn and a dramatic lyric. It is edited by Sieper in his *Die altenglische Elegie* (pp. 143 ff.), and there is an excellent paragraph upon it in Brandl's *Geschichte der altenglischen Literatur* (§ 51).

The text given in Grein-Wülker and Sieper should be emended as follows:

109 Is sēo bōt æt þē
gelong æfter.... Ic on lēohte ne mæg, etc.

On the left-hand edge of the MS. (*Exeter Book*) there is a hole covered

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by a patch, and the word following *æfter* has been lost. The patch is now loose, and under it an *e* is perfectly clear, and before this the remains of an *f*. The missing word is quite certainly [*lī*]*fe*, which suits both sense and alliteration.

113 Þonne ic mē tō frembum frēode hæfde,
cȳðþu gec[wēme], wæs ā cearu symle
lufena tō lēane.

There is a hole in the middle of the page; at the beginning of the hole a damaged *w* can be distinguished, and at the end there is clearly an *e*. But the gap between *gecw* and *e* measures 2·6 centimetres, and must have contained at least four letters. So the correct reading is probably

cȳðþu gecw[ēme, m]ē wæs ā cearu symle.

116 ȝiet biþ þæt [sēlast], þonne, etc.

This reading, given by Sieper, following Holthausen (*Beiblatt* XXIII, pp. 88 f.), is correct. The lower part of the last three letters in *ȝiet* can be distinguished below a hole in the MS.

III. *Beowulf*, ll. 223–224.

Þā wæs sund liden
eoletes æt ende.

The MS. reading *þā wæs sund liden* is retained by Wülker, Schücking, Chambers, and Klaeber in their respective editions. Chambers translates 'then was the sound traversed at the far side of the sea,' but notes that this passive use of *liden* is difficult. Holthausen and Sedgefield, on the other hand, adopt Thorpe's emendation to *sundlida*; 'then the ocean-traveller (ship) was at the far side of the sea,' i.e. at the end of its journey.

Wæs liden undoubtedly ought to mean 'was gone,' 'had gone,' rather than 'was traversed.' But an emendation is possible which is slightly closer to the original than is Thorpe's. I suggest

Þā wæs sundlidan
eolotes æt ende.

An impersonal construction; literally, 'then it was at the end of the sea to the ocean-traveller,' i.e. the ship had finished its journey. The same construction, though without the noun in the dative case, occurs in *Judith*, 272–273,

Þā wæs hyra tīres æt ende,
ēades and ellendǣda,

'then it was at an end of their glory, their success and deeds of courage.'

W. S. Mackie.

Cape Town.

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'EALU-SCERWEN.'

> Dryht-sele dynede; Denum eallum wearð,
> ceaster-buendum, cenra ȝehwilcum,
> eorlum ealu-scerwen. *Beowulf*, 767–9.

The word *ealu-scerwen* which occurs in this passage is a well-known crux, of which, so far as I am aware, no convincing explanation has hitherto been offered. The Old Irish *Life of St Columba*, printed in Stokes' *Book of Lismore*, does, however, seem to offer us some assistance to what is at any rate a plausible, if not a final, solution of the difficulty.

As is well known, one of the most notable events in the life of St Columba is the story of his procuring the release of Scandlan, son of Cinnfaela, King of the men of Ossory, who was a hostage in the hands of Aedh, son of Ainmire, King of Ireland. This incident bulks largely in the *Amra of St Columba*. The tale is told as follows in the Old Irish *Life of St Columba*:

Among the chief objects which brought Columba to the famous Convention of Drumceatt (A.D. 575) in Derry was the release of Scandlan Morr. But in spite of the efforts of Columba, Scandlan continued in duresse after the Convention. 'And a wicker hut was constructed round him, without any passage out of it, save a way through which a little *salted* food and a scanty allowance (the Irish word is *teirce*, lit. scarcity) of ale used to be given him. And fifty warriors used to be round the hut, outside, guarding him. And there were nine chains upon him in the hut, and when he would see anyone going past, what he would say was: "A drink," says he.'

(This was reported to Columba, and Scandlan is set free by an angel and makes his way at once to the Saint, who happens to be at mattins in the Black Church at Derry. The following conversation takes place:)

'Columba asks, "Who is this?" "Scandlan," answered he. "Hast thou any news?" asked Columcille. "A drink," said Scandlan. "Hast thou brought us a blessing?" asked Columcille. "A drink," said Scandlan.' Columba at last loses patience, but after being pacified, he says to Scandlan: 'Here is one drink for thee, to wit, a vessel of ale containing enough for thee.' Scandlan then lifts the vessel between his two hands and drains the contents in a single draught.

Undoubtedly there is a real difficulty in taking *scerwen* as equivalent to *bescerwen*, 'deprivation'; but none of the rival solutions is any more satisfactory. Thus Kock proposes to interpret *ealu-scerwen* as a 'mixed wine' = **skarwinio*; Sedgefield, altering the manuscript, would read

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ealu-scerpen, which he interprets as 'acidity, indigestion'; Klaeber, whose opinions on matters connected with *Beowulf* are deserving of the utmost respect, says: '*scerwen*, related to **scerwan* "grant," "allot" (*bescerwen*, "deprive"). "Dispensing of ale," or, in a pregnant sense, of "bitter or fateful drink" might have come to be used as a figurative expression for distress,' which seems to me to be rather forced. The Irish parallel, which I have adduced, lends support to the interpretation of *ealu-scerwen* as 'deprivation of ale,' and at the same time suggests an excellent reason why it should have come to mean 'mortal panic.' If the habit of immuring prisoners and feeding them with salted food, with only sufficient ale to produce a maddening thirst for more, was known to the deep-drinking Teutons as it was to the Celts, it is easy to see how a lively recollection of this refinement of torture may well have caused *ealu-scerwen*, as a form of torture, to be synonymous in their minds with 'mortal terror.'

Unfortunately, I cannot adduce any example of this form of torture among the Teutons; it is not mentioned in Grimm's *Deutsche Rechtsaltertümer*: but the existence of the practice among the Celts was probably known to the Anglo-Saxons, especially as this incident in the life of St Columba must have been familiar to many in Northumbria in the seventh and eighth centuries.

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The Sources of Watson's 'Tears of Fancie.'

One of the main sources of inspiration of Watson's *Tears of Fancie* is Gascoigne's *Posies*. Nine of the sonnets are adaptations of the older poet's verse to Watson's metre, often with no alteration from the original, as for example:

Watson: xxxiv (*Elizabethan Sonnets*, Vol. i, ed. Lee).

Why live I wretch and see my ioyes decay,
Why live I and no hope of loves advancing:
Why doe myne eies behold the sunnie day,
Why live I wretch in hope of better chancing.
O wherefore tells my toung this dolefull tale,
That every eare may heare my bitter plaint:
Was never hart that yet bemond my bale,
Why live I wretch my pangs in vaine to paint.
Why strive I gainst the streame or gainst the hill,
Why are my sorrowes buried in the dust:
Why doe I toile and loose my labour still,
Why doe I feede on hope or bild on trust.
Since hope had never hap and trust finds treason,
Why live I wretch disdainde and see no reason?

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Gascoigne: *The Complaint of the Greene Knight* (ed. Chalmers, *The Works of the English Poets*, Vol. II, p. 540).

Why live I wretch (quoth he) alas and wellaway
Or why beholde my heavy eies, this gladsome sunny day?
Since never sunne yet shone, that could my state advaunce,
Why live I wretch (alas quoth he) in hope of better chaunce?
Or wherefore telles my toung, this drearye dolefull tale,
That every eare might heare my grieefe and so bemone my bale?
Since eare was never yet, that harkened to my playnte,
Why live I wretch (alas quoth he) my pangs in vaine to paint?
Or wherfore dotes desire, that doth his wish disclose,
And shewes the sore that seeks recure, thereby to ease my woes?
Since yet he never found, the hart where pyttie dwelt,
Why live I wretch (alas quoth he) alone in woe to swelt?
Why strive I with the streame, or hoppe against the hill,
Or search that never can be founde, or loose my labor still?
Since destenies decreed, must alwayes be obeyde,
Why live I wretch alas (quoth he) with lucke thus overleyde?
Why feedes my heart on hope? why tyze[1] I still on trust?
Why doth my minde still muse on mirth? why leanes my life on lust?
Since hope had never hap, and trust always found treason,
Why live I wretch alas (quoth he) where all good luck is geazon?

Other examples of the same kind of 'larceny' are:

Watson.	Gascoigne.
XXXV.	*Dan Bartholemew of Bathe*, p. 507.
XXXVI	*Dan Bartholemew of Bathe*, p. 507.
XXXVII.	*The fruite of fetters*, p. 540.
XL.	*The fruite of fetters*, p. 540 and p. 539.
XLIII (first quatrain).	*Dan Bartholemew of Bathe*, p. 506.
XLVII, XLVIII.	*A loving lady being wounded in the spring time, and now galded eftsones with the remembrance of the spring, doth thus bewayle*, p. 529.
LVIII.	*The lamentation of a lover*, p. 484 and *Dan Bartholemew*, p. 506.

When not directly copying all the matter of a sonnet Watson has a trick of introducing half lines from Gascoigne, occasionally with a slight change, as for example:

In prime of youthly yeares. — Watson, I.
In prime of lustie yeares. — Gascoigne, p. 570.

or without any alteration:

That I to tyrannizing Love must yeeld me.
And bow my necke earst subiect to no yoke,
To Loves false lure (such force hath beauties stroke). — Watson, VII.

For he that writes his freedome (lo) resignes
Into your handes: and freely yeelds as thrall
His sturdy necke (earst subiect to no yoke)
But bending now, and headlong prest to fall,
Before your feete, such force hath beauties stroke.
Gascoigne, *To a Skotish Dame*, p. 529.

[1] Cunliffe's edition has 'tyre.'

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or again:

Hart sighed and bled, eies wept and gaz'd too much,
Yet must I gaze because I see none such. Watson, XX.

But still to loke, and though I loke to much,
Needes must I loke bicause I see none such.
Gascoigne, *The lokes of a lover enamoured*, p. 484.

Watson's last sonnet, LX, is very similar to 'Love thy Choyse,' a poem of the Earl of Oxford, which remained in manuscript till printed by Grosart. Here are the two poems:

Watson, LX.

Who taught thee first to sigh Alasse sweet heart? love.
Who taught thy tongue to marshall words of plaint? love.
Who fild thine eies with teares of bitter smart? love.
Who gave thee griefe and made thy ioyes so faint? love.
Who first did paint with coullers pale thy face? love.
Who first did breake thy sleepes of quiet rest? love.
Who forst thee unto wanton love give place? love.
Who thrald thy thoughts in fancie so distrest? love.
Who made thee bide both constant firme and sure? love.
Who made thee scorne the world and love thy friend? love.
Who made thy mind with patience paines indure? love.
Who made thee settle stedfast to the end. love
Then love thy choice though love be never gained,
Still live in love, dispaire not though disdained.

Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford, *Love thy Choyse.* (*Miscellanies of the Fuller Worthies Library*, Vol. IV.)

Who taught the fyrst to syghe, alas my harte?
Who taught thy tongue ye woefull wordes of playnte?
Who fylled your eyes with teares of bitter smarte?
Who gave thee greefe and made thy ioyes to faynte?
Who fyrste did paynte with coulers pal thy face?
Who fyrste did breake thy sleeps of quiet rest?
Above the rest in Courte who gave the grace?
Who made the stryve in honour to be beste?
In constante trouthe to byde so fyrme and sure
To scorne the worlde, regarding but thye freendes?
With patient mynde eche passione to endure,
In one desyre to settle to the ende?
Love then thy choyse wherin suche choyse thou bynde
As noughte but deathe maye ever change thye mynde.

In the remaining sonnets, there are many reminiscences of foreign Petrarchists, but it is not easy to name the precise sources. The first seven picture the Alexandrian Cupid of the Latin Elegists, which became the traditional Love of the Middle Ages, 'cæcus et alatus, nudus puer et pharetratus,' and was inherited by the Petrarchists. Cupid's popularity increased after the Pléiade translations from the Pseudo-Anacreon. The contest of heart and eyes, sonnets XIX and XX, had come down from the Troubadours through Petrarch. XXIX is an Echo poem, XXXI and XLI are examples of development by enumeration, XXXIX of

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development by antitheses, a process which can be traced ultimately to the *devinalhs* and *coblas reversas* of the Troubadours. XLI, XLII, XLIII, and XLIV contain an appeal to Fortune, Love and Death, who had already appeared many times together. In XLV and XLVI, the poet lets 'his mistress see her portrait in his breast.' LI recalls Petrarch[1], 247°: *I'ho pien di sospir quest'aere tutto.* Had Watson been commenting on his own sonnet, as he did in the *Hecatompathia*, he would have drawn our attention to 'that figure of Rhetorique which of the Greeks is called παλιλογία or ἀναδίπλωσις, of the Latines *Reduplicatio*.' Sonnet XLII, *Teares of Fancie*, is another example of the same figure, and it is quite probable that Watson constructed this sonnet chiefly to exercise his ingenuity. LII, as noted by Lee, seems to have been suggested by Petrarch: *Sestine* I. In LIII, Watson has combined two metaphors, a ship at sea and a labyrinth. The 'mastles ship' is probably Petrarch's 'disarmato legno.' The labyrinth had already been used in the *Hecatompathia*. In LVII, we have a sonnet where 'all things have release of pain save the lover.' This is a type which comes originally from Horace, *Odes* II, ix, and sonnets or strambotti beginning 'Non sempre' in Italian, and 'Toujours n'est pas' in French were ready in large numbers as models for the English poet.

Thus, on the whole, there is little originality in the *Teares of Fancie*. The sonnets in the little group on the 'Vale of love,' which find their way into modern anthologies of Elizabethan verse, are the most pleasing in the sequence, though the association of Nature with the poet's sufferings is not new.

JANET G. SCOTT.

GLASGOW.

I. KING SANCHO'S 'COSSANTE.'

The *Oxford Book of Portuguese Verse* opens appropriately with the earliest *cossante*, and second earliest poem of the language:

Ai eu coitada como vivo
en gran cuidado por meu amigo
que ei alongado: muito me tarda
o meu amigo na Guarda.

Ai eu coitada como vivo
en gran desejo por meu amigo
que tarda e non vejo: muito me tarda
o meu amigo na Guarda.

The poem is, however, only an imperfect representative of its type.

[1] Petrarch, *Le Rime* (ed. Salani, Florence, 1925), p. 322.

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Dona C. Michaëlis de Vasconcellos remarks (*Cancioneiro da Ajuda*, 1904, ii, p. 594,—I owe the quotation to Miss J. Perry): 'Admira que o segundo dístico não presente rima nova, rezando:

Ai eu coitada como ando
en gran desejo por meu amado.

Mas pelos annos 1200, esse requinte artístico talvez ainda não estivesse inventado.' But, in addition to the repetition of the assonance in I-O, the poem gracelessly enjambs its refrain, and the seventh line consists of a gabble of syllables. We are not, therefore, dealing with a true *cossante*, but with one remodelled in quatrains to serve a particular occasion. This occasion was the founding of the fortress of Guarda by King Sancho I in 1199; we may thus strike out the allusion to Guarda as peculiar to the quatrains. *Eu coitada* is probably 'padding' to fill out the lines, and there has been some repetition of the word *tarda*. *Desejo-vejo* and *cuidado-alongado* provide the necessary assonants, and I prefer to place the treble sound first, though the *cossantes* are not uniform in doing so. With these alterations we can affirm that the earliest *cossante* in the Portuguese language, remodelled in quatrains by King Sancho I at Guarda in 1199, was:

Ai como vivo en gran desejo
por meu amigo que non vejo:
muito me tarda o meu amigo!

Ai como vivo en gran cuidado
por meu amigo que ei alongado:
muito me tarda o meu amigo!

II. 'Azaris et Melequis.'

O los tos morauedis azaris et melequis
que solies manear et a menudo contar?
Disputa del Alma et del Cuerpo.

Professor J. D. M. Ford's note (*Old Spanish Readings*, p. 133, n. 22. 28) is: 'The MS. has *mazaris*. Cf. Menéndez Pidal: "All the editors read, without concerning themselves with the meter, *o los tos moazaris et melequis*. I do not know the word *moazari*; it is true that I have not found *azari* either; but I suppose it is an adjective like *melequi*, modifying the substantive *morauedi*; in a document of Sahagún, 1140,... we find *III morabitis melquis*." Octavio de Toledo says: "*moazaris et melequis*, Arabic coins."' *Melequi* derives from an Arabic MLK or MLQ. The former gives no sense that I can think probable, but MLQ suggests *mâlaquî*, the adjective of Málaga. *Azari* offers many more possible etymons, but by analogy the most probable seems to me to be the adjective of Az-Zahrâ. ZHR gives in modern Arabic a form *zahrâwî*,

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the name of a Turkish coin, though I cannot discover how it arises. Oriental coins of the same denomination differ in value between city and city, mint and mint (cf. Shanghai and Hongkong taels, Seljukian coins of Sîwâs and of Konieh), so that place names must have been attached to the currency of the south of Spain. The nearest parallel I can quote, which I owe to Professor W. B. Stevenson, is *misrîya* (of Cairo?), the colloquial name of the Egyptian para. There was a mint of the Ommayyads at Az-Zahrâ, and one of the Idrisids (1035–57) at Málaga.

As Professor Ford's book is, no doubt, in common use among English teachers of Spanish, and no new edition seems as yet to be expected, it may not be superfluous to remind readers that the note on pp. 108–9 (ll. 127 *he*) should now be corrected from Menéndez Pidal, *Cid-Vocabulario, s.v.*, and the *Diccionario de la Academia* (1914 and after), *s.v.*, which give the etymon Ar. *ha.*

WILLIAM J. ENTWISTLE.

GLASGOW.

JUAN DOMADO.

No satisfactory explanation has yet been found for the epithet 'tame' (*domado, amansado,* tamed) applied to the untameable spirit of King João II, whom Queen Isabella the Catholic called simply the Man, and of whom it might be said 'cuja cerviz bem nunca foi domada' (*Os Lusiadas,* IV, 73). The passage occurs in one of Gil Vicente's earliest plays, the *Auto Pastoril Castelhano,* written in Spanish and presented before the Court at Christmas of the year 1502, only seven years after King João's death:

> ¿Conociste a Juan domado
> que era pastor de pastores?
> Yo lo vi entre estas flores
> Con gran hato de ganado,
> con su cayado real. (*Obras,* I, 9.)

A marginal note in the first edition of the *Obras* (1562) runs: 'Juan domado dizia por el Rei D. Joam II.' It is very tempting to have recourse to emendation: *loado, Collado* (Juan Collado occurs in the *Cancionero Musical Barbieri,* no. 376), *damado* (used by Vicente in much the same sense as the following), *donado* (cf. the XV c. *desdonado*: 'sin gracia'), *dotado* (cf. the 'insulas dotadas' (*afortunadas*) of *El Caballero Cifar*), *dourado.*

Of the six the last is perhaps the most tempting of all. The word is used by Vicente in the *Barca do Purgatorio*: 'meu porto dourado.' The gold of the Portuguese discoveries began to make itself felt in the reign

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of King João II. Sá de Miranda uses the word of persons: 'Que cada um torne de lá (Brazil) dourado.' If Vicente, by one of his not infrequent slips when writing Spanish, wrote *dourado* for *dorado*, this would make it all the easier to misread the manuscript as *domado*. But the emendator must always remember that the number of letters in the alphabet is limited, and that to substitute one for another is almost as vast a change as to substitute one continent for another. An alteration as 'small' would give us *doblado*, with allusions to gold doubloons, death (*tocar a muerto*), double-dealing, and to the King's being the second of his name. It is best perhaps to retain *domado* (in which the late Dona Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos at one time felt inclined to see a reference to 'two' (*dos* or *duo*)). The King had been tamed at last, subdued by the hand of death: '¿Qué se hizo el rey Don Juan?' If, to an inner circle, Queen Lianor's goldsmith intended to convey that she had subdued her husband to her will by inducing him to name her brother, King Manuel, his heir to the throne instead of his illegitimate son, that is none of our affair, since the literary critic does not belong to cliques but to literature. On the whole it is to be concluded that the difficult word must stand and must mean simply (as a past participle, not an adjective) *feu le roi Jean.*

AUBREY F. G. BELL.

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REVIEWS.

Songs from the British Drama. Edited by EDWARD BLISS REED. New Haven: Yale University Press; London: H. Milford. 1925. xi + 386 pp. 18*s.*

This is an imposing volume, the aim of which is to combine the attraction of an anthology of songs with illustration of their place in *acted* drama, so that the standard for inclusion is twofold. The various ways in which our playwrights have introduced songs for entertainment, or to further the action of their scenes, or to illustrate character, are indicated in the editor's notes, where contexts as well as stage-directions are sometimes given, and stage-directions are also printed with the songs when advisable. The notes are placed together after the text, and followed by a short essay on 'Some Aspects of Song in the Drama,' a bibliography and indices, so that the songs themselves can be enjoyed uninterruptedly, save for concise glossarial explanations, which sometimes disfigure the page by being placed within it, between two examples. These explanations are few, however, and seldom redundant, but it seems unwise to explain *pray* as = 'prayer' in 'Thy chief desire, thy hoped pray' (p. 21) where the meaning may be 'prey,' and the editor, in omitting to explain *carouse a* in 'I drinks them all carouse a' (Ulpian Fulwell), has lost a good opportunity of illustrating the naturalization of the German *gar aus.* A later song from Holiday's *Technogamia* exactly explains the phrase in the line, 'And drink your drink all out a.'

The collection begins with songs from the Coventry Shearmen and Tailors' Pageant, 1534, and extends to examples from Sheridan, 1777 and 1775 (the editor's dates, 1778? and 1783 refer to publication), after which there is a gap, bridged only by a lyric from M. G. Lewis, 1812, to Tennyson (1875), Browning, W. S. Gilbert, and various others, ending with Gordon Bottomley and Clemence Dane. So comprehensive a volume might have found in comedy something not too inferior between these dates; and in serious drama containing song, Coleridge's *Remorse* was acted with success in 1813, and Sir Henry Taylor's *Philip van Artevelde* in 1847, without it. His undoubted lyrical gift deserves recognition, although the 'famous' 'Quoth tongue of neither maid nor wife' belongs to the unstaged Part II of the play. Shelley's *Cenci* was intended for the stage and has been acted within the last few years.

The inclusions from Tennyson onward rather discount a remark about 'our emotional yet tuneless drama' which occurs in the preface, and while it is quite true that any period is nowhere in song as compared with Elizabethan and Jacobean times, one might get a wrong impression about the eighteenth century from the following statement near the conclusion of Professor Reed's Essay: 'Soon the ballad opera and concert gave England what formerly the play alone could offer; the

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singer had left the stage and the actress had taken his place. A new dramatic technique had arisen, and though song was still heard, the reign of song on the stage was ended.' After all, ballad opera and ballad farce, from which the book under review gives songs by Gay, Fielding, and Garrick, and which continued to flourish beyond the century, are light comedy with the song element greatly increased, and actors did not cease to sing because actresses sang too. Allan Ramsay's pastoral, *The Gentle Shepherd* (which was acted in London in 1760, and previously, in reduced and anglicized form, in 1731), would have enriched the collection, and so, too, some of the bright songs from Harry Carey's farces (from *The Honest Yorkshireman*, for instance) in addition to the specimen of his lyrical gift which is given from Vanbrugh and Cibber's *Provoked Husband*.

Regular comedy, moreover, never ceased to make use of song. Mrs Cowley, whose first plays are contemporary with Sheridan's last, was much alive to its use. In her great success *The Belle's Stratagem*, acted 1780, the heroine promotes the action with a song, and a later play of hers, *A Day in Turkey*, acted in 1792, is entitled 'A Comedy, Interspersed with Songs.' George Colman the Younger made use of his tuneful gifts in his dramas, as well as in *Broad Grins*, etc., and his unforgotten 'Mynheer Vandunck,' which opens *The Law of Java*, acted 1822, would have fitly closed the list of drinking songs that abound in this volume. Its scientific character does not privilege anyone but Ophelia to be immodest, so that another kind of song, much favoured by rakes in the drama, male and female, *ante* and *post* Restoration, is not illustrated.

As compared with the collections of Bell and Bullen, to which the editor pays due tribute, *Songs from the British Drama* is much more extensive, not only because it covers more ground (Bullen especially including little before Lyly, even in the 1891 volume, and ending before Dryden) but on account of additions, more numerous than omissions, among the most valuable of which are the capital half-dozen or so songs from *The Maid's Metamorphosis*, the three or four extra songs from Cartwright, and the clever songs from the plays of William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle. In the full representation of Jonson, the beautiful 'The Faery beam upon you,' omitted by Bell and Bullen, finds a place, and is faithfully credited in the notes with its inspiration to Herrick; but the editor does not follow Bullen in printing the noble epithalamium 'Up Youths and Virgins,' which is such an excellent illustration of the combination of strength and grace with which Jonson could frame a complicated stanza, and is also a good example of the marriage song concluding a masque. His additions and substitutions are not always an improvement, but perhaps this should be ascribed to his plan of excluding songs from plays not known to have been acted. One is inclined to forgive him this rather unnecessary restriction, and even his recorded omissions of lines and verses and modernization of spelling, on reading his workmanlike essay, in which, avoiding the great temptation to expatiate, he acquaints us, in the small space of thirteen pages, and in

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a clear straightforward way, with the reasons why we have so many songs preserved, the proof that there are large losses to lament, and the probable causes of this misfortune. His surmise that performance by boys accounts 'for the absence of any deep emotion in so many of these lyrics' must be questioned, however, in view of the female parts played by boys in the dramas themselves; and unfortunately he cannot be said to observe the rule of strictest accuracy which a book of this kind demands. For example, we are told that Viramour sings in Act IV of *The Honest Man's Fortune*; but though he wishes to sing there, he is not really allowed to do so. It is also incorrect to say, as the editor does, that Viramour 'exists to sing,' for he has not only a part to play in the comic plot, but is an example of one of those unselfish and devoted youthful followers of either sex, which, with merry old men, are so characteristic of Beaumont and Fletcher. On the same page we are told that two and a half lines 'directly introducing the "Willow" song' in *Othello* are omitted besides the lyric itself in the 1622 edition, but in fact much more is omitted, and the lines referred to do not 'directly' introduce the song. A little further on a reference to Massinger's *Duke of Milan* concerns not the opening scene, as stated, but the third; and the following opinion: 'Surely the song of Vertumnus in Nash's *Summer's Last Will and Testament*—but two lines are given:

> Sol, sol, ut, re, me, fa, sol,
> Come to church while the bell doth toll—

was a popular ditty' begs the question of the lines being from a song at all. Up to this point Vertumnus has called each 'officer' to come before Summer in prose, but now, on summoning the sun and seeing the chance of a play on words, he falls to rhyme, and does the same in most cases, perhaps all, afterwards. It will not be supposed that

> Orion, Urion, Arion,
> My lord thou must look upon

is a popular song, or 'Bacchus, Baccha, Bacchum,' etc., for so Orion and Bacchus are summoned in turn. It should also be noted that line 2 should run, 'Come to church while the bell toll,' which, if taken literally, signifies, 'Come to church *till* the bell toll.' A couple of widely separated lines from *The Spanish Curate* are placed together as if consecutive, with *sound* in the second misprinted *song*, and in an earlier footnote on the songs from this play and others, I cannot reconcile the statement that the 1640 and 1653 volumes of Beaumont's *Poems* 'contained nearly two score songs from the plays' either with the total absence of these songs from my own copy of the 1640 volume or the descriptions by Mr Gayley (*Fr. Beaumont*, 1914) of both. A footnote touching Glapthorne's *Argalus and Parthenia*, II, ii, makes Parthenia speak two lines which are really spoken by the villain Demagoras, while she makes a silent entrance and exit. More serious, perhaps, than all these is the following inaccuracy. William Rowley, well-known as he is, has totally disappeared in favour of Samuel, who is consequently credited with songs from *The Spanish Gypsy* as well as from his own

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play *The Noble Soldier*. This is inexcusable, as Bullen, to whom reference is made, provides the correct ascription. The grave-digger's song in *Hamlet* is given without the least reference to the original by Lord Vaux in *Tottel's Miscellany*, though Bell took care to point out its existence.

A considerable number of printers' errors have escaped the proof readers, though fortunately they almost all occur in the notes. Sir Henry Lee has become Sir Richard in one place, and Andelocia in *Old Fortunatus* has changed his sex. Names suffer very badly, Leandro becoming *Landro*, Frederick *Eredick*, Langbaine *Langbairn*, Elaria *Elarira*, etc. This last character sings a song in Mrs Behn's *Emperor of the Moon*: like his predecessors, the editor does not give the finer 'Love in fantastic triumph sat' which opens *Abdelazar; or the Moor's Revenge*.

Pointing out the disadvantage from which we now suffer in not having the music as well as the words of the songs in order to appreciate the part they played in each drama, Professor Reed tells us whether it still exists and where it is to be found. I hope he will give us a revised edition of this volume, and also proceed to the further volume of fine songs from unacted plays to which he alludes in his preface as a possibility.

R. H. Case.

Liverpool.

Mario Praz. *Secentismo e Marinismo in Inghilterra. John Donne, Richard Crashaw*. Florence: 'La Voce.' 1925. xii + 297 pp. L. 30.

Signor Praz needs no introducing to the readers of this *Review*. His erudite articles on *Stanley, Sherburne, and Ayres as Translators and Imitators of Italian, Spanish and French poets* have shown him in the character of a *Quellenforscher*, and vouched for the accuracy of his acquaintance with the *minores* of the English and continental literatures in the seventeenth century. But the present work aims far higher and yet proves no less successful. It is a literary study which goes deep into the essentials of Donne's poetry and Crashaw's.

We lodge no complaint against this excellent book when we say that it is not really one but two books. It looks as if the decision to print both under the same cover were an afterthought, and some repetitions remain as tokens of a previous dual design: e.g. Donne's sonnet 'Show me deare Christ, thy spouse, so bright and clear,' translated in full on p. 70, appears again, almost *verbatim*, on p. 166. The one unfortunate consequence of so coupling the two poets in one brace is that the title turns out to be rather ambiguous. *Secentismo e Marinismo in Inghilterra* does not imply the same thing in relation to Donne as to Crashaw. More than one English reader must have opened the book with some patriotic apprehension. Was Donne's poetry after all imported from the Mediterranean south, instead of being, what Professor Grierson took it for, a growth of the soil? But Signor Praz

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very candidly dispels this impression. No debt to Marino can be proved against Donne; indeed chronology makes any important indebtedness an impossibility. But, far from entering new claims on behalf of his native country, the Italian critic rather minimizes the undoubted influence of Marino and other 'secentists' even on Crashaw. The title, therefore, must be taken only as a broad description, intended for the Italian reader, of the type of poetry to which Donne's and Crashaw's both belong: as if a French critic introduced the 'metaphysical school' to his compatriots as 'the English *précieux*,' and then proceeded to show how slight the likeness, how profound the difference.

In the first sentence of his preface, Signor Praz warns us that the book does not answer to the 'amplitude of the title'; yet he makes out an ingenious case to show that the two poets chosen by him may be contrasted as the representatives of the intellectual and the sensual strains in seventeenth-century poetry; but he is wise not to press the comparison, which indeed would yield little profit. Many other poets could plead as good or better right to inclusion than Crashaw, if this were a general study of the period or movement. Donne stands by himself, an acknowledged master. Crashaw is one among his disciples, and not the most eminent. The two studies, self-sufficing as each of them is, if made into one, would look like a fragment of some greater work; and then there would be a lack of proportion in the same space being devoted to both poets. A hand is a whole, and so is a finger; but two fingers are at best two-fifths of a hand, and if one of them is the thumb and the other the ring- (not to say the little) finger, you must not draw the latter as thick as the former. It is therefore preferable to consider these two studies as separate, though related, units.

I. Donne's life is told by Signor Praz in some 90 pages, which sum up, with few corrections, Sir Edmund Gosse's 650. The English reader will learn no new facts here, but the abridgment is skilfully done. Numerous translated quotations are woven into the narrative, not only from the poems but also from the prose works, and full use is made of Donne's sermons to explain his character. *A propos* of these the critic is led to observe that the literature of to-day is almost entirely autobiographical and that 'autobiographism often degenerates into exhibitionism.' He then proceeds: 'But what a fresh, pure and charming relish is there for us in those involuntary confessions which we find in reading the ancient writers, to whom autobiography was quite, or very nearly, unknown, or who conceived it from an apologetic or didactic point of view. They have the same sharp and virgin relish as some landscapes of which we catch a glimpse in the background of the "sacred conversations" painted in an age when landscape-painting did not exist.' This quotation well illustrates one of Signor Praz's strong points, his ability to explain literature by the help of the fine arts, for which he has all the taste, both instinctive and cultured, of his race. Let us quote on: 'Those confessions are sly allusions, involuntary excursions in unknown lands, from which the writer withdraws as soon as he becomes aware that he has stripped himself of his "royal and

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courtly vestments" and that he has entertained himself with things unworthy of a sober and serious man, as when, at the finest moment of a dream, you find yourself in your shirt, and the dream becomes embarrassing and vanishes.' This last comparison may be considered by some readers of a classical taste as a ludicrous come-down. But it is an open point whether one should write of Donne in the style of Addison, or whether Augustan (and mid-Victorian) ideas of propriety should be discarded altogether. The above-quoted anticlimax is very much in the manner of Jack Donne, not to say of the Dean of St Paul's, and therefore true decorum not only allows but recommends it to us. The whole passage (pp. 77–8) is a typical sample of Signor Praz's style: though it can be direct enough at times, its most personal aspect seems to be the imaginative and the motley, with occasional exclamative outbursts (e.g. pp. 21–2). But I am going beyond my depth in judging of style in Italian. Anyhow I intend no censure; in fact I believe Donne would have delighted in the metaphors of his biographer and critic.

Though the biographical part is instinct with literary appreciation, the English reader will find still more to meditate upon in the professedly critical part (pp. 93–141). Indeed Signor Praz does not upset the accepted judgments on Donne, e.g. Professor Grierson's masterly introduction to the edition of the poems. He rather takes them as a basis for a new advance. Professor Grierson and Miss Ramsay had called attention to the medieval element in Donne. Signor Praz starts from this fact and tries to explain it by a general theory of European literature and art, in which he distinguishes two main currents: to the former belong the Gothic, the baroque, and the romantic; to the latter, the Romanesque, the Renaissance and the classical. He then states this law: 'In the countries which were Gothic and were to be romantic later, the Renaissance could never take root and flourish as did the baroque.' England of course is one of those countries: 'That the spirit of English literature should have undergone a deep change from the time, approximately, of Ben Jonson, is an indisputable fact. On the contrary, it is highly disputable whether a more than superficial distinction can be drawn between the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance.' And the working of the law is instanced in Donne, who, 'a man of the Renaissance as regards temper, remains medieval as to culture and literary taste. And as he is medieval, he is also "secentesco"' (pp. 112–3). Such a broad view is of course 'perilous,' as the author grants, but this is not the place for discussing it. Every reader will bring it to the test of his own literary experience. As a Frenchman I do not see in the literature of the twelfth century any change which might be described as the passing from the 'romanico' to the Gothic; and if we confine ourselves to the fine arts, or even to architecture, I regret that Signor Praz should have used at all such a term as 'Gothic,' which no plea of prescription can ever make anything else than an absurd and dangerous misnomer. Yet the theory is undoubtedly stimulating, and as applied by Signor Praz to Donne, I feel inclined to accept it: 'If there was one spirit to whom the artistic ideal of the

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Renaissance was destined to remain foreign, Donne was this one..... Donne, a realist and psychologist, could not but flee away from an essentially aesthetic conception of life' (p. 115). One might perhaps ask whether the French seventeenth-century classicists, realists and psychologists as they were, also belonged to the Gothic-baroque-romantic tradition. But we are on firmer ground when Signor Praz tells us that Donne was obsessed by the thought of death, of dissolution, of worms and rotten flesh, a distinctly medieval attitude, unknown to the pagan Renaissance of the south.

His theory does not prevent Signor Praz from insisting upon the essential difference between Donne and the medieval Italian poets, Guido Guinizelli, Cavalcanti, and others. He even corrects a 'misconception,' to be found in Miss Ramsay's useful book, that the underlying spirit is the same in Donne and those medieval writers who 'produced their theories as such, as philosophical demonstrations and postulates.' On the contrary, 'in that multifarious science [of the schools], Donne chooses his arguments as in an arsenal, not linking them on to a system, to a central thought, but using them like a barrister's expedients, for the adornment of the special case: the matter in hand is not one of metaphysical demonstrations, but of metaphysical diversions....' If Donne is to be called 'a minor Dante,' as some have called him, 'it is necessary to add at once: a sceptical Dante.' Even Donne the preacher is very far from the faith of Dante: 'His religion is not the religion of a man of the Middle Ages, but that of a man of the seventeenth century: its basis is more psychological than metaphysical' (pp. 99–100).

Among other passages of interest, where one can agree with Signor Praz even without accepting his main thesis, it would be well worth quoting at length (did space allow) from that upon outdoor nature (or its absence) in Donne's poetry: 'it looks as if it had been written by one who spent his life by turns in the shade of a library, the shade of a boudoir, and the shade of a nave.' Yet Donne has given us descriptions of scenery in *The Storme* and *The Calme*, where his manner is that of the 'aquafortist' with its characteristic 'pungency.' But 'even here he does not yield to elementary emotion, but wraps it in the geometric woof of his ingenious exercises' (p. 118). Perhaps Signor Praz might have pointed out that the one poet of nature among Donne's disciples, Marvell, took the hint of geometric description, or rather distortion, and applied it to *Appleton House* and *Bilborow Hill*, and even to whole countries like Holland or Sweden.

The conclusion of this study on Donne is on the whole conservative. Signor Praz does not expect the poet ever 'to please more than a few, and even these few only at certain times,' and hints that among the limited number of admirers there may be a strong proportion of sham ones. But is it necessary in order to emphasize this esoteric character of Donne's poetry to divide the world between the *élite* who love Proust and Valéry, and the mob who read nothing more intellectual than the *Adventures of Sherlock Holmes* and the verse of Victor Hugo? Without

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being by any means a 'Hugolater' myself, I can hardly forgive Signor Praz this assimilation. However, that it does not proceed from any ignorance of, or prejudice against, French literature, is abundantly proved by the whole book. Indeed French writers seem, if anything, more familiar than English to the Italian critic. Many a Frenchman will envy him the extent of his reading, and once only do we suspect his memory of having played him false while quoting French poetry: 'Es-tu brune ou es-tu blonde?, (p. 12) reads 'Es-tu brune ou blonde?' in Charles Morice's 'final' edition of Verlaine. But Signor Praz is the more excusable because he may have been led astray by such a connoisseur of French poetry as Sir Edmund Gosse (*Life and Letters of John Donne*, I, p. 65). The metrical alteration does not indeed make the line much less like Verlaine, but the spirit of the (not very remarkable) French piece seems to us very far from that of Donne's *The Indifferent*, to which both critics liken it. Verlaine does not say that 'he can love both fair and browne,' but that he does not care whether his present mistress be the one or the other. The colour of her hair is not the thing he loves her for. The constancy of the 'nomadic Verlaine,' as the English critic calls him, is maintained all through the fifteen lines of the lyric, in moral contrast to Donne's imaginative roamings.

II. In treating of Crashaw Signor Praz had both a harder task and more scope for originality than when dealing with the older and greater poet. There is as yet no edition or study of Crashaw to match with Sir Edmund Gosse's and Professor Grierson's works. Indeed Signor Praz acknowledges help from Mr L. C. Martin, who is preparing the Oxford edition of Crashaw after having given us that of Vaughan; but he has also broken much new ground with his own plough.

The biography of Crashaw (pp. 145–217), though it boasts of no discovery, is the first to embody the results of recent research, and corrects on several points that in the *D.N.B.* Documents or interpretations scattered in periodicals are brought together for the first time, and the whole subject reconsidered by their light. Signor Praz's psychological interpretation of Crashaw's conversion, grounded on the letter to the uncles of Mary Collet, is that he had a soul 'naturaliter catholica.' Here the instance of Verlaine might have been adduced, with greater appropriateness than in the previous case, to prove the existence of such souls. But the devil's advocate might plead that the part of circumstances in helping the Catholic to find himself is decisive: without the fall of Laud on the one hand, the Mons prison on the other, one 'child of Mary' might have remained a pious heretic and the other a sceptical debauchee. Whose would have been the sadder plight after death, we of course leave to the consideration of the competent authority.

In spite of the existence of one Verlaine, the average Roman Catholic in France would not feel at home in such devotion as attracted Crashaw. It is distinctly Spanish or Italian. Therefore this study by an Italian critic is specially useful to make us understand, if not approve of, the queerest contortions and most extravagant outpourings

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of this seventeenth-century mysticism. Signor Praz is not blind to the nature of the instinct at work underneath, and he does not hesitate to use the word 'erotism' (p. 145) when analyzing Bernini's 'Ecstasy of Saint Teresa' which serves as a frontispiece (so to speak) to this latter half of the book, and to which the text stands in the relation of a 'musical accompaniment' to a 'theme' (p. x). Yet, while granting so much, he is keenly sensitive to the general genuineness of the feeling and its occasional sublimity. But since he ingeniously mentions *Polyeucte* in connexion with that Catholic Revival, it might have been an opportunity for him to distinguish between such unsteady sublimity as Crashaw and others sometimes soar to, and the sublime where Corneille maintains himself, eagle-like, without seeming effort, in this his masterpiece. However, provided we do not lose our sense of proportion, Pauline's husband may be ranked among those martyrs whose worship played such an important part in the Counter-Reformation. Signor Praz's opening remarks on that subject and the cognate one of the worship of saints, male and female, in the seventeenth century, with special reference to Mary Magdalen, are of the greatest interest. They serve as an introduction to the biography of Crashaw. But of course the subject comes up also in the critical part (pp. 219–83), again the newer and the more instructive of the two. This should be not only read but studied by any Englishman interested in the period. Here are given only a few samples of the points handled by Signor Praz:

The analogy of mental reserve in the moral field with *argutezza* in the aesthetic (p. 219). The conception of God entertained by the 'secentists' (Taine had drawn for us the God of the French classicists, c. 1680, curiously like to the *Roy-Soleil*) which was candidly set forth by one of them, Tesauro, in his poetics: a God 'who is an ingenious talker, who banters men and angels with various heroic emblems, and figurative symbols and his very high conceits' (pp. 219–20). And another Italian critic of the seventeenth century, though as strict as Boileau in barring conceits from profane literature, nevertheless admits them into the lives of the saints since these 'deserve any artificious aggrandizement whatsoever' and 'are superior to any human adulation' (p. 241). The debts of Crashaw to the contemporary Latin poets, especially the Jesuits, who seem to have lent him more conceits than Marino himself. The parallel between the latter and his English translator, a contrasted study which seems to go to the root of the matter: Crashaw had a greater insight into the nature of baroque; he saw in it more than verbal subtleties, and understood the 'impetus of fantastic elevation which produced such masterpieces in the plastic arts.' For Marino, though a Neapolitan born and bred, was a slave to the Tuscan tradition, because he used the pen, not the brush or the chisel. He had to follow, whether he liked it or not, in the wake of the Petrarchan fashion of 'quintessential compliments.' He was only half a 'secentist.' On the contrary the painters, and still more the architects of Southern Italy, under less restraint from the previous ages, gave the baroque its most exalted expression in the Latin countries.

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It was left for Crashaw to achieve in poetry what they did in the arts (pp. 270–1).

Signor Praz concludes with another of his enlightening comparisons from the painter's art. He distinguishes three manners in Crashaw's verse: one reminds him of Rubens's apotheoses (it is instanced in the hymn *To the Name above every Name, the Name of Jesus*); another of Murillo's 'languors' (we find it in the hymn *In the Holy Nativity*); and the third of Greco's ecstasies. This last is the rarest of the three in both meanings of the word. It flashes in the conclusion of the *Flaming Heart* more brightly, and, if only for sixteen lines, more continuously than anywhere else. Signor Praz compares this outburst to certain paintings of the naturalized Spaniard, 'where, through lacerated veils of ghostly clouds, convulsed phantoms of saints lift up tearful faces lit up by a light that was never seen in this world.' Perhaps, in his desire to fit the poetry to the painting, the critic has overstressed the pain mingled with joy in the former. I see but one word, the epithet 'fierce' affixed to 'desire,' that shows Crashaw to have been aware of the price the saint paid for her raptures. But this exceptional drop of gall gets lost in his usual honey. Or, to use another metaphor, the poetry is radiant while the paintings mentioned are lurid. From the almost morbid delight in the ghastly, Crashaw is singularly free—much freer than Donne and most of the 'metaphysicals.'

Before taking leave of this book which makes one wish for many more such, due praise should be given to the publisher for his share in the venture. The English reader may indeed object to the disruptability of the back and cover; but the paper is good, the type also; the illustrations are very good, and the Italian printer seems to have made very few mistakes in the foreign words (see however p. 61: 'Lincoln' Inn'; also p. 114, n. 1: 'réligieux'; the quotation from Catullus, p. 15, hardly intelligible as it stands, should read: 'Qui potis est? inquis. Quod...'). Such correctness is so rare to-day as to deserve a special mention.

PIERRE LEGOUIS.

BESANÇON.

The Poems of Richard Lovelace. Edited by C. H. WILKINSON. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1925. 2 vols. lxxxix + 143 pp. and viii + 227 pp.; 16 illustrations. £5. 5*s.*

By a singular instance of good fortune the most picturesque among all Caroline poets escaped resurrection with the promiscuous crowd in Prof. Saintsbury's *Corpus*, and now appears before us in new and splendid array, like the 'Romantick Phoenix' of more than one of his poems. One would feel almost tempted to bestow on the present edition a pun which is found in one of the contemporary elegies to the memory of the poet, and to call this reprint a 'lovely Lovelace,' were it not that it is desirable to acknowledge with a more serious praise the earnest care Mr C. H. Wilkinson and the Clarendon Press have devoted to the preparation of these two volumes. Whatever source of information was available

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concerning Lovelace's biography, Mr Wilkinson has laid before us, and, assisted by Mr Percy Simpson and Mr G. Thorn-Drury, he has accompanied the reprint of the poems with an invaluable apparatus of both textual and illustrative notes. Chiefly owing to the latter, the edition is likely to interest students of the seventeenth century at large rather than students of Lovelace only. The study of a minor poet can hardly be an aim in itself. Lovelace's contribution to poetry is slender and, as the present editor reminds us, accessible in most of the anthologies of English verse. But our picture of the moods, predilections, customs of the seventeenth century would hardly be complete without an acquaintance with the entire work of Lovelace: he is one of the most striking of the minor figures, though shining mostly with a reflected light.

The main source of this light is, obviously, Donne. A Donneish flavour can easily be detected throughout the whole of Lovelace's work, nowhere better than in such poems as *The Apostacy of one, and but one Lady* and *The Ant*. Arguments, conceits, intonations, all recall almost irresistibly the greater poet: who, for instance, can read the beginning of the fourth stanza of *The Ant*, 'Austere and Cynick!' without being reminded of 'Rebel and Atheist too' of Donne's *Loves Deity*? Everything in Lovelace recalls the greater poet's style without, unfortunately, the earnest passion and intellectual flame which redeem much that is far-fetched and even preposterous in that style. Behind Donne's conceits we always see a profound and restless mind in the act of inventing new ways of expression for his new modes of thought; behind Lovelace's conceits we too often find—emptiness. When the lava has been discharged by the volcano, the Neapolitan craftsman collects it hard and cold, and carves it into pipe-bowls and objects of vertu. Lovelace, with most of the minor metaphysical poets, like the Neapolitan craftsman is merely picking up cold lava on the slopes of a volcano. And he often contrives to shape pretty things with it, studded and glittering with quaint bits of information, with *Aurum fulminans*, fair Paulinas, crowned Venices, not to speak of the Romantick Phoenixes and the jellies left by the fallen stars: a curio-hunter who is occasionally also a poet.

A poet he doubtless is in the best known among his lyrics, as in the popular song *To Althea, From Prison*, in which he makes a spirited poem out of a commonplace. Voiture, an author with whom Lovelace was acquainted, as appears from his lines prefixed to John Davies' translation of Voiture's *Letters*, has a *rondeau* written in a similar strain. Since I have not yet seen that *rondeau* mentioned in connexion with Lovelace's famous lines, I transcribe it here (from Ubicini's edition of Voiture, II, p. 329):

[1] Mr Wilkinson discusses at length the possibilities of finding the identity of Lucasta. The line 'Lucasta that bright Northerne star' is not necessarily a proof (I, pp. xliii–xliv) that Lucasta came from the North of England, since that line is put in the mouth of Amyntor who, while speaking, is in Holland, i.e., in a southern country compared with England. On Lucasta see also an article by A. C. Judson in *Modern Philology*, vol. XXIII, no. 1 (August 1925).

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Dans la prison qui vous va renfermant
Votre grande âme agit incessamment,
Et ce divin esprit que rien n'enserre
Vole partout, sans erreur toujours erre,
S'étend, s'élève et va plus aisément.

Vous parcourez l'un et l'autre élément,
Vous pénétrez jusques au firmament,
Et visitez le ciel, l'onde et la terre
Dans la prison.

Vous ne gênez votre cœur vainement;
Vous connoissez et voyez sainement
Tout ce qui brille et qui n'est que de verre;
Vous possédez la paix durant la guerre:
C'est être heureux et libre entièrement
Dans la prison.

Indeed, most of the subjects of his poems Lovelace shares with contemporary poets, not only English, but also foreign. If Mr Wilkinson had extended his research of parallel passages to the followers of G. B. Marino, both in Italy and in France, he would have considerably increased the bulk of his notes. Lovelace evidently was well read in contemporary literature, as were most of the poets of his age (see my article on Stanley, Sherburne and Ayres in *Modern Language Review*, Vol. xx, pp. 280, 419); from Théophile, Saint-Amant, Tristan, Voiture, the Jesuit Casimire, Marino and his Italian imitators they drew constant inspiration. Without such poems as A. G. Brignole Sale's on whipped courtesans (see *Lirici Marinisti*, ed. Croce, Bari, 1910, pp. 300 ff.) giving the lead, Lovelace's song on *A Guiltlesse Lady imprisoned, after penanced* would probably never have been written; while *The Faire Begger* is ultimately to be traced to Achillini's *Bellissima Mendica* (see my article, p. 420). This poem of Achillini has been often imitated, for instance in the following sonnet by Alessandro Adimari (*Tersicore*, Firenze, 1637):

Bella Stracciata.

Altri vagheggi pur gli ostri di Tiro,
E di seriche pompe il corpo ammanti,
Ch' io, mendica mia bella, i tuoi sembianti
Più ricchi in questi stracci amo, & ammiro.

O Sol, che fra le nubi, e fra 'l zaffiro
D' uno squarciato Cielo apri i tuoi vanti,
Posson per tutto i desiosi Amanti
Ferirti con lo sguardo, e col sospiro.

Tu, qual vago Giardin, mostri di fuori
Per i cancelli tuoi, ch' aperti stanno,
E del fianco, e del sen le rose, e i fiori.

Così gli Atleti al campo Eleo sen vanno
(Abito, che s' adatta anco a gli Amori)
Ricchi di palme, e poveri di panno.

I have quoted this sonnet only in order to show how the *motifs* of many of Lovelace's poems lose the unusual flavour they may have for a modern reader when considered in connexion with the rest of contemporary literature. What seems quaint to-day was fashionable then; only

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the great poets never appear quaint to us, because they are much above the fashions of their own day. If any author ever did stick to fashion, this was doubtless Richard Lovelace, the accomplished gentleman dear 'tam Marti quam Mercurio.' He was a little of a cosmopolitan; in his lines to Lily he poses as (and evidently was) a connoisseur of paintings, quotes Vasari and Vermander, and declares his intention of showing to the indifferent Englishmen 'what due renown to thy fair Art they owe': he was, in a word, an ideal representative of the last of English generations to be brought up under the influence of the Italian Renaissance: the Cavaliers—a generation closely modelled on Baldassar Castiglione's Complete Gentleman, as Mr Wilkinson well points out. Poetry was but one of the many accomplishments of the Gentleman: it served only to confer additional honour on the Courtier, in the case of Lovelace, on the priest, in the case of Crashaw: 'subservient recreation for vacant hours, not the great business of the soul,' as Crashaw's editor puts it. Such poets are often at their best when achieving some unheard-of feat: Crashaw's *Bulla, Musicks Duell* are more than clever; here cleverness merges into real poetry. Lovelace's *Toad and Spyder* is little more than a mere article of vertu, or a counterpart of those odd nightmarish inventions of the Dutch painters, which were so much in vogue at the time; but, in a narrow range, it is somewhat of a masterpiece for clever perversity of humour. It is to be regretted that the writers of the seventeenth century were only seldom aware of the possibilities of fun latent in their artificial style and command of words, and too often succeeded in producing things only unintentionally humorous, and therefore ridiculous. Those who awoke to the possibilities of humour created masterpieces, as G. B. Basile with his *Pentamerone*.

MARIO PRAZ.

LIVERPOOL.

The Life and Times of Laurence Sterne. By WILBUR L. CROSS. New edition. 2 vols. New Haven: Yale University Press; London: H. Milford. 1925. xviii + 287 and 332 pp. 31*s.* 6*d.*

Professor Cross's *Life and Times of Sterne* was first published in 1909. In this new and enlarged edition he has incorporated some new material and has revised the whole work. The disputed authorship of *The Unknown World* has been settled by his discovery of the poem printed as by 'the Rev. Mr St——n' in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, July, 1743. The letter-book is published by permission of Mr J. Pierpoint Morgan. There are also some minor additions which throw new light on Sterne. The relationship of Elizabeth Lumley to the Blue Stocking, Elizabeth Montagu, has already been mentioned in Mrs Climenson's *Elizabeth Montagu* (1906) and Blunt's *Mrs Montagu* (1923) to which Professor Cross refers. The meeting of Sterne with Boswell is described in an article entitled 'Yorick and Bozzy' in *Blackwood's Magazine* (1925). The account of the duel between Sterne's father and Captain Philips is cited from *The Dublin University Magazine* (1862).

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Another interesting addition is the musical dialogue which Sterne wrote for Miss Fourmantelle, in imitation of a song in *The Beggar's Opera*.

The publication of the letter-book, from the manuscript in his own handwriting, is undoubtedly the most valuable and important contribution to our knowledge of Sterne that has been made since Professor Cross in 1904 printed the complete version of *The Journal to Eliza* in his edition of the *Works*. A few of the letters appear, in mutilated form, in the collection by Sterne's daughter, Mrs Medalle, but most of them are printed now for the first time. They reveal Sterne in many moods. He is extravagantly nonsensical and 'shandy-headed' in the letter to Mrs F——, written after a visit to Bath in 1765. He 'sentimentalises' tearfully to the Bramine, Mrs Elizabeth Draper, on her way out to India. He describes Mrs Vesey as a 'system of harmonic Vibrations.' Besides these flashes of self-revelation, there are illuminating comments on his own art:

> As for Slop's fall—'tis most circumstantially related, and the affair most trifling—and perhaps you may be right in saying 'tis overloaded—but not, dear Sr because of the slightness of the incident—that very thing should constitute the humour, which consists in treating the most insignificant Things with such *Ornamenta ambitiosa*, as would make one sick in another place (Jan. 1, 1760).

The only kind of letters Sterne could tolerate were those written in the 'careless irregularity of a good and easy heart':

> Lord defend me from all literary commerce with those, who indite epistles as Attornys do Bonds, by filling up blanks, and who in lieu of sending me what I sat expecting—a Letter—surprize me with an Essay cut and clip'd at all corners to me, inconsiderate Soul that I am, who never yet knew what it was to speak or write one premeditated word, such an intercourse would be an abomination (June 19, 1760).

In another letter Sterne confesses that he cons Montaigne as much as his prayer-book (Sept. 9, 1760).

In his Bibliography Professor Cross aims at a complete record both of the published writings and of the manuscripts of Sterne. Among manuscripts which have not yet come to light he mentions the *Concio ad Clerum* written in Latin for Dean Fountayne and the Comic Romance on which Sterne embarked with buoyant courage a fortnight before his death.

As the frontispiece to his new edition, Professor Cross chooses the mezzotint engraving by Edward Fisher, after the first portrait by Reynolds, instead of the faded Gainsborough portrait which appeared in the 1909 edition. The pastels of Sterne and his wife, the full-face reproduction from the marble replica of Nolleken's bust and Carmontelle's water-colour are also included.

The intention of this book is biographical rather than critical. So far as possible the author effaces himself and allows Sterne to be his own interpreter. He uses what he calls 'the direct method of scrupulous narration,' not 'the subtle strategy of sudden and unexpected attack upon the flank or the rear.' He does not impose on us his personal vision of Sterne. He arrays the evidence patiently and leaves us to

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make our own conclusions. His chapter on the character of Sterne adds little to the portrait he has gradually drawn in the course of the two volumes. His impression of Sterne is pale but it has the virtue that it is neither distorted nor out of proportion. The personality of Sterne, so unabashed in his candour, so impulsive in his self-revelation, is, indeed, difficult to capture. His temperament was mobile and fluent, not hardened into rigid outlines. When we put him under the microscope, he eludes us like some volatile essence or changes under our very eyes, before we have time to define his quality. The jest that was wont to set the table in a roar seems incompatible with his delicately nurtured sensibilities. We find it hard to reconcile his flagrant indecency with his tenderness and lightness of touch. He glides so imperceptibly from one mood to another that the impression gained from a scholarly biography such as this, in which all that is known of Sterne is clearly and accurately set forth, is likely to be closer to the ultimate truth than that gained from a more highly-coloured, less conscientious study. Our sense of the reality of Sterne is heightened rather than diminished because Professor Cross does not attempt to reduce him to a formula.

EDITH BIRKHEAD.

BRISTOL.

Boileau and the French Classical Criticism in England (1660–1830). By A. F. B. CLARK. (*Bibliothèque de la Revue de littérature comparée*, XIX.) Paris: É. Champion. 1925. xviii + 534 pp. 60 fr.

Dr Clark has given us a carefully weighed and clearly written thesis of great length on Boileau in England. I am not enough of an expert on the English critical literature of the eighteenth century to discover omissions in Dr Clark's first two books, in which he discusses 'The History of Boileau's Reputation in England,' and 'Translations and Imitations of Boileau's Works,' but from the methodical thoroughness of his work I have the impression that little can have escaped him, and nothing of importance. The account he gives us of the fortunes of Boileau in England, including of course, Dryden's considerable debt, down to what he calls the 'great schism' of 1746, when the revolt against French 'correctness' first came into the open, and from that year to the complete *débâcle* of 'correctness' in the Romantic age, is not merely convincing, but, thanks to Dr Clark's excellent style, most attractive reading. What is missing—and I mention it, for Dr Clark is not one of those investigators who regard the chronicling of parallels and influences as the be-all and end-all of such studies—is a satisfactory answer to the question he asks in his 'Conclusion': 'Why was Boileau singled out for such honour among a band of French writers which included Molière, Racine, and La Fontaine, all of whom we consider many heads and shoulders above Boileau?' His solution is surely a very lame one: 'that Boileau was imitated, because, not being a genius of the first order, he was imitable.' Here Dr Clark has not, I think,

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given sufficient attention to what should have been the foundation of his investigation, a revaluation of what Boileau really stood for in European criticism. He has accepted too readily the conventional estimates of the text-books. He has not seen that Boileau was really a fighter against his time, essentially a realist in an age that would have none of realism, a champion of truth and nature against the *baroque*, of which Corneille was the head and corner stone. Here surely lay, in spite of Boileau's apparent denial of the imagination—but does Boileau's *raison* so completely deny the imagination as is usually assumed?—a very good ground for his appeal to our realistic Anglo-Saxon mind. That Dr Clark so readily uses the now somewhat meaningless word 'neo-classic' seems to show that he is not familiar with the revolutionary interpretations of the classic and the *baroque* which have appeared in Germany in recent years.

Dr Clark's fourth book deals with 'Boileau's Influence on English literature.' That comfortable sense of finality which his first two books convey could hardly be expected here. His conclusions are, no doubt, in the main acceptable—and certainly where they concern quite concrete examples of imitation—but I am not sure that his ascription of larger ideas in English criticism to Boileau is in every case correct: there is always the disturbing possibility that the English writers may have dipped into older sources that were also Boileau's. A third book deals, perhaps a little irrelevantly, and one must add not a little inadequately, with the influence of other French classical critics in England. The chief of these, such as Le Bossu and Rapin, are too important factors in our critical thought to be discussed merely as an appanage to Boileau. Much more might have been said than Dr Clark has room for. Finally, I may be pardoned for finding the section entitled 'The Anti-Italian Tendency in the Eighteenth Century' particularly disappointing, even in its bearing on Boileau's own anti-Italian criticism. My only satisfaction is that I read out of it a certain justification for my own investigations—which do not appear to have come Dr Clark's way—into Italy's share in the moulding of modern critical theory. On the whole, however, Dr Clark is to be congratulated on having produced an enlightening contribution to the history of eighteenth-century literary theory.

J. G. Robertson.

London.

Léon Zeliqson, *Dictionnaire des patois romans de la Moselle* (A—E, 1922; F—M, 1923; N—Z, 1924). Strasbourg: Librairie Istra; London: H. Milford. 1922–24. xvii + 718 pp. 15*s*.

Glossaire du patois jersiais (Société Jersiaise). Jersey: The Beresford Library. 1924. xvi + 182 pp.

L'étude des patois de la France s'est considérablement développée dans ces dernières années, et les dictionnaires consacrés à cette branche de la 'philologie' sont d'autant mieux accueillis que ces pauvres patois

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disparaissent de plus en plus vite devant l'envahissement de la langue moderne : les fulminations que lancent contre eux certains ministres de l'Instruction Publique n'apparaissent-elles pas déjà comme la palme du martyre ?

Le dictionnaire de Monsieur Léon Zeliqson est consacré aux patois parlés dans la vallée de la Fensch, le Pays-Haut, au messin, aux patois de l'Isle, de la Nied, du Saunois et au vosgien ; et c'est au messin qu'est, à juste titre, réservée la part du lion, car c'est celui qui a pris une extension de plus en plus considérable dans la Moselle, comme on s'en rendra compte en jetant un coup d'œil sur la bibliographie donnée p. xii et xiii.

Pour composer son dictionnaire, M. L. Zeliqson a d'abord dépouillé les documents publiés depuis le XVIII^e^ siècle, dont l'énumération se trouve dans la bibliographie qu'on vient de mentionner ; puis une série considérable de textes ayant paru dans les journaux, les feuilles volantes, partout, en somme, où, comme il le dit lui-même, il a pu 'glaner tantôt un mot, tantôt une locution, tantôt un proverbe' ; enfin et surtout il a eu l'excellente idée d'adresser un questionnaire à toutes les personnes patoisantes de Lorraine et ce sont les réponses à ces questionnaires qui lui ont fourni les matériaux les plus importants, la matière vivante de cette œuvre, matière qui devait être maniée avec beaucoup de précautions et qui requérait une expérience consommée de 'dialectologiste.'

Cet ouvrage, résultat d'un travail de trente années, constitue une véritable encyclopédie lorraine de la Lorraine. Non seulement les termes mêmes, les locutions et les proverbes qui y fourmillent donnent un aperçu de la psychologie régionale ; mais, à feuilleter le dictionnaire, on vit avec les Lorrains ; on est initié à leurs coutumes par les renseignements qui abondent sur les coutumes du pays (voir, par exemple, les articles *boquet, chati, invite, ju*—où se trouve l'énumération des jeux anciennement en usage à Metz et dans le pays messin—*ma, mériège*—où l'on remarque la curieuse façon de faire la 'demande' en vers—*nawel*—avec le texte et la notation musicale d'une des plus naïves 'carols' que l'on connaisse, 'carol' recueillie il y a plusieurs années à Vezon et chantée par une femme de 90 ans. On apprend à connaître les divers instruments aratoires, les parties les plus variées de l'ameublement, la façon dont on construit les maisons, les costumes des différents corps de métier, les noms des villes et villages tels qu'on les *sait* et qu'on les prononce sur les lieux mêmes, les ouvrages du crû—comme le *Chan Heurlin*, ce poème en sept chants qui est toute la Lorraine de la fin du XVIII^e^ et du commencement du XIX^e^ siècle et qui est toujours aussi populaire au pays messin qu'il y a cent ans et plus. On peut même faire soi-même quelques-uns des plats renommés de ce pays de gourmets, grâce aux recettes de cuisine que M. L. Zeliqson a eu la bonne idée d'ajouter çà et là (malheureusement quelques-unes, celle de la fameuse kiche, par exemple, sont insuffisamment explicites). Enfin certaines illustrations ajoutent un nouvel intérêt au texte et nous permettent de pénétrer encore plus intimement dans les mœurs lorraines. Les dessins de Migette, entre autres, sont admirables à ce point de vue et plus d'un

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lecteur s'attardera sans doute à ses culs-de-lampe si fins et si naturels où nous sont représentés des laitières, des marchandes de légumes, des employées, des bourgeoises, des femmes en prière, des jardiniers, des tonneliers, des terrassiers, tous bien messins, bien lorrains et bien français.

Théophile Gautier trouvait un plaisir tout particulier à l'étude des dictionnaires ; il aurait dévoré avec passion celui de M. L. Zeliqson, qui est en son genre un véritable chef-d'œuvre.

Le Glossaire du patois jersiais est beaucoup plus modeste. Il est publié sans nom d'auteur par la Société Jersiaise qui s'est fait si avantageusement connaître par le zèle avec lequel elle lutte pour le patois de son île. Les auteurs qui avaient constitué un comité composé de Messieurs Thomas Payn, Philippe Aubin, George Touzel Messervy, John Arthur Balleine, Charles William Binet, John Francis Giffard, Edward Le Feuvre, se sont bornés, comme ils le disent eux-mêmes dans la Préface, 'à recueillir les mots les plus usités et ont décidé de n'inclure dans le glossaire que les formes indigènes.'

Le patois jersiais a encore un domaine considérable et les auteurs estiment qu'il continuera longtemps encore à résister aux incursions de la langue anglaise.

Les collaborateurs de cet ouvrage ont accompli leur tâche avec beaucoup d'intelligence et elle n'était pas des plus commodes, tant par suite du mélange des formes provenant des dialectes des Iles anglo-normandes et de Normandie, notamment du patois de la Hague, que par les variations du patois jersiais même qui présente des formes très différentes dans la partie occidentale et la partie orientale de l'Ile.

Les notes sur la prononciation, rédigées d'après un travail de Messire Robert Pipon Marett, sont très complètes ; elles auraient gagné en netteté si l'on avait fait usage de l'alphabet de l'Association internationale de phonétique, d'autant plus précieux que la prononciation à représenter est plus difficile et plus compliquée.

Tel quel, ce dictionnaire est appelé à rendre de grands services. Il pourra notamment être utilisé quand on dressera un glossaire complet des patois des Iles anglo-normandes.

LOUIS BRANDIN.

LONDON.

English Opinions of French Poetry, 1660–1750. By ROSE HEYLBUT WOLLSTEIN. New York: Columbia University Press; London, H. Milford. 1923. xi + 103 pp. 9*s.*

One of the most curious phenomena to be observed in the development of English literature is the deviation occurring during the 'classical' period. How came it that a literature should, in some measure, renounce its tradition and, for a while, consent to impose upon itself those 'foreign laws' that earlier writers had 'despis'd'? How far is this deviation to be attributed to French influence, and how far to inspiration drawn directly from the models of classical antiquity?

Miss Wollstein's book does not solve this problem, nor, indeed, does

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it attempt so ambitious a quest. It puts before us one aspect of the question: the attitude of English critics towards French poetry from the appearance of Dryden's critical essays to the ebb of the second wave of French influence, coincident with the heyday of Pope's activity. It does not, of course, measure the influence of French literature on English, but is concerned merely with critical utterances bearing on French poetry or French poetical theory.

On turning over the pages of this book, the reader is at once struck by the profusion of quotations. They loom large on almost every page, and far outweigh by their mass the explicative text. This abundance is, it appears, intentional, for the writer regards this method as the only one by which a true and clear picture can be given. Carried to its logical conclusion, this way of thinking would result in works of the scissors-and-paste order, in which the rôle of the author is conveniently restricted to arranging his *fiches* under suitable headings. No book, even if it be a thesis, should be a mere collection of quotations; such a collection is, indeed, not a book, but the raw material from which a book remains to be made. Fortunately, Miss Wollstein has not carried her theory of 'objectivity' to its ultimate consequences, and one is relieved to discover here and there a few pages devoted to summing up and drawing conclusions from the material collected.

The first chapter reproduces the well known passages from Dryden's *Essays* and *Prefaces*, together with quotations from other sources, anent the famous 'unities' and the use of rhyme in tragedy, with an enumeration of the factors tending to bring French literature into vogue at the Restoration. If we weigh the favourable and the unfavourable criticisms of French poetry during this period, we see that, while the Court party is on the whole inclined to accept French standards, yet, whenever a comparison is made with English poetry, patriotic feeling tempers admiration.

With the establishment of the freedom of the press in 1695, numerous journals appear which represent a larger public than had hitherto been vocal in matters of criticism. In these journals, during the first two decades of the eighteenth century, analysis and discussion of the laws regulating French poetry give place to mere expression of personal likes or dislikes. The national spirit revives, yet the fashionable attitude towards French models remains unchanged. The extracts from these journals are more interesting than those given in the first chapter, because less hackneyed. But, since, as the author herself admits, these criticisms—mere sporadic expressions of personal reactions—have little order or weight, is it not going rather too far to assume that they show the 'general attitude of the times'? What, however, is curious in the 'general attitude of the times' is that, just as in Victorian days, the English nation railed against French frivolity and at the same time borrowed its plays from France.

Among the English 'classicists,' as Miss Wollstein shows, the attitude towards French poetry was determined, not by admiration for the poetry itself, but by the adoption in France of the Aristotelian theory. Thus,

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far from whole-heartedly accepting French standards, the English critics censured what was fundamentally French, that is, the verse forms, the rhyme and the language, and regarded with favour only those elements which France had borrowed from Greece or Rome. This had not been the case, however, with Dryden, on whom, as M. Charlanne points out in his monumental work on *L'Influence française en Angleterre au XVII^e siècle*, French literature and criticism had exerted an influence distinct from that of Aristotle.

In concluding that such appreciative criticism of French poetry as appeared in England is to be regarded as 'less representative of true British feeling than as the resultant of exceptional national and individual condition,' Miss Wollstein invokes, as an important factor, the difference in the national genius of France and of Great Britain. Yet, if this be so, it is necessary to postulate kinship between the genius of Great Britain and the genius of the Greeks and Latins. It is hardly a sufficient explanation of the unfavourable attitude of English critics towards French poetry to say that French and English minds are widely different, while showing at the same time that the English mind willingly absorbed elements due to Greek and Latin minds, which were surely as different from the English mind as the French mind can be. Little light is thrown on literary problems by invoking vague notions like that of 'national genius.'

Despite certain reservations as to the conclusions, this book, which shows wide reading, will be useful to students of the period who seek a compendium of well-chosen documentary extracts on the subject under review.

F. C. Roe.

St Andrews.

An Italian Dictionary. By Alfred Hoare. Second edition. Cambridge: University Press. 1925. 4to. xxxii + 906 pp. 42*s.*

It is a pleasant duty to congratulate Mr Hoare and the Cambridge University Press upon the appearance of this second edition of his monumental dictionary. The rapid exhaustion of the first edition amply testified to the real need which it supplied; it now appears with the Italian-English part revised, the English-Italian largely re-written and considerably enlarged, and will assuredly long hold its place as the standard dictionary for English students of Italian. With a touch of sly humour, under *diavolo*, Mr Hoare quotes a phrase illustrating 'a mode of praising oneself': 'Ecco questo vocabolario mi pare che non debba riuscire il diavolo affatto.' I trust he will not regard me as the 'advocatus diaboli,' if I criticise a few points where, as I turn the pages, his work still seems to me to need a little revision.

In the preliminary list of Italian dictionaries space should have been found for two important works published since the first edition: Panzini's *Dizionario moderno* and Zingarelli's invaluable *Vocabolario*

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della lingua italiana; the latter is certainly the most generally useful Italian dictionary that has yet been compiled. Mr Hoare's method of dealing with etymologies is not always quite satisfactory. In many cases he finds space for discussing the different theories or stating alternatives, but at times he gives only one as though it were an established certainty. *Niente*, for instance, is given as from NE ENTEM, a derivation by no means universally accepted; mention should at least have been made of Ascoli's view that it is NE INDE. Also the antiquated or Tuscan *ne* for 'us' cannot possibly come from NOS, but from INDE. It is hardly correct to call *pregio* a variant of *prezzo*; the continuation of post-tonic -TJ- as *-gi-*, instead of *-zz-*, shows that it does not come from PRETIUM, but is a fresh formation from the verb *pregiare*. *Chiodo* could hardly come from CLAVUS without some contamination with CLAUDERE, nor *gioia* from GAUDIA save through the medium of French or Provençal. In dealing with the verbs, Mr Hoare usually supplies full indications as to conjugation, duly noting irregularities and appending a list of 'obsolete or poetical forms'; why, for one of the most important of all, *avere*, does he restrict himself to the infinitive, bidding the reader 'for conjugation see the grammars'?

I am unable to perceive the principle adopted in the selection of proper names. Why should *Cecco* figure, while *Beppo* is rejected? It is pleasant to meet King Arthur anywhere, but why (if mention by Dante is the test) should *Artu* be admitted and *Ganellone* excluded? A reader could hardly fail to recognise *Artu* in Dante, but might well be a little puzzled by *Galvano* (Gawain) or *Galasso* (Galahad) in Ariosto. *Allobrogo* should surely have been given for the sake of Alfieri. Under *meneghino* might well have been included the use of the word with reference to the Milanese dialect. *Menante* is explained as a 'copyist,' but its old use to mean a reporter or correspondent (as in Boccalini) should have been added. Under *arte* we read the somewhat astounding statement that the Guilds of Florence 'were instituted by Giano della Bella.' Among terms useful to students of Italian history, *pregadi* and *capitudini* might have been included, and something more than 'personage of importance' given for *ottimate*. It is hardly correct to say that *Maccheronea* is 'the title of a burlesque poem by Folengo of Mantua.' *Frate* does not properly mean 'monk,' but 'friar' (the two words are in no way synonymous). A more serious inaccuracy is the giving of 'workman' as the only equivalent of *industriale*; the word now usually means a manufacturer or employer of labour. History moves too fast for the compilers of dictionaries; no doubt, in the next edition, we shall find something more significant than 'league of ex-service men' and 'member of the ex-service league' for *fascismo* and *fascista* respectively.

EDMUND G. GARDNER.

LONDON.

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Petrarcas 'Buch ohne Namen' und die päpstliche Kurie. Ein Beitrag zur Geistesgeschichte der Frührenaissance. Von PAUL PIUR. (*Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte.* Buchreihe, vi.) Halle: Max Niemeyer. 1925. xvi + 416 pp. 18 M.

Dr Piur's book is all that books of this kind should be and are but too seldom. It is thorough and exhaustive and it lacks neither imagination nor daring. There is no problem, however remotely connected with his subject, that Dr Piur has not probed and mostly elucidated; and if occasionally he seems to have even gone out of his way in order to clear up some minor point, the present reviewer feels so grateful for a work undoubtedly representing a considerable advance in our knowledge of Petrarch, that he is unwilling to remark upon a very few repetitions, a few footnotes which could with advantage have been placed in the text, and a certain heaviness that is, perhaps, inseparable from thoroughness. Only an uncompromising pedant would spend words on such trifles, when he is confronted with a mass of material information carefully arranged, sifted and exposed with exemplary fairness to scholars who have previously worked in this field.

The text of Petrarch's epistles is printed in the second part of the book (pp. 161–238) with an adequate apparatus criticus and careful references to classical, biblical and patristic sources; it is mainly based on Laur. Plut. 26 sin. 9; Marc. Lat. xiv, 234; Marc. Lat. vi, 85; Vienna Staatsbib. Lat. 3346; Geneva, Bibl. publ. 105a; Cues Bibl. des Hospitals 200; all of which contain the whole series of nineteen epistles of the book *Sine Nomine* and seem traceable to a collection made by Petrarch himself. If Petrarch revised the text of these epistles when compiling this collection in book form, it is cogently argued by Dr Piur that his alterations, if any, were of scant importance, apart from the suppression of addresses and dates; for such few scattered epistles as are preserved in MSS. and seem to go back to the originals, show few variants as compared with the vulgate. Despite this, it would appear that Petrarch twice undertook the labour of grouping his anti-papal epistles, such MSS. as those of Geneva and Cues preserving the epistles in a slightly different order, which Dr Piur suggests to have probably been the result of Petrarch's first attempt at a collection. No MS., however, may with certainty be held to be autograph or the copy of an autograph, so that Dr Piur has felt justified in not endeavouring to reproduce the spelling of the principal MSS. and in editing the text so as to reproduce Petrarch's well-known orthographic habits. In the circumstances no more could be attained. The editor has taken advantage of the opportunity afforded by the section containing critical notes on the MSS., to discuss among other points the importance of the MS. J.I. 28 Conventi soppressi, S. Marco in the Bib. Naz. of Florence, part of which is in Coluccio Salutati's hand as 'der unvergessliche Herausgeber der Briefe Salutatis, Novati' was the first to point out. And we feel equally at one with Dr Piur in his description of Novati, as we are grateful to him

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for the full list of inscriptions and subscriptions of the letters in this MS., which clearly go back to the originals signed 'Franciscus Petraccus.' The whole section is as thorough and reliable as one would expect from one of the masterly editors of Rienzo's correspondence. We only failed to find mention among the translations of Dr M. E. Cosenza's rendering of *Sine Nomine* II, III, IV and VIII (respectively pp. 133, 153, 276 and 145 in *Petrarch and the Revolution of Cola di Rienzo*, University of Chicago Press, 1913)[1]. The editor also definitively establishes the identity of *Sine Nomine* V with *Fam.* xii, 8, corroborating Novati's reasons with the evidence of three more MSS. (pp. 331 ff.). On the addressee of this letter he collects a good deal of information; but space would fail us to glean all that can be learned from this book, particularly as no mention has so far been made of the very full introduction (pp. 3–160); nor have we left ourselves room to discuss the attempt to connect Petrarch's opinions with the belief in the advent of a new era, which is considered by Dr Piur, as by Dr Burdach, to be in some way dependent on such doctrines as those of Joachim of Flora, a view which, however attractive in itself, may still seem in need of confirmation. At any rate, such a view is merely stated as a premise based on the works of Dr Burdach; Dr Piur shows how Petrarch reacted to the mystical conception of a new era, and he is induced to suggest a new and attractive interpretation of the sonnet 'L'avara Babilonia' in connexion with *Sine Nomine* XVIII (pp. 41–44). With much patience and insight he further analyses Petrarch's opinions on the reform of the Church, ecclesiastical tendencies in philosophy, evangelical poverty, the real seat of the Church, the Crusades, the relations of the Popes with the Kings of France. There are two points in Dr Piur's introduction which cannot be passed over so briefly. He argues that the most significant part of the *Sine Nomine* collection is formed by letters which Petrarch wrote during his last stay at Avignon, at a time when his heart was more embittered by the sight of the corrupt Babylon because he had more keenly realized that Italy was the country of his choice, and because, during the years immediately preceding, he had acquired a complete mastery over his senses, so much so that the lady who trustingly went to visit him on the strength of an earlier association, was summarily dismissed. The attractions of Avignon had no longer any appeal, her corruption instead had become an intolerable sight for the poet. Such an outlook, it is asserted, lent new vigour to his attack. But these letters, which he gathered together about the years 1359–1361, are but the fragments of what he originally intended to write, if we accept a fascinating suggestion of Dr Piur's. He would have it that Petrarch's intention had been to write an important Latin work in verse on this burning subject, that several of his Latin poems are to be considered attempts at finding the most suitable form of expression, and that, at last, having failed to find one to his satisfaction, he stayed his hand and,

[1] *Sine Nomine* VIII is held by Dr Cosenza to be addressed, perhaps, to Philippe de Cabassolle; it would seem, however, that the translator was not aware of the note in Cod. Marc. Lat. xiv, 234 and of Signor Brizzolara's suggestion.

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as a make-shift, saved these letters by grouping them. This theory, which is expounded in pp. 124–132, is worth a good deal of attention, for it is based on a number of passages the collective evidence of which it would not appear easy to refute. And who knows but that Petrarch's persistent request to his correspondents to return or to destroy these letters, was not also prompted by the thought of this future great work so urgent in its inspiration and so difficult to put into form?

Perhaps the finest section of the introduction is 'Petrarcas Maske,' a chapter in which Dr Piur seems to us to have come closer to the hesitations and idealism of Petrarch than any other scholar of whom we know [1].

C. FOLIGNO.

OXFORD.

The Arthurian Legend in the Literatures of the Spanish Peninsula. By WILLIAM J. ENTWISTLE. London: Dent. 1925. 8vo. vii + 271 pp. 7*s.* 6*d.*

Already in this *Review* various articles and notes by Professor Entwistle have prepared the way for the present volume in which, within a relatively small space, he covers the whole field of Spanish and Portuguese Arthurianism. The book is as brilliant and fascinating as it is scholarly. Professor Entwistle's pages are closely packed with facts and teeming with allusions, his critical apparatus is full and exhaustive; but his manifest delight in his theme, his masterly handling of his matter, together with his unfailing wit and humour, carry the reader with him in his by no means easy investigations into the sources, introduction, influences and mutual relations of the various branches 'of the Arthurian matter which has survived in the literatures of the Iberian Peninsula.'

It would seem that 'Arthurianism' came later to Spain than to Italy. Apart from the phenomenon of Arthurian names borne by Italians at the beginning of the twelfth century, there is apparently nothing in Spain to match the amazing document in stone in the archivolt of the Porta della Peschiera of the Cathedral at Modena, the bas-relief recently interpreted afresh by Professor Roger Sherman Loomis and assigned by him to between 1099 and 1106, in which 'Artus de Bretania' and his knights, duly named, are besieging a castle. But the first literary allusions in both peninsulas are practically contemporaneous. Professor Entwistle rejects as heresy the frequently accepted theory of Portuguese priority, the view that the 'matter of Britain' was first received from France by the western kingdom. He argues that 'the first stirrings of the Arthurian spirit in Spain' should

[1] Dr Piur has not been able to collate MS. Canonici Miscell. 366 (19836) of the Bodleian Library. As it was easy for me to do so, I may be allowed to add here, as a further token of my appreciation, the result of a comparison of this MS., which only contains *Sine Nomine* 1, with Dr Piur's edition. The letter begins on folio 76^{v} and is inscribed 'Francisci Petrarce epistula prima libri sine nomine,' so that this MS. will need to be added to those mentioned in note 1 on p. 156, and note 1 on p. 165 must be corrected. Omitting mere differences in spelling, the variants are: P. 165, 7 Equori; est impar; 165, 12 Arthon; 166, 1 solus is missing; 166, 7 timendum for metuendum; 166, 17 uadet.

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be connected with Eleanor, the daughter of Henry II of England, and her marriage with Alfonso VIII of Castile ('lo buono re di Castella' extolled for his liberality in Dante's *Convivio*) in 1170, and that it was through her that the work of Geoffrey of Monmouth was introduced into the Spanish Peninsula. He finds the first Castilian allusion to the Arthurian story, based directly upon the *Historia Regum Britonum*, in the *Annales Toledanos Primeros* which close with the year 1219 (pp. 33–36). The date thus defined, lying between 1170 and 1219, corresponds roughly with the first literary allusions in Italy, or at least by Italians, in the *Pantheon* of Godfrey of Viterbo (1186–1191) and the *Elegia de diversitate fortunae* of Arrigo da Settimello (circa 1193), the latter mentioning Tristram as well as Arthur. But already (circa 1170) 'the Catalan-born troubadour Guiraut de Cabrera appears in the full possession of the main strands of romance' (pp. 12, 80), pointing his verses with Arthurian names much as the poets of the Sicilian school will do half a century later with Tristram and Iseult, and their Tuscan successors with names drawn likewise from other branches of the Arthurian tales.

From the introduction of Arthurian romance into Castile and Portugal, Professor Entwistle passes to the reminiscences of the Breton lays in the five *Lais de Bretanha* and the novel *El Cavallero Cifar*, and then, after a noteworthy chapter on Arthurianism in Catalonia, deals successively with the individual romances, elucidating not only the subject matter, but, the present state of the romances being very late, 'requiring of each one singly the circumstances of its origin and the language or dialect of its first form' (p. 103). Their history—he is speaking of the Castilian and Portuguese texts—'appears to refer them to one initial impulse, to an influence radiating from the court of the Spanish monarchs at Toledo into the sub-court of the kings of Portugal'; while 'the documents of the house of Aragon, as well as the existing Catalan texts, point to an independent motive and a later date for the process of translation' (p. 103). It has been already noted by Professor Northup that the Spanish versions of the prose *Tristan* are closely related to the two chief Italian versions, the *Tristano Riccardiano* and the *Tavola Ritonda*, forming an unorthodox group ('orthodoxy' being represented by the versions analysed by Löseth); but Professor Entwistle seems to prove conclusively that the unorthodox source of the Spanish texts was French, not—as the American scholar attempted to maintain—Italian. Incidentally (p. 120) he has a most interesting remark upon a possible connection between the passage on the beauty of Iseult, given by Brunetto Latini as an example of rhetoric in the *Trésor*, and the Spanish *Tristan* or its source. It would need a Spanish scholar of the author's own calibre, as well as an Arthurian specialist, to follow him through his quest of the Holy Graal, where his researches perhaps strike deepest, and to appreciate his handling of the romances relating to Merlin and Lancelot; about a third of the book, directly or indirectly, concerns the Graal story. After a brief survey of secondary Arthurian romances in Castile and Portugal, he deals with *Amadis de Gaula*, and

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concludes with a chapter on the influence of chivalrous literature in the Spanish Peninsula during the Middle Ages, which will be found most delectable even by the general reader, ending appropriately with the great name of Cervantes, who, 'so far as he had knowledge of the *matière de Bretagne*, made excellent use of its humorous possibilities' (p. 252). It is curious that the *Roman de Palamède* 'has left no traces in Spain or Portugal' (p. 127, but cf. pp. 149, 165), when we remember its great popularity in Italy where it shared with the *Tristan* the special favour of Ariosto himself. On the other hand, it is clear that the Graal story, even if it 'had no posterity in Castile or Portugal' (p. 186), while inspiring the *Faula* of Guillem de Torroella in Catalonia, took stronger hold in Spain than in Italy, and not in literature alone. Many Italians from the thirteenth century onwards bore the name of the saintly son of Lancelot in one of its various forms (Galasso da Montefeltro, Galeazzo Visconti, Galeazzo da San Severino, and so on), but there was assuredly none found like Nun' Alvares Pereira to take Galahad as his model and realise his character in his own life and conduct (p. 239).

Professor Entwistle does me the honour of referring to my forthcoming work on the Arthurian Legend in Italian Literature. He has set me a model which I shall find it very difficult to emulate.

EDMUND G. GARDNER.

LONDON.

Mittelhochdeutsche Dichterheldensage. Von F. ROSTOCK. (*Hermaea*, XV.) Halle: M. Niemeyer. 1925. xvi + 48 pp. 2 M. 80.

The high cost of production and the relaxation of the rule that every thesis must be printed no doubt account for the comparative paucity of German doctor dissertations since the war. We may assume, presumably, that such as appear are *ipso facto* of outstanding merit; inclusion in so reputable a series as *Hermaea* is in itself a guarantee of excellence.

The present treatise bears out these premises to a very considerable extent. The 'Dichterheldensage,' a convenient 'terminus technicus' invented by the late R. M. Meyer, is a generic description for the poetic sagas centring round the personality of certain German minnesingers. Its interest is therefore considerable, not only to the literary historian in general, but to the student of the Minnesang in particular. It shows, moreover, the great place which the singers of the Middle Ages held in the popular estimation.

Very occasionally some definite historical event in a poet's life may have afforded the nucleus of a story, afterwards to undergo much embroidery; usually, however, it is the case of a well-known literary motive being attached, for reasons often obscure, to the person of a popular singer. Thus on Heinrich von Morungen was fastened the 'Heimkehrsage,' the widely-spread motive of the long absent husband returning in the very nick of time to prevent his wife becoming the bride of another. Or Tannhäuser became the hero of the Venusberg legend,

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and Reinmar von Brennenberg, like the French trouvère, le châtelain de Couci, was connected with the pathetic story of the eaten heart, of which Konrad von Würzburg's *Herzemære* provides the most famous German version. If, in many cases, it is difficult to find the connecting link between the individual and the legend, we must remember that our knowledge of the lives of the Minnesänger is practically confined to what we can gather from their songs, and that of these only a small percentage have come down to us. Sometimes it was the author's name which gave rise to the legend, as in the case of Walther von der Vogelweide and his mythical bequest for feeding the birds on his grave in the cloisters of the Würzburg Neumünsterkirche. Heinrich 'Frauenlob' obviously suggested the story that the women, of whom he had sung so well, bore his body in procession to its last resting-place. And, though the name is entirely fictitious, Neidhart von Reuenthal was interpreted in hostility to the peasants as the 'Bauernhasser.' This was the most fruitful of all these legends, and culminated in the lengthy collection of 'Schwänke' which go by the name of *Neidhart Fuchs*. The individual singer has here undergone the logical development to a type, which is only foreshadowed in some of the other personalities of the series.

The treatise is well conceived and well carried out, and one is glad to have all this information in so convenient a form. It is prefaced by a useful bibliography. For additional information the curious student will refer (with Dr Rostock) to the great *Deutsches Sagenbuch* of von der Leyen, Vol. III, ii, edited by K. Wehrhan (*Die deutschen Sagen des Mittelalters*).

L. A. WILLOUGHBY.

SHEFFIELD.

Zur Entstehungsgeschichte von Wolframs Parzival. Von ELISABETH KARG-GASTERSTÄDT. Halle: M. Niemeyer. 1925. 157 pp. 9 M.

The general scope of this work has been summarised by the author in a recent issue of the *Germanisch-Romanische Monatschrift* as follows:

> Vier verschiedene Verstypen lassen sich in Wolframs Parzival unterscheiden, verschieden vor allem nach Rhythmus und Melodieführung, verschieden aber auch nach Wortwahl, Syntax und Stil. Sie verteilen sich über das Werk derart, dasz jeder Typus in einer Reihe von Büchern zusammenhängend auftritt, in andern nur vereinzelt (spätere Einschübe oder Reste einer älteren Fassung). Die Frage nach der Reihenfolge wird auf Grund inhaltlicher und formaler Kriterien beantwortet und das Ergebnis durch Vergleich mit Chrestiens Perceval und mit den Lücken der verschiedenen Parzivalhandschriften unterstützt. Zwierzinas Annahme von 'Arbeitspausen' bestätigt sich im ganzen aufs neue und erfährt insofern eine Erweiterung, als sich zeigen läszt, dasz Wolfram nach den jeweiligen Untersuchungen auch das bereits Abgeschlossene nochmals überarbeitet und ergänzt hat.

This thesis the author has worked out with a command of detail, a lucidity and precision which make it difficult to prick holes in her armour. Nevertheless, our scepticism is not decreased, but strengthened, by the alleged infallibility of the methods pursued and by a certain tone

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of intellectual dogmatism throughout. One is alienated by the first and final impression this book conveys of a mind clear, capable, well-balanced and at the same time limited, explaining, by means of a highly finished technical method, the laws determining a genius so extraordinary as Her Wolfram von Eschenbach. For, although there is literary *flair*, the language betrays no keen personal sense of contact; rather, one is aware of a fine intelligence undisturbed by excess of feeling. The writer falls short when she passes from questions of technical form to the creative processes behind them. So, for instance, her diagnosis of a psychical change in Wolfram is wrong in essence, though it wears a semblance of truth. 'Die überschäumende Stärke seines Gefühls macht einer gemessenen, überlegenden Ruhe Platz.' The description is plainly reminiscent of Goethe, not Wolfram. There *is* no decrease of passion in the medieval poet's later work; the word 'Ruhe' is singularly inapt if one thinks of either *Willehalm* or *Titurel*. A change there certainly is, but this is not parallel to the change in Goethe.

I cannot profess to criticise the writer's application of Sievers' 'rhythmisch-melodische Theorie,' which forms the basis of her argument. Her investigations do seem to prove the existence of four stages in the composition of *Parzival*, in each of which one particular *Verstypus* predominated. But to mark off these stages from one another by hard-and-fast lines, to assume for each a rigidly uniform character, and to treat all, or almost, all, deviations from the norm as 'spätere Einschübe oder Reste einer älteren Fassung,' this way of procedure seems to me, in its mathematical exactitude, radically false. The logic is flawless, yet the argument does not ring true. And, indeed, the whole fallacy of Sievers' method lies in its refusal to distinguish the nature of the laws of poetry from that of the inelastic laws of mathematical science. It repeats, in a new form, the old error of Lachmann's *Liedertheorie*, the error of eliminating the poet's own conscious activity of will.

There is much of interest and value in Dr Karg-Gasterstädt's second chapter: 'Sprachlich-stilistische Untersuchungen.' At the same time, I do not feel convinced that changes in syntax and style are criteria independent of changes in rhythm. As, in the one case, the syntactical build of a sentence determines its rhythm so, in the other, a change of rhythm, in poetry and music alike, is a most natural means of expressing a change of mood. There is no need to explain away that delightful versatility of mood and rhythm which is so characteristic a charm of Wolfram's art.

It is certainly true that the composition of *Parzival* cannot have taken place in a straight line, that the poet must have worked continually backwards and forwards, here re-arranging, here revising and adding, upon the parchment of his memory. With this, the main result of Dr Karg-Gasterstädt's thesis—barring her conception of Wolfram as diligent scribe—we can agree.

A strikingly capable piece of work, though one feels behind it an absence of something that is fundamental.

M. F. Richey.

Englefield Green, Surrey.

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The Comedy of the Crocodile. A Critical and Historical Introduction, together with a Text of the Play. By L. A. TRIEBEL. London: H. Milford. 1925. 150 pp. 7*s.* 6*d.*

This investigation of the strange dramatic story of the 'Crocodilstechen' at Nürnberg in 1596 is a sound and scholarly piece of work, worthy of the German School of University College, London, from which it proceeded, and a credit to the Tiarks Research Fund which made possible its presentation in such a pleasing form.

Mr Triebel has dealt very fully with his theme. While basing his study on a manuscript in the Stadtbibliothek of Nürnberg, entitled *Eine lustige Comedj von den Crocodilstechen zu Nürnberg*, he takes also into account the other four MSS. in which versions of the play are preserved, and in the four appendices gives other material dealing with the story. In the chapter on 'The Historical Basis' he discusses the wide-spread legend itself, according to which two worthy patricians of the town, Junckher Scheurl and Junckher Braun, are made the victims of a hoax, being led to capture with great circumstance a 'crocodile' which had been discovered by two servant-girls over the window of a house. There seems to be no doubt as to the historical identity of these two chief characters, who are exposed as pompous braggarts and pedants. The only question is whether there was in fact some stone ornamentation, which, after 'drinking and carousing,' they took for a dangerous living monster. It seems improbable that such an architectural feature in a conspicuous position on a public thoroughfare would have been unknown. In any case the whole thing was a huge practical joke, or, in Mr Triebel's words, a palpable hoax, played on two pretentious bores, and if it really occurred, as seems at least probable, one might imagine that its perpetrators would be quite capable of supplying the 'crocodile' and putting it into position for the occasion—and even of manipulating its tail! Whatever the actual facts may have been, the dramatisation of the incident is extremely interesting as showing the spirit of the popular farce of the day.

A brief chapter is devoted to the metre of the play, and here the editor appears to me to arrive at some very debatable conclusions. He assumes that frank violation of prose accent which a certain school finds in the syllable-counting verse of Hans Sachs and his fellows (*fangén, allé menschén, vérzagt*), but without the strict syllabism which surely was in any case the only reason for its existence and its inevitable accompaniment. Whatever may have been the form of the original version, in this MS., which the editor himself describes as a late version belonging to the end of the seventeenth or the beginning of the eighteenth century, there are lines with less and some with more than the eight (or nine) syllables of that strict line. It appears to me evident that all the lines of the play are to be read with four lifts falling on naturally accented syllables, but without strict alternation: *Álle Ménschen in díeser Státt*, and not 'Allé Menschén in díeser Státt.' That line 19 has only 'three beats' ('Paúlus Schéurl mit náhm') I find

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it difficult to believe, as, read thus, it falls entirely out of the rhythm of the passage:

> In dem Sie also davon redten,
> Kombt ein Junker daher getretten,
> Paulus Scheurl mit nahm,
> Den zeigen Sie die sachen an,
> Was Sie da ob den fenster sehen.

Was not the second syllable of 'Paulus' felt to bear a secondary accent, and the line heard as: *Páulùs Schéurl mit náhm?*

However I will not end on this captious note, but congratulate the author on an interesting treatment of a strange literary incident, and a valuable contribution to the dramatic history of the period.

H. G. ATKINS.

LONDON.

Allmän Litteratur-Historia. Av HENRIK SCHÜCK. I.–V. Avdelningen Stockholm: H. Geber. 1919–1925. viii + 360, x + 335, xiii + 640, xii + 384, xiii + 787 pp. 14 kr. 50, 16 kr. 50, 24 kr., 13 kr. 50, 24 kr.

Professor Henrik Schück's great work on the *General History of Literature*, of which five volumes lie before me—two more, I understand, have appeared since these have reached us—is a publication of which Sweden may well be proud, and the possession of which other countries have reason to envy her.

There are, of course, many general literary histories, although it is a kind of undertaking which has always been less attractive to us English than to the Germans. The difficulties with which such far-flung works have to contend are that so much of them is necessarily second-hand compilation, and—a more serious shortcoming—that their authors lack sufficiently wide and sustained sympathy for their task. Professor Schück's work is not free from defects—and very serious defects—on both these counts; but it has one outstanding virtue, which is lacking in most of his predecessors: to read it is an unqualified pleasure. He has the art of making personalities and books live again for us. These five volumes contain, as will be seen, an aggregate of over twenty-five hundred pages; I have read them with unflagging interest, and when I have come to the end of the work, it will, no doubt, be with regret that Schück does not propose to carry his history beyond the death of Goethe. Not since Hettner's great history of the eighteenth century or Brandes' *Hovedstrømninger*, has there been a book on European literature as a whole so eminently readable as this.

The fact that Schück belongs to a little nation, which is accorded no share in the general movement, gives him an initial advantage; he is in the position of the neutral onlooker. But I am not sure that he has drawn the fullest advantage from this position. Occasionally rather marked personal sympathies and antipathies—a kind of colour-blindness to certain aspects of literature—creep in, and mar the general effect;

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indeed, if I am not mistaken, this colour-blindness spreads insidiously—surely an unexpected feature in a Swedish writer—to the whole Germanic or northern contribution to the literature of Europe. Schück's personal sympathies lie pre-eminently with the Latin races; at critical moments he seems to fail to make proper contact with the English and German mind.

Before turning to the work itself, it would be well to be clear as to what Professor Schück means by 'general' literature. I quote the following from the general introduction to his first volume:

> Outside the literature which exists for every land and every people one may also speak of a literature which is common to the whole community of European culture...a general European literature, which belongs not to one people, but to all. The history of this literature is not to be written by merely combining mechanically the literary histories of the different peoples....Beyond it lie, as a rule, the literatures of the smaller nations....Even so important a people as the Germans have only at certain periods—the Reformation, the periods of neo-humanism and neo-romanticism—had any fruitful influence on general European literature. Other literatures, such as those of India and China, have only accidentally, and in the case of single authors, played any rôle at all; and again literatures, such as Italian and Spanish, which through long periods exert an enormous influence, have at other times lain as good as apart from the general highway of culture.

What he aims at is, thus, not a history of 'general literature' as others have written it, but rather what Goethe called 'Weltliteratur.' With, however, a limitation: 'Weltliteratur' from the standpoint of Western Europe. He omits the Slavonic contribution, as this does not become a fruitful force on Western Europe until subsequent to the limit he has set himself.

To attempt a deliberate criticism of so vast a work is beyond the competency of any single reviewer. Of Volume I, which comprises a most interesting account of the genesis of the Hebrew writings in the light of modern research, and a survey of the literatures of Greece and Rome, down to the *Confessions* of St Augustine, I cannot speak critically at all; nor do these literatures fall within the purview of this *Review*.

Volume II is devoted to the Middle Ages, and covers a vast span—from the fourth century to the end of the fourteenth. Here Professor Schück's task has been formidable indeed. From the enormous accumulation of materials which the labours of the last hundred years have brought to light, it has been far from easy to select what belongs essentially to the evolution of European literature. Possibly, indeed, more might have been achieved by giving less attention to individual writers and works, and dealing more with ideas and tendencies. The significance of the Middle Ages lies rather here than in the concrete contributions of individual minds; the factor of personality, on which Schück's method lays particular stress, does not arise; there is no scope for it until he comes to Dante. With regard to the survey of the individual literatures, I would only say that the mediaeval literature of Germany gets very much less than its due; half a page is all that is accorded to the greatest lyric poet of the whole Middle Ages, Walther von der Vogelweide! Wolfram von Eschenbach is disposed of

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in about the same space, while some eleven pages fall to the share of Chrétien de Troyes!

With zest and enthusiasm Schück plunges into his third volume, the literature of the Renaissance; one has the feeling that there is a stronger driving power behind this volume than behind its predecessor. But again an unwelcome compression is forced upon him, for the volume has to cover nearly four centuries teeming with 'world literature' of the highest order; it opens with Petrarch and closes with Milton. The survey of the early Renaissance—in the forefront, of course, Petrarch and Boccaccio—is immediately followed by one of Chaucer and his contemporaries in England. Then comes the 'high Renaissance' in Italy, followed, not without some dislocation of the chronological sequence, by a consideration of Humanism and the German Reformation age. The next section goes back to the early French Renaissance literature, to Villon and his time; but the reader has to wait some two hundred pages before he hears of the Pléiade. In Schück's estimate of this group of French poets I am arrested by an opinion which is hardly likely to pass unchallenged, and which illustrates that obtrusion of the purely personal standpoint which frequently disturbs the flow of the work:

> Regarded generally, the Ronsardists create the first genuine lyric poetry which the world has possessed since Aeolian and Doric times; for the Provençal lyric was far too weighted with the burden of reflexion to be a direct expression of the emotions; Petrarch's sonnets and canzoni were equally so; only with Villon, Lorenzo dei Medici, Poliziano and Pontano do we get a poetry which is inspired by a genuinely lyric feeling. But the great awakening of the lyric in modern times first sets in with the Ronsardists (p. 418).

Under 'Late Renaissance' are included, not only Tasso and the Italian Seicento, but the noontide of Spanish literature, the Pléiade, the beginnings of the French classic theatre, and, finally, the Elizabethan and Stuart literature of England. Here there are some admirable pages, especially on the Spaniards, which show Schück's power of bringing out the salient features of a poet. I would single out as an example—one of many that might be selected—of this clear-cut quality in his writing, his vivid biographical sketch of Cervantes. An English reader will be more critical of the sections on his own literature; and I must confess that, in spite of Schück's preoccupation with Shakespeare years ago—his book on Shakespeare was noticed on its appearance in these pages (Vol. XII, p. 390)—I miss a breadth in his treatment of him; he has hardly risen to the heights of the occasion, and is more concerned than seems relevant to a work on so large a scale, with comparatively unimportant and often controversial questions. One closes the volume, which embraces a more resplendent panorama than any other of the series, with the regret that its contents could not have been spread over two equally large ones.

With Volume V, which is devoted to French Classicism, the author's progress becomes more leisurely. It is limited to a single century. His treatment of the subject is fresh and stimulating; for it is based on an

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appreciation—as will be seen from the heading of the second section: 'The Battle between Classicity, Baroque and Renaissance'—of those modern conceptions of classicism and classic disintegration, which have in the past decade introduced a new factor into the interpretation of these phenomena. They provide the opportunity for an illuminating regrouping of the great French writers of the century, Corneille, as the outstanding representative of the baroque, being admirably contrasted with Racine as the representative of a purer classicism. Both writers are finely characterised, as is also Molière; while, as one would expect from Schück's penetrating appreciation of the essential nature of seventeenth-century classicism, he is particularly lucid and convincing on the position of Boileau in European criticism. Unfortunately the volume ends with what to most of us will appear a disappointing and even disconcerting account of our Restoration comedy; Congreve is one of our writers for the appreciation of whom Schück has not found the key.

Volume V begins with the English Revolution and closes with Lessing. As the history approaches modern times, its method changes; increasing space is devoted to individual personalities. Diderot has here some thirty pages, Voltaire nearly fifty, and Rousseau sixty-five. In the previous volume Shakespeare had to be content with forty-four. The English reader will, moreover, be more satisfied with the treatment of his literature in this volume, which includes thinkers like Locke, who is dealt with at great length, and—less satisfactorily—the great historians. But antipathies again creep in with Sterne, who for Schück is merely a 'sjukdomsfenomen,' a phenomenon of disease. A historian of general literature cannot surely allow himself the luxury of such personal judgments of writers of whose significance for the European movement there can be no manner of doubt.

The little nations are granted, as we have seen, but small share in this general literature; and it is true enough that, until the emergence of Romanticism, they contribute little to the movement of ideas; to have taken count of them might merely have confused and blurred the picture. After a brief characterisation of the Eddic literature and the Danish ballads, Scandinavia has thus no place in these pages, or, at least, in the titles in the tables of contents; although writing for Swedes, Schück has naturally many interesting side-lights to throw upon their literature. I cannot but think, however, that, from Holberg onwards, both Denmark and Sweden did play a sufficiently characteristic part in the essentially 'all-Europe' movement of the eighteenth century to have deserved a niche in Volume V.

That Schück is everywhere abreast of the criticism and scholarship of our day would be unreasonable to expect; as it would be unfair for a critic to grumble over much at such defects and lacunae as he finds in the field where he happens particularly to be at home. There is, for instance, much in his handling of German eighteenth-century literature, which shows so little touch with the present standpoint of criticism that I am filled with forebodings as to how Germany may fare in the

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volumes I have still to read. The likely criticism English readers will express is that Schück has shown a reliance on and a tenderness for Taine, which is hardly justified in the twentieth century; and for the eighteenth century Hettner has largely been his guide. But that concerns mainly the background; Schück does not allow himself to express opinions, without having first come face to face with the men and books he deals with. This is what gives his work its vitality and fascination. A careful revision of the orthography of English titles and quotations, as well as not a few French ones, is called for in a new edition.

J. G. ROBERTSON.

LONDON.

SHORT NOTICES.

'Le sentiment de la nature, qui fait de la poésie anglo-saxonne une des poésies les plus inspirées de la littérature du moyen âge...est-il une survivance païenne ou un aspect de la pensée chrétienne...ou encore un amalgame de ces deux éléments?...Leur combinaison est-elle fortuite ou obéit-elle à quelque règle? Présente-t-elle des caractères précis?' Such are the questions which Dr Emile Pons asks in *Le Thème et le Sentiment de la Nature dans la Poésie anglo-saxonne* (*Publications de la Faculté des lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg*; fasc. xxv. London: H. Milford, 1925. viii + 160 pp. 12 fr.). He compares Anglo-Saxon poetry with Eddic verse, traces its sources, studies it in itself, and decides that its feeling for nature is restrained and contemplative, realistic, and inseparable from the impassioned or melancholy contemplation of death. M. Pons shares with such fellow-workers as Legouis, Cazamian, Lanson, and Rudler, a wide knowledge of, and enthusiasm for English literature; his industry of enquiry, and clarity of style are such as we have been taught to expect from French scholars. This book not only helps the reader to appreciate the Anglo-Saxon feeling for nature, but contains much textual and exegetical comment upon particular poems and passages; and though M. Pons does not always convince us that he is right, he always enlivens and enriches our minds. That which M. Pons says of *The Wanderer*, *The Seafarer*, and *The Riddles*, is perhaps especially valuable; and his words are so stimulating as often to urge me to support or attack his conclusions at a length improper to this notice. I hope to write elsewhere of some of Pons' views, and shall now take leave of his book, with hearty gratitude to its author. I mention a few slips of writer or printer. P. 8 n. 1: for *Heremod* read *Hroðgar*; p. 21: for *Œtla* read *Ælla* (?); p. 43 n.: for *deape* read *deaþe*; p. 77: for *Oswill* read *Oswin* (?); p. 85: several *d*'s should be *ð*'s; p. 117 n. 2: for *Improfitable* read *Unprofitable*; p. 135 n.: for *Drong* read *Þrong*; and for *cultured, cultivated*; p. 144: for *lifiað* read *hlifiað*; p. 145 n.: after *geswinc* insert a semi-colon; lastly, I do not understand why M. Pons translates *byrig fægriað* (*Seafarer* 48), 'le mûrier se pare'; or (p. 123)

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the last sentence of *Riddle* 48 as 'Jamais hôte-voleur *ne fut plus avisé que cet avaleur de mots.*'

C. B.

The useful pamphlet recently published by Dr Karl Uhler on the synonymous use of the simple and compound forms of the O.E. adverbs and adjectives which end in *e* or in *lic* (*lice*) (*Die Bedeutungsgleichheit der altenglischen Adjektiva und Adverbia mit und ohne* -lic (lice). Heidelberg: C. Winter. ix + 68 pp. 4 M.) is clearly the outcome of a most painstaking investigation. After a short introduction, describing the origin of the adverb in *e* in O.E. and discussing its possible derivation, Dr Uhler goes on to show how the newer formation ending in *lice* became common, first in poetry, later in prose. He touches on the earlier view that the form in *lice* was a weakened form of the one in *e*, conveying a less intense meaning, and then goes on to combat this theory and to confirm that of Grimm, namely that there is no difference at all in meaning between the two.

This assertion Dr Uhler maintains by citing a number of cases which fall under four heads occurring in: (1) parallel passages of like content, (2) similar sentences, (3) different MSS. of the same text, (4) Latin originals of O.E. texts. After an exhaustive examination of 34 adjectives and adverbs, the conclusion is that there is clearly no difference whatsoever in the meaning or use of the simple and compound forms, and that most adjectives and adverbs that end in *e* have also a form in *lic*. The pamphlet ends with a word on the significance of the suffix, its derivation and its gradual decline from being a word of independent meaning to a mere colourless suffix, together with a short explanation of the way in which Modern English has established a distinction between adjectives and adverbs.

This last section is particularly valuable as explaining the modern use in general, and also in a few special cases, besides giving an approximate date for the alteration from the earlier usage.

S. L. P. W.

Dr W. A. Neilson and Dr H. R. Patch who have edited *Selections from Chaucer* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1921. lii + 505 pp.) say that they 'have had in mind both the general reader and the student...' The problem for them has been that 'of selecting as much Chaucer as might be read in a single college course, and of making such a course as rich as possible.' The book is useful rather to the general reader than to the student. The texts are well chosen. The introduction is concise and sensible; the glossary is poor and sometimes inaccurate. The editors do not teach their readers any Middle English or Chaucerian idiom, but are content to set down the conventional renderings of Chaucer's vocabulary. The subtlest master of English before Shakespeare has been nobly served in the past by many scholars; but it seems to be reserved for future students to gloss him adequately; the way has been pointed out by Sisam.

C. B.

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Miss Laura Sumner has edited *The Weddynge of Sir Gawen and Dame Ragnell*, and accompanied it with a study of the date and dialect of the poem and its English analogues. (*Smith College Studies in Modern Languages*. Vol. v, no. 4. July 1924. xxx + 39 pp. 75 c.) The text is printed from a rotograph of Bodleian MS. Rawlinson C. 86, collated with Madden's edition of 1839. Students will be grateful to Miss Sumner for her edition, since the poem has been hitherto barely accessible in Madden's rare volume, and only selections were printed by Hales and Furnivall in *The Percy Folio MS.*, I, pp. 106 ff. Miss Sumner believes that the poem is written in the East Midland dialect of the mid-fifteenth century. Her glossary is ill-arranged and sometimes inaccurate (e.g., s.vv. *vnsoughte, sett, bren*). Her brief study of the dialect is an unsatisfying compilation from Morsbach, Dibelius, Wyld, and Luick. The historical survey of the versions of the tale is wandering and inconclusive; the authoress had better have illustrated and explained the language of the text, than its folk-lore.

C. B.

Dr G. C. van Langenhove in his work *On the Origin of the Gerund in English: Phonology* (*Université de Gand, Recueil de Travaux publiés par la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres*. 56e Fascicule. 1925. xxviii + 132 pp.) has written 'as fully as possible of the morphological development of the verbal noun, present participle, and infinitive, up till the close of the M.E. period,' believing that this method of approach to the problem of origins has hitherto been neglected. He discusses the changes in inflectional endings, vowels, and consonant-combinations in the three parts of speech mentioned in a painstaking and conscientious manner. Some references to authorities, now included in square brackets in the text, would perhaps have been better put in the notes at the foot of the page; and the printers might have made the book easier to read by using a variety of types; e.g., the summaries on pp. 36 and 84 might have been printed in clearer or blacker letters. Dr van Langenhove has rightly written on English syntax in English, but his English sometimes betrays its foreign origin. The best feature of the book is its wealth of examples.

C. B.

Mr G. W. Small's book, *The Comparison of Inequality: The Semantics and Syntax of the Comparative Particle in English* (Johns Hopkins University. 1924. xii + 173 pp. 12 fr.), is full of good things. It is clear and accurate, and gives an excellent bibliography of works on English and Indo-Germanic syntax. Mr Small has 'studied the phenomenon of comparison from the historical-comparative point of view.' He concludes (1) that, in English, two definite elements of meaning can be seen in the comparison of inequality—the *temporal* and the *adversative*; (2) that the particle *than* developed from the concrete temporal connective, which took on adversative connotations and has become in N.E. a purely notional concept—a history partly shared by most English subordinate conjunctions; while in including the adversative meaning, it is like

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other Indo-Germanic comparative particles such as Greek ἤ, Gothic *þau*, etc.—(3) that both clause- and case-constructions are Indo-Germanic, but that the clause- or particle-construction is the earlier and more elementary. These main conclusions are reached by close argument, and each step is illumined by examples from most Indo-Germanic tongues, so that the book is as useful to the student of Latin or French as to the English or German scholar, and is a valuable contribution to semantics and to syntax. P. 19: *managize* should be *-o*; p. 23: M.E. *innermore* might be added in the last paragraph; p. 42 n. 1: Onions, *Shakespeare Glossary* s.v., explains *an* in *Henry V*, ii, 3, 12 as 'as if'; p. 141: *there* is used in M.E., as well as in O.E., to introduce a wish, imprecation, or the like; p. 153: how would Mr Small explain such sentences as: 'þing, þauh, þ̄ ha wurcheđ,' 'ha mei wel...for hire neode sullen' (*Ancrene Wisse*, Corpus MS. ed. Hall, *Early Middle English*, i, 60); and 'A thing, though, that you really want, you may ask for'?

C. B.

Miss M. St Clare Byrne's *Elizabethan Life in Town and Country* (London: Methuen and Co. 1925. x + 294 pp. 7*s.* 6*d.*) gives a delightfully detailed account, based on very wide reading, of the daily life of people of all classes three and a half centuries ago. Eleven illustrations are of great assistance. While the book will be very valuable to every serious student, it will be of great interest to the non-learned reader, though for his sake it might have been better if a few unusual terms had been explained: e.g. p. 85 'carewares,' p. 164 'singing bread,' p. 216 'pellited,' p. 253 'caravel,' p. 266 'at juke.' The account of University life is perhaps most open to exception. College plays are only referred to in connexion with royal visits, or the institution of the 'Lord of Misrule,' whereas their annual performance was enjoined in the statutes of various colleges. The statement, p. 201: 'For the undergraduate, rhetoric was the main branch of study: for the graduate ambitious of his mastership, theology,' ignores the important place given in the curriculum to Aristotelian logic or dialectic as well as to Aristotelian physics. It is implied, p. 197, that Sir Henry Wotton as Provost of Eton was a stimulating teacher: but would he ever teach at all? I am sorry Miss Byrne descends to the modernisms 'has no use for' (p. 129) and 'divided up' (pp. 271, 279). I should be inclined to alter the punctuation of the passage of Laneham, quoted on p. 267, and read: 'If he were bitten in one place, how he would pinch in another to get free that; if he were taken once,' etc.

G. C. M. S.

Of recent years students of English literature have been indebted to the Delegates of the Clarendon Press for careful reprints of the texts of various volumes. To these they have now added facsimiles of rare issues of single poems. Gray's *Ode on a Distant Prospect of Eton College*, 1747 (5*s.*), is a reprint which follows Mr T. J. Wise's 'beautiful uncut copy of the excessively rare original.' In folio form, and printed in great primer type, its pages are a delight to look upon. It differs from the

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subsequent editions only in the spelling of *vultures* and *skulks* as *vulturs* and *sculks*. Another reprint in folio is *Of the Characters of Women: an Epistle to a Lady, by Mr Pope* (5*s.*), the poem which now stands as the second of the *Moral Essays*; the date is 1735. In the same year it was included in two editions of Pope's works with a couplet added, and with a considerable number of variants, all recorded in this reprint. The posthumous issues contain about a hundred additional lines, including those on Atossa.

The Prologue and Epilogue, spoken at the Opening of the Theatre in Drury-Lane, 1747 (3*s.* 6*d.*), will be of special interest to those who know the facsimile of another contemporary edition, published by Dr Rosenbach in 1902. The edition here reproduced is a small quarto of two leaves, printed in small pica. The original was printed by W. Webb, and no bookseller's name was given. In all probability the issue was piratical. Only two misprints differentiate it from the authorized edition by Cave.

The School-Mistress, a Poem. In Imitation of Spenser, 1742, is a valuable intermediate version of Shenstone's poem. The poem first appeared in 1737, and consisted of twelve stanzas. The version of 1742, here reprinted, contained twenty-eight stanzas, with advertisement, index, and Latin mottoes on the half-title and the title. This version was reprinted, with little alteration, in a collection of poems published by Dodsley (1748). But in the second edition of that collection (also 1748) a revised version appeared, and the poem was expanded to thirty-five stanzas as in all modern editions.

Mac Flecknoe, or a Satyr upon the True-Blew-Protestant Poet, T. S., 1682 (4*s.* 6*d.*), is a reprint following Mr T. J. Wise's copy of the rare original. The edition shows careless printing and hasty writing, and the errors 'are much more serious than is usual in Dryden's first editions.' The notes show all the important differences between this first edition and the second of 1684.

All bibliographers and collectors will be grateful to the Delegates for the enterprise they have shown in making these facsimiles accessible at reasonable prices.

G. S.

Laurence Sterne and his Novels studied in the light of modern Psychology, by Dr A. de Froe (Groningen: P. Noordhoff. 1925. 235 pp. 5 fl. 50), is the precursor of a more definitely literary study of Sterne, promised by the same author. The criticism of the present work belongs properly to the professional psychologist, and all that can be said of it here is that it shows evidence of a careful and extremely detailed investigation of Sterne's writings. His fundamental instincts, their working upon his imagination, his temper, religion, sentiments, and pathological phenomena are discussed in relation to modern categories and with copious quotations. It must be owned that, in Dr de Froe's consulting-room, Sterne, not the most respectable figure in our literature, is put to tests which seem at times too rigidly applied, and it is possible that his genius for *double entente* is given more credit for consistency

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than it deserves. For this, however, he has only himself to blame, and we are not at all sure that this analysis of his weaknesses, if he could read it, would not provide his graceless reverence with entertainment.

A. H. T.

Mr Eric Partridge has collected *The Poems of Cuthbert Shaw and Thomas Russell* (London: Dulau and Co. 1925. 165 pp. 7*s.* 6*d.*) in a small volume, with an excellent and scholarly introduction, in which all that is known of these two forgotten poets is summarised. Cuthbert Shaw, described by Boswell as 'alike distinguished by his genius, misfortunes, and misconduct,' was very different in life and character from Thomas Russell, a gentle and cultivated versifier, who died of consumption, possibly aggravated by a broken heart, at the early age of twenty-six. Shaw lived somewhat longer: the tragedy of his life is disclosed in his *Monody to the Memory of a Young Lady* and *An Evening Address to a Nightingale*, which commemorate the deaths of his wife and child with a sincere pathos not concealed by a conventional and stilted form of verse. *The Race*, in a very different vein, is a satire upon critics, with caustic notes, which, if its author disclaimed imitation of *The Dunciad*, at any rate owed its general idea to that model. His earliest poem, *Liberty*, is lost: of his most mature work, *Corruption*, in which he moralises on the state of Britain in 1768, only a few fragments have been recovered. Russell, from the historical point of view, is more interesting. A slender volume of his remains, edited by his fellow Wykehamist, the future Archbishop Howley, was published in 1789, the year after his death. Contemporary with the sonnets of their schoolfellow Bowles, who paid his poetic tribute to the memory of Russell, these poems are closely parallel in form and spirit to Bowles' work. One of Russell's sonnets, 'suppos'd to be written at Lemnos,' with Philoctetes as its subject, deserved, for its elegance and mingling of classical taste with romantic fervour, the encomia of Southey, Landor and Wordsworth, and has even been called 'doubtless the finest English sonnet of the century.' Be this as it may, oblivion has settled down upon him, as upon Shaw; and, though Shaw was no great poet, and Russell's 'Lemnos' sonnet is far superior to the rest of his work, largely imitated from Petrarch and other foreign originals, the revival of their memory was worth while. Their promise, if genuine, was uncertain in the event, and we possess perhaps the best that either could have achieved. Facsimiles of the title-pages of three of Shaw's poems form an appendix to the book.

A. H. T.

The Place of Eden Phillpotts in English Peasant Drama, by C. W. Meadowcroft (University of Pennsylvania. viii + 120 pp.), has much in common with other degree theses. There is the painstaking acquaintance with the chosen field of literature, the conscientious attempt to relieve the author specially selected for treatment against his background, and the copious discussion of plot, character and philosophical purport.

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A task seriously undertaken is laboriously accomplished: much information is conveyed, but little genuine criticism emerges from the performance. Mr Meadowcroft has left no corner of the field unturned: he even quotes *in extenso* Miss Lena Ashwell's letter to *The Times* with regard to the production of *The Secret Woman* in 1912. His work has its merit as a guide to the development of a particular type of drama in our own day, and his appendices, containing lists of plays and accounts of village dramas, have been compiled with some care. Unfortunately, misprints and mistakes in names are abundant: on the very first page a wrong Christian name is given to a character in *The Farmer's Wife*, and a little later one of his daughters is similarly maltreated, and when, in two successive lines, Mrs H. D. Rawnsley is described as 'Mrs R. D. Rawnsley' and 'Mrs R. D. Rawsley,' we suspect negligence in correcting proofs. We do not know whether the often repeated phrase 'the village comity' has found a secure place in the American language; but it may be noted that *comitas* is not a synonym for *communitas*.

A. H. T.

In J. Vendryes' *Language, a Linguistic Introduction to History* (London: Kegan Paul. 1925. xxviii + 378 pp. 16*s*.) M. Paul Radin presents English readers with a worthy translation of an important volume from the French collection *L'Évolution de l'Humanité*. Although the original work was completed in 1914 (publication being delayed until 1920), it has lost none of its freshness, and Vendryes has supplied a valuable special appendix of additions and corrections to bring the subject-matter to the level of research attained by the summer of 1924. A somewhat wary treatment of the question of the Origin of Language is followed by a lucid presentation of the 'sound mechanisms' leading up to a consideration of the Phonetic Word and the Verbal Image, the bridge between form and content. The author is less concerned with the logical status of meaning and the mental phenomena observable in 'meaningful' situations than in the Protean methods adopted by various languages to articulate the expression of thought and bring out the relation between its discriminated elements. He does full justice to affective language. Perhaps the freshest parts of the book to an Englishman, even one already acquainted with Jespersen and Sapir, are to be found in the admirably full treatment of vocabulary in Part III, and still more in the chapters devoted to Standard Languages and the Mutual Influences of languages, in which the author's rich equipment and particularly his intimate knowledge of the Celtic languages have full scope. It is sad to see that Manx is fast going the way of Cornish (selected by the author for special treatment), though as a recent Anglo-Manx dictionary shows, it has left its flavour in the local English speech like a lump of sugar dissolved in a cup of tea. The chapter on Spelling with its detailed references to French and German problems serves to show that there is another side to Spelling Reform—it is especially interesting to see a contemporary philologist once more asserting the autonomy of the visual form of language (as indeed

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Bradley did over here). It only remains to mention the liveliness and clarity of the style, which make the book a fitting companion to the works of Jespersen and Sapir.

W. E. C.

The volume of *Aufsätze, Reden und Charakteristiken zur Weltliteratur* by Professor Arturo Farinelli of Turin (Bonn: K. Schroeder. 1925. xvi + 423 pp. 11 M. 50) bears testimony to the extraordinary versatility of this distinguished scholar, to whom it appears to be a matter of indifference whether he writes in Italian or French, Spanish or German. It is not merely the mastery of language—that others have possessed—which impresses us, but the power of adaptation which allows him, in a volume of German studies like the present, almost to forget that he is an Italian and to speak the German spiritual idiom. I think especially of the illuminating essay on Kleist's *Prinz von Homburg*; and I look back with pleasure on what I owe to his stimulating volumes on the German Romantic School, on Hebbel, and to that particularly fine study on *L' Umanità di Herder e il concetto della 'razza' nella storia dello spirito.* I venture to think that such a remarkable cosmopolitanism is not surpassed by any other scholar of our time. Farinelli has associated the dangerous word 'Weltliteratur' with his title. But when we consider the contents of the volume—addresses and studies (ranging in date from 1895 to 1915) on Cervantes, Rousseau, Alfieri, Kleist, Grillparzer, Raimund, Leopardi, Lenau, Franz Schubert, Menéndez y Pelayo, Arturo Graf, besides reviews dealing with books of wide European outlook—and more especially when we attempt to distil the spirit in which these themes are dealt with, we should have preferred to have seen the more modest 'zur vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte' on the title-page. For it is the comparative or international mentality that is everywhere in evidence; the writers Farinelli discusses are placed in the great European perspective; and whether he is speaking of Rousseauism or pessimism, of Marinism or romanticism, these phenomena are always viewed in their widest bearings. And with this attitude of mind comes a conciliatory endeavour: Farinelli's object is not to erect national boundary walls, but to build bridges from one mind to another and from one people to another. This is humanism of the true kind. Whoever takes up this volume has a very real pleasure in store.

J. G. R.

From America we have received a new Review of Mediaeval Studies, *Speculum*, the organ of the recently founded Mediaeval Academy of America. The President of the Academy is Professor E. K. Rand of Harvard; the Vice-Presidents, Professors J. M. Manley (Chicago), C. H. Haskins (Harvard) and J. F. Willard (Colorado). The editorial responsibility for the journal is in the hands of a strong Editorial Board, the President of the Academy being Editor-in-chief. The principal contents of the first number will be found in our list of New Publications. Further information concerning the Academy may be obtained from its office, Room 312, 248 Boylston St, Boston, Mass.

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March—May, 1926.

GENERAL.

BALLY, C., Le Langage et la vie. Paris, Payot. 20 fr.

BALMFORTH, R., The Ethical and Religious Value of the Drama. London, Allen and Unwin. 7*s.* 6*d.*

British Academy, Proceedings of the. 1921–23. London, H. Milford. 40*s.*

CYSARZ, H., Literaturgeschichte als Geisteswissenschaft. Kritik und System. Halle, M. Niemeyer. 10 M.

Die Ernte. Abhandlungen zur Literaturwissenschaft F. Muncker zu seinem 70. Geburtstage. Herausg. von F. Strich und H. H. Borcherdt. Halle, M. Niemeyer. 16 M.

HASKINS, C. H., The Spread of Ideas in the Middle Ages (*Speculum*, i, 1, Jan.).

JESPERSEN, O., Die grammatischen Rangstufen (*Engl. Stud.*, li, 2–3, April).

LASERSTEIN, K., Der Griseldisstoff in der Weltliteratur (Forschungen zur neueren Literaturgeschichte, lviii). Weimar, A. Duncker. 8 M.

MAGNUS, L., A Dictionary of European Literature. London, G. Routledge. 25*s.*

POWELL, A. E., The Romantic Theory of Poetry. An Examination in the Light of Croce's Aesthetic. London, Arnold. 12*s.* 6*d.*

WHITMORE, C. E., The Domain of Literary Theory (*Journ. Engl. Germ. Phil.*, xxv, 1, Jan.).

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ROMANCE LANGUAGES.

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Mediaeval Latin.

FRIEND, A. M., Two Manuscripts of the School of St Denis (*Speculum*, i, 1, Jan.).

HANFORD, J. H., The Progenitors of Golias (*Speculum*, i, 1, Jan.).

KURTZ, B. P., From St Antony to St Guthlac. A Study in Biography. (Univ. of California Publ. in Mod. Philology, xiii, 2.) Berkeley, Cal., Univ. of California Press. 55 c.

YOUNG, K., The Home of the Easter Play (*Speculum*, i, 1, Jan.).

Italian.

ALFIERI, V., Tragedie. Introduzione e note di R. Dusi. 3 vol. Turin, Unione. L. 12.

AMBROGIO, A., L'estetica di F. Algarotti. Syracuse, S. Santoro. L. 8.50.

BULLOCK, W. L., The Lyric Innovations of G. Della Casa (*Publ. M. L. A. Amer.*, xli, 1, Mar.).

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Ceccoli, I., L'eroina alfieriana. Bologna, Cappelli. L. 10.

Gentile, G., Gino Capponi e la cultura toscana nel secolo decimonono. 2da ediz. Florence, Vallecchi. L. 22.

Hazard, P., Romantisme italien et romantisme européen (*Rev. litt. comp.*, vi, 2, April).

Hymne sabbatique du xvi^e^ siècle en judéo-italien, Un. Publié par C. Roth. Paris, H. Elias.

Manassei, M., L'Alfieri poeta satirico. Aquila, Vecchioni. L. 10.

Marussig, G., Scrittori d'oggi. Con un saggio su l'arte e la critica. Rome, Libr. di Scienze e Lettere. L. 16.

Perito, E., La Congiura dei Baroni e il Conte di Policastro, con l'edizione completa e critica dei sonetti di G. A. de Petruciis. Bari, Laterza. L. 22.

Rinuccini, O., Drammi per musica. Introduzione e note di A. Della Corte. Turin, Unione. L. 8.

Sannazzaro, J., Arcadia. Introduzione e note di E. Carrara. Turin, Unione. L. 8.

Spellanzon, G., Lo scenario italiano 'Il convitato di pietra' (*Rev. fil. españ.*, xii, 4, Dec.).

Thornton, H. H., The Poems ascribed to Frederick II and 'Rex Fredericus' (*Speculum*, i, 1, Jan.).

Turolla, E., La tragedia del mondo nella poesia civile di G. Pascoli. Bologna, Zanichelli. L. 16.

Wilkins, E. H., The Pre-Chigi Form of the 'Canzoniere' of Petrarch (*Mod. Phil.*, xxiii, 3, Feb.).

Spanish.

Argote de Molina, G., Discurso sobre la poesía castellana. Ed. y notas de E. F. Tiscorma. Madrid, V. Suárez.

Castro, Guillén de, Obras completas. E. E. Julía. 1. Madrid, Rev. de Archivos.

Fichter, W. L., Lope de Vega's 'El Castigo del Discreto,' together with a Study of Conjugal Honor in his Theater. New York, Inst. de las Españas.

Lázaro, A., J. Benavente. De su Vida y de su Obra. Madrid, Agencia mundial de Publicidad.

Navarro Tomás, T., Palabras sin acento (*Rev. fil. españ.*, xii, 4, Dec.).

Petriconi, H., Die spanische Literatur der Gegenwart seit 1870. Wiesbaden, Dioskuren-Verlag. 5 M.

Vega, Lope de, El Marqués de la Navas. Publ. por J. F. Montesinos. (Teatro antiguo español. Textos y estudios, vi.) Madrid, Centro de Estudios. 8 pes.

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Jaufre, Ein altprovenzalischer Abenteuerroman des xiii. Jahrh. Herausg. von H. Breuer. (Gesellschaft für roman. Literatur, xlvi.) Halle, M. Niemeyer. 30 M.

Richter, E., Die Aussprache des [*u*] im Altprovenzalischen (*Zeits. f. roman Phil.*, xlv, 4, 5).

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French.

(*a*) *General* (*incl. Linguistic*).

CLÉDAT, L., 'Aussi' et 'ainsi' (*Rev. Phil. franç.*, xxxvii, 2).

DAUZAT, A., Essais de géografie linguistique, ii, 2: Régressions et fausses répressions (*Rev. Phil. franç.*, xxxvii, 2).

PIQUET, F., Le patois de Dombras (Meuse) (*Rev. Phil. franç.*, xxxvii, 2).

TITE, K., La Substitution des c et s dans les pronoms français. Paris, É. Champion. 20 fr.

(*b*) *Old French.*

BROWN, A. C. L., Did Chrétien identify the Grail with the Mass? (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, xli, 4, April).

GENNRICH, F., Die altfranzösische Liederhandschrift, London, Br. Museum, Egerton 274 (*Zeits. f. roman. Phil.*, xlv, 4, 5).

GUY, H., Essai sur le Trouvère Adam de la Halle. Paris, É. Champion. 60 fr.

VINAVER, E., Études sur le Tristan en prose. Paris, É. Champion. 12 fr.

(*c*) *Modern French.*

BACHELIN, H., J. K. Huysmans. Paris, Perrin. 9 fr.

BARBEY D'AUREVILLY, J., Disjecta Membra. Édit. documentaire. 2 vols. Paris, La Connaissance. 60 fr.

BECKER, P. A., Clement Marot, sein Leben und seine Dichtung (Sächsische Forschungsinstitute in Leipzig, iv, 1). Munich, M. Kellerer. 20 M.

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GUY, H., Histoire de la poésie française au 16e siècle, II. Paris, É. Champion. 45 fr.

HARDY, G., Le Cardinal de Fleury et le mouvement janséniste. Paris, É. Champion. 35 fr.

HUGO, V., La Légende des siècles, v. Éd. par P. Berret. (Coll. des Grands Écrivains de la France.) Paris, Hachette. 35 fr.

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LALOU, R., Histoire de la littérature française contemporaine. Nouvelle éd. Paris, Crès. 15 fr.

LARG, D. G., Madame de Staël. Her Life revealed in her Work, 1766–1800. London, G. Routledge. 12*s.* 6*d.*

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RENAN, E., Sur Racine, Corneille et Bossuet. Paris, Aveline. 150 fr.

ROUSSEAU, J. J., La Nouvelle Héloïse, II, III. Éd. par D. Mornet. (Coll. des Grands Écrivains de la France.) Paris, Hachette. Each 35 fr.

SARASIN, J. F., Œuvres. Rassemblées par F. Festrugienne. 2 vols. Paris, É. Champion. 45 fr.

SCHAFFER, A., A. Glatigny : a Study in Literary Relationships (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, xli, 3, March).

TURQUET-MILNES, G., From Pascal to Proust. London, J. Cape. 5*s*.

URTEL, H., Guy de Maupassant. Studien zu seiner künstlerischen Persönlichkeit. (Epochen der französischen Literatur. Erg. Bd.) Munich, M. Hueber. 7 fr. 50.

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SOME YORKSHIRE PLACE-NAMES.

YORK, URE, JERVAULX.

THESE names have already been dealt with by the present writer in *Anglo-Norman Influence on English Place-Names*, pp. 12, 27, 58, 62 ff., and by Mr A. H. Smith in a paper entitled *The Place-Names Jervaulx, Ure and York*, published in *Anglia*, XXXVI, pp. 291–296[1]. The object of this paper is to settle a few remaining points concerning the phonology of the names. As numerous early forms are adduced in the works referred to, only a selected number will be given in what follows. The abbreviations of the records are the same as in my book, *Anglo-Norman Influence*.

YORK: *Eburacum* (Romano-British), Antonine Itinerary, etc., *Eboracum* Flor., *Ebor* HR., VE.—*Eoforwicceastre* Bd., *Eoferwic* AS. Chron., *Euerwich* 1166–67 Pi. R.; *Evrewic* (: *Edelfriz*) Gaimar, l. 1005; *Euerwicke* Rob. Glouc., *Everwic* 1308–26 CR.—*Jórvík*[2] (*Iorvik*, MS.) c. 960 Arinbjarnardrapa 4, c. 1040, Sigvat, 10, 1; *Jórvík*, *York* late 13 c. Heimskringla I, 170, 197, III, 199; *ȝork* Lag., Rob. Br., Capgrave; *Yorkshire* Chaucer; *Yorke* Leland, IV, 30 (ed. Toulmin-Smith).—*ȝeorc* Lag., l. 2673; *Yerk* (: *clerk*) Havel., l. 1178. The name is sometimes pronounced (jerk) in the Linc. dial., and (ja:k) in the West Riding (Smith). Hope gives as local pronunciations 'Yark,' and 'Yorick.'

URE, river: *Eowere* Henr. III, Index I; *Yor* 1175–1203 Yo. Ch.; *Jor* Henr. II, Index I; *Yore* HR.; *Your* 1294 Ch. R.; *Yore* 1399–1401 PR.; *Zuram* (*Z* is written for ȝ) 1465 Yo. D.; *Yeure* 1530 Her. Vis.; *Ure* c. 1540 Leland, I, 79, 82, 87, etc.; (*the*) *Ure* c. 1700 Camden; *Ure* 1730 Cox; pronounced (jiuə) (Smith 292).

JERVAULX on the Ure: *Gereualle* 1196, *Gerevall* 1218, *Jerevall* 1224, *Gervaus*, *de Gerrevallibus* 1232–47, *Gerveis* 1530; *Gervalx* (*Urivallis*) c. 1540, Leland, IV, 29; *Gervase Abbey* 1730 Cox.—*Jorevall* 1237, *Jorvall* 1467–77, *Jorevalle* VE.; *Yorevalx Abbey*, Leland, IV, 30; usually pronounced (dʒə:vo) after the modern spelling, rarely (dʒa:vis) (Smith 293) in accordance with the early forms.

[1] Cf. also on York, Moorman, *The Place-Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire*, Introduction, p. i f., Bradley, *Essays*, I, pp. 19 f., Zachrisson, *Some Instances of Latin Influence on English Place-Nomenclature*, p. 24; and on Ure, H. Bradley, *English Historical Review*, 1909, and Gordon and Smith, *The River Names of Yorkshire* in *Trans. of the Yorkshire Dialect Soc.*, Part XXVI, Vol. IV, p. 17.

[2] Not **Jofurvik*, as is stated by Moorman, *op. cit.*

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In a recently published paper (*Trans. of the Yorkshire Dialect Soc.*, XXVI, Pt. IV) by Prof. E. V. Gordon and Mr A. H. Smith, the authors call attention to the OE. river-name *Earp* c. 1075 in *Lives of Saints*, p. 10 (ed. Liebermann), which in their opinion is our earliest reference to the river-name Ure. In the *Lives* we are told that Egbertus and other saints found their last resting-place at Ripon near the river *Earp*. Now Ripon is not situated on the Ure, but on a small affluent of the Ure which according to Leland[1] is called the Skell. Consequently *Earp* must either be identical with the Ure or Skell Beck. Gordon and Smith accept Hickes' emendation of *Earp* to *Earw*, and connect the name with that of the Arrow in Warwick, which is looked upon as Celtic. I do not think Hickes' emendation is justified. It is against the reading of all the five MSS. which have been used by Liebermann, and from a phonetic point of view an OE. *Earw* is hardly admissible, as *w* in this position passes into *u* (cf. *gearu*, etc.).

If we keep to the reading of the MSS. the meaning of the word becomes quite clear. It is identical with the OE. adjective *earp*[2], 'dark.' The river Ure (or Skell Beck) was probably called so because of its dark water[3]. As for the etymology of Ure (*Eowere, Yore*) I adhere to my suggestion (*Anglo-Norman Influence*, p. 62) that it is a back-formation of *Eoferwic* and *Jórvík*[4]. Gordon and Smith seem to agree with this, only it is not necessary to assume any intermediate form **Eoferea*, but the river-name is simply identical with the first element in *Eoferwic* and *Jórvík* and was at an earlier date the name not only of the present river Ure, but also of that part of the Ouse which extends from the confluence of the Ure and the Swale to the city of York. That this was the case appears from certain passages in Leland and Camden[5]. In ME., numerous river-names were formed by the process that is called back-formation, and in OE. there is at least one safe instance, i.e.

[1] *Itinerary*, I, p. 82:—'Al the hole towne standith as I cam to it on the hither ripe of Skelle, a praty ryver cumming out of the west and renning by south on the toune first under a stone bridge, and then under a bridge of wood, and about a quarter of a mile lower into Ure, almost in the midle way betwixt North Bridg and Hewwik Bridge of stone on Ure.'

[2] German equivalents are *Arpia* 11 c. = Die Meulebeke near Erpe, East Flanders, and other river-names adduced by Förstemann, *Ortsnamen*, I, p. 202.

[3] Other OE. river-names derived from adjectives are The Blithe, Warw., The Loud, Lancs, The Browney, Northb. (anciently *Brun*), and probably the Seph, Yorks (anciently *Cepht*), and The Bain, Yorks (ON. *beinn*, 'straight') (Gordon and Smith, pp. 17, 23).

[4] In his review of my book, *Anglo-Norman Influence on English Place-Names*, Dr H. Bradley (*Eng. Hist. Rev.*, 1909, pp. 766 f.) suggested that the river-name Ure is a survival of the Romano-British *Isurium*, but the early form *Eowere* for the river, perpetuated in Jervaulx, does not admit of such an explanation.

[5] Camden, *Britannia*, II, p. 875 (ed. Gibson, 1722), calls the river *The Ure*, and after it has reached York, *The Ouse*. Leland, I, p. 87, says: 'Nidde goith into Ure corruptely there caullyd Ouse at Nunnemonk a 14 myles as the watar rennithe from Gnarresburgh towne.'

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Wærlame c. 1075, *Lives of Saints* (p. 10) (= The Ver), from *Uerlamacæstir* Bede, the Romano-British *Verulamium*, now St Albans, Herts[1].

Concerning the ME. forms of Ure we have to distinguish between two groups, one exhibiting *e*, the other *o* in the early spellings. In the paper already referred to Smith has convincingly shown that the *e*-forms are due to English sound-development. Some obvious parallels to the development of *Eofer-* to *Yevr(e-)* are adduced by Smith, p. 295[2]. Smith does not comment upon the loss of *v* in *Yevre*, but the early forms of Galton, Dors.[3], Earby, Yorks[4], and Givendale, Yorks[5], prove that *v* could be lost before liquids at quite an early date. ME. instances are noted by Jordan, *MEG.* § 216, 2. The form *Yerk* is consequently due to an OE. unrecorded form **Ye(ve)rwike*, which with loss of *w* (cf. Zachrisson, *OE. Place-Names and River-Names*, p. 26, n. 2) became **Yerike*, and was subsequently contracted to *Yerk(e)*.

In the light of this development *e* in *Gereualle*, etc., is best explained with Smith as due to a reduction of **Jevre-* to *Jerre-* and not to the Anglo-French change of pretonic *o* to *e*, as I suggested in *Anglo-Norman Influence*.

The Anglo-French substitution of (dʒ) for (j) is certainly indicated by early spellings with *J* and *G* (in some cases *G* can be an archaic spelling for (g) or (j)), but not in spellings with *ʒ* (as stated by Smith, cf. *Anglo-Norman Influence*, p. 59). The sporadic appearance of *j* for *ʒ*, *y* in some ME. texts, is probably due to the fact that French (dʒ) was occasionally pronounced as (j), owing to inner sound-substitution[6], which led to scribal confusion between *y*, *ʒ*, and *j*, and sometimes even caused (j) in English words to be pronounced as (dʒ).

The forms with *o* (*Yore*, *Jorevall*, *Jórvík* and *York*) are much more difficult to account for. An English sound-development of *eofer* to *iof(e)r*, *ior* is in itself not inconceivable. We may compare the following forms adduced in *Anglo-Norman Influence* (pp. 65 f.): *Iorotlaford* 779 CS. 230 (orig. charter) = Harford, Glouc.[7] (OE. **Heortla*), *Iope-*, *Lopeham*

[1] Other early cases of back-formation may be The Seven, Yorks, and *Earn*, Som., which I have dealt with in a paper in the *Zeitschrift für Ortsnamenforschung*, II. Cf. also Bradley, *Essays*, I, pp. 32 f.

[2] Cf. in particular Yearsley, Yorks (*Eversley*, *Yeverslay* 1301). The same development has taken place in some of the early forms of Instow, Dev., and Iddesleigh, Dev. (cf. Zachrisson, *Change of 'ts,'* p. 130, and *Pl.-N. Etymologies*, p. 120).

[3] *Gaveltone*, *Galtone* 1086 DB., *Galdon* 1212 BF., *Galtone* 1296 Ch. R., otherwise *Gaulton*, *Gawelton* (communicated by Mr Fägersten).

[4] *Eurebi* DB., *Ereby* 1361 PF.

[5] *Gindala* 1160 *Yo. Ch.*

[6] There are instances of *y* for *j* in French words in *Ayenbite* and Leland, to mention no more. I shall have occasion to deal more closely with this question in a forthcoming paper on inner sound-substitution.

[7] Not Hartleford, as stated by Birch and the present writer (*Anglo-Norman Influence*).

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1086 DB., *Hepham* TN., FA. = Heapham, Lincs, presumably from OE. **Hēōphām*, 'the dog-rose farm.' OE. *hēope* is in some dialects *choop, joop, shoop* (EDD)[1]. Nevertheless, the regular English development of *eofer* in Yorkshire seems to be *yever*[2] by the side of *ever*, and it would therefore be very remarkable if an English variant *yover*, which is not clearly testified in any early English sources, had existed by the side of *yever*. Moreover, the vowel in *Jorvik* must be short if it is due to English sound-change[3]. But such early NE. forms as *Zuram* 1465, *Yeure* 1530 and *Ure* 1540 presuppose a long close $\bar{o}$, which partook in the North English dialectal sound-change of $\bar{o}$ to *iu* (Smith, p. 292).

As will be seen by the following early spellings, this sound-change began to operate as early as the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century: *Haucunesheu* 1199 IPM. (Lindquist, 181) = Hackensall, Lancs (OE. *hōh* confused with ON. *haugr*); *Rumareis* 1206 PF. = Rawmarsh, Yorks (Scand. *raufr* rendered with *rōþ* in OE.); *Crakruke* 1242 Ass. = Crawcrook, Durh. (Mawer, 110)[4]; *Rubyr* 1255 Ass. = Rothbury, Northb. (*rauðr* or *Rauþi*); *Buteland* 1255 Ass. = Buteland, Durh. (OE. *Bōta*). In *Your* 1294 Ch. R. Standard English (u:) from $\bar{o}$ has been substituted for dialectal (*iu*). For similar spellings in the Durham dialect, cf. Vikar, p. 80[5].

The earliest forms exhibiting *Jor-* are derived from Scandinavian sources, and occur at a time (c. 950) when a reduction of Old English **iof(e)r* to *ior* could hardly have taken place. We are consequently bound to assume that *Jor-* for *Eofer-* is due to Scandinavian influence. The most probable explanation is that *v* in *Eofor-* was lost, whereupon **E(o)ur-* became *Jór-*, an exact parallel being *bjórr* from **beur* from **beƀur-*.

[1] Cf. also Luick, *HEG.* § 265, and the material adduced there.

[2] Cf. Smith's material (pp. 293 f.), and above, p. 363, n. 2. The threefold development of *eo* may be phonetically accounted for in the following way: (1) *eo* becomes *iǒ* by the shifting of stress; (2) *eo* is reduced to *e*; (3) *e* passes into *ye*. According to Jordan, *MEG.* § 283, *ye* for *e* short is very rare, and the change of *e* long to *ye* is supposed not to have taken place until the fifteenth century. This is not correct, for such forms as *gevelike* for *ȝvelike* (OE. *efen*) occur as early as the thirteenth century in the Jesus MS. (see *An OE. Miscellany*, ed. Morris, p. 23, etc.). The material adduced by Taylor (*M.L.R.*, XIX, p. 7) and Kihlbom, *Early Modern English in the Fifteenth Century*, renders it obvious that both long and short *e* could pass into *ye* in different parts of England as early as the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

[3] It cannot be decided by metrical criteria if *o* in *iorvik* Sigv., Arnbj., is short or long.

[4] The form *Crucum* 1244 Ch. R., quoted by Ekwall (*Anglia*, Beiblatt, 1923, p. 50) from Mawer, p. 115, is not altogether conclusive, the entries in the Charter Rolls not always being contemporary with the events related.

[5] The early spellings with *ou* for $\bar{o}$ which Ekwall (*Engl. Studien*, LV, p. 106) adduces from the south-western counties are to be accounted for in the same way. The majority of them are derived from the Feudal Aids, which, as a rule, have been compiled from late copies, not from original contemporary MSS.

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According to Noreen (*Altisl. Gr.*, IV, p. 235, 2), loss of *v* before *u* may have taken place as early as 550, but nevertheless he looks upon *Yór-* from **Iofur-*, which cannot be earlier than the second half of the ninth century, as a parallel to OW.Sc. *bjórr* from **beƀur*. I have consulted Professor von Friesen on this question, and according to him we are justified in assuming that *v* could be lost before *u* as late as the ninth century[1]. It may also be suggested that the ON. word or etymon *iór* was substituted for the OE. etymon *eofor*. OE. *eofor* means 'boar.' The only recorded Scandinavian equivalent to this word is OW.Sc. *iǫfurr* 'prince,' the reference being to the boar-helmets which were looked upon as attributes of royalty[2]. The sense development which has taken place here seems to presuppose the existence of an early Scandinavian word *iǫfurr, iór*[3], 'boar,' which was still extant when York was conquered by the Northmen towards the end of the ninth century.

There are some Norwegian and Swedish place-names which are supposed to contain ON. **iór* and O.Sw. **iūr*, but it is nevertheless remarkable that these words are never recorded in literary works. The place-names in which they are supposed to occur are very few and may perhaps be accounted for differently[4].

OW.Scand. *Jór-* occurs, however, in several personal names, such as *Jórunn, Jóreiþr, Jórís*, and to one of these, **Jórúlfr* (in place-names, cf. Lind.), there is an OE. equivalent *Eoferwulf*[5]. And there was at least one connecting link between the two words, i.e. OW.Sc. *jǫfurr*, which, closely associated as it was with the royal emblems of the boar, the Anglo-Scandinavians could hardly fail to identify with the OE. *eofer*. In the early Scandinavian England, where the population in many districts must have been bilingual, an Englishman named *Eoferwulf* is likely to have been called *Jórúlfr* by the Northmen, and a Scandinavian name *Jórúlfr* may have become *Eoferwulf* in Scandinavian speech[6].

[1] Professor von Friesen adduces both negative and positive evidence in confirmation of this. The Runic name *haukoþur*, Vånga (c. 550), should be read *harkoþur* (cf. von Friesen, *Röstenen*, pp. 39, 91), and consequently does not exhibit loss of *v* before *u*. In the name *hariwulfs*, 8 c., *w* is still kept before *u* (*op. cit.*, p. 39), and the O.Sw. forms of **hauƀuđa* ('head') in *Äldre Västgötalagen* likewise prove that *v* was kept before *u* until a comparatively late date.

[2] Helmets crowned with the figure of a wild boar were in general use in the sixth and in the beginning of the seventh century. Cf. Stjerna, *O. Montelius Celebration Volume*, p. 110.

[3] PG. **eƀura* was to become OW.Sc. *iǫfurr*, O.Sw. **iufur* and (in unsyncopated forms) OW.Sc. **iór*, O.Sw. **iūr* (Noreen, *op. cit.*).

[4] Cf. Rygh, *Elvenavne*, p. 122, Hellquist, *Namn and Bygd*, 1923, p. 33 f., *Svenska Ortnamnssällskapets Årsskrift*, 1925, p. 2. The first element in Djursnäs may perhaps be a personal name (cf. O.Sw. *Iuvur*, O.Da. *Juris*, O.Sw. **Jure* in place-names, Brate-Lundgren).

[5] Other compounds with *Eofer-* are usual in England (cf. Searle).

[6] Excellent parallels are offered by *Eohric* (*AS. Chr.*), the name of a Danish king in East Anglia, a transliteration of Scand. *Jórekr*, and similar instances adduced by Björkman,

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In a similar manner *Eoferwic* may have been transliterated into *Jórvík*.

From what has been said above it is clear that *Jórvík* must be looked upon as a Scandinavian form of *Eoferwic*. *Jór-* is due either to the substitution of a Scandinavian name-element for its Old English equivalent, or to the operation of Scandinavian sound-laws. I am inclined to consider the second of these alternatives as the more probable one, although the former is theoretically possible. We need not enter into a detailed discussion of such questions as why **iór* and not *iǫfur* was substituted for *eofer*[1], or why the OW.Sc. form **iór* was preferred to E.Scand. **iūr*[2].

The meaning and history of the name of York may be summarized as follows. The Romano-British *Eburacum*, which meant 'the town of Eburos,' a well-known Celtic personal name[3], became in the Latin pronunciation *Evurac*, which was etymologized by the Anglo-Saxons into *Eoferwic*[4], 'the boar-town.' This form, which in some Anglo-French chronicles was normanized to *Everwiz*, continued to be used in official deeds till late Middle English times. In the local pronunciation *Eoferwic* developed into **Yeverike, Yerke, Yark*. When York in 867 was conquered by the Scandinavian chieftains, Ivar and Halfdan, the English form *Eoferwic* was turned into *Jórvík*. In the English pronunciation *Yŏrwik* (the nom.) became *Yorick*, and *Yŏrwike* (the dat.) became *Yorike, Yorke, York*. This form, which to begin with was looked upon as less refined[5], soon became general, and will for ever commemorate Scandinavian enterprise and Scandinavian exploits, and at the same

Personennamen, pp. 36, 180. Names in which OE. *Os-* and Norman *An(s)-* have been substituted for Scand. *As-* are noted by the present writer in *Engl. Studien*, 1, p. 356. The form *Jurethorp* 1252 *Ch. R.* 1, for Everthorpe, Yorks, may be an instance of Scand. *Jór-* for OE. *Eofer*, if it is not a somewhat erratic spelling for *Iverthorp* FA. (with *J* for *I* and *u* for *w*). In ME. forms of English place-names from the Danelaw, a Scandinavian word is often substituted for an English equivalent (*dale* for *dene*, etc.), and *vice versa*.

[1] The reason is that only *Jór-* (not *Jofur-*) occurs as the first element of personal names.

[2] The majority of the Vikings who conquered Yorkshire were of Danish descent, but at a later date York was ruled by Norwegian kings, and in the North and West Ridings there were numerous Norwegian settlers hailing from the adjoining N.W. counties (cf. Ekwall, *EPNS.*, 1, 1, p. 78). Moreover, the OW.Sc. name *Iórunn* is recorded in the Northumbrian *Liber Vitæ* (p. 58) as *Ioran* (Björkman, *Personennamen*, p. 74).

[3] For early references, cf. Holder, 1901. The personal name *Eburos* is also contained in numerous French place-names of which many exhibit the ending *-iacum* (*Eburiacum*). Cf. Kaysers, 250, Skok, 177.

[4] Bradley, *op. cit.*, p. 20, correctly remarks that *Evur-* must become OE. *Eofer-*, independent of folk etymological associations, but *-wic* was, at any rate, substituted for *-ac*, and the name was undoubtedly considered to have the meaning of 'the boar-town.'

[5] Layamon, writing at the end of the twelfth century, says that the Northerners (*þa norþerne men*) fell into the bad habit (*þurh ane unþewe*) of pronouncing *Eoverwic* as *ȝeorc* or *ȝork*.

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time be a testimony of the close ties of kinship which unite the British and Scandinavian races.

York is found almost exclusively in Middle English chronicles, but also in the works of Chaucer, 'the well of English undefyled.' The variant *Yorick* would have fallen into oblivion by now, had it not been immortalized by Hamlet's speech in the graveyard of Elsinore: 'Alas, poor Yorick—where be your gibes now, your gambols, your songs...'

In this name-complex is embodied more than 1000 years of English history. The succession of forms *Eburacum*, *Eoferwic*, *Yerk*, *Jórvík*, *York* and *Jervaulx* pictures to our mind's eye the historical pageant of the Roman eagles, succeeded by the Saxon winged helmets, which in their turn had to yield their sway to the dark raven-banners of the North, by the side of which was planted the Oriflamme of France. Of the Saxon forms there is, with the exception of the Anglo-Norman *Jervaulx*, only one poor rustic relic, *Yark*, whereas the proud Roman name still survives in the Welsh Efrog (< *Eb(u)rācum*) and as the signature of the Primate of England, the Archbishop of York.

R. E. ZACHRISSON.

UPSALA.

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A POEM BY SIR JOHN BEAUMONT, WRONGLY ATTRIBUTED TO DRUMMOND OF HAWTHORNDEN.

PROFESSOR KASTNER, in his edition of the poetical works of Drummond of Hawthornden, has printed, first among the so-called Posthumous Poems, these verses[1]:

What course of life should wretched Mortalles take?
In courtes hard questions large contention make;
Care dwelles in houses, labour in the feild,
Tumultuous seas affrighting dangeres yeild.
In forraine landes thou never canst be blest,
If rich thou art in feare, if poore distrest.
In wedlock frequent discontentmentes swell,
Unmarried persones as in desertes dwell,
How many troubles are with children borne?
Yet hee that wants them countes himself forlorne.
Young men are wanton and of wisdome voyd,
Gray haires are cold, unfit to be imployd.
Who would not one of those two offeres choose:
Not to be borne; or breath with speed to loose?

This poem likewise appears in the editions of Sir John Beaumont[2]. There is, I think, little reason to doubt that it belongs to him, and not to Drummond.

The poem was first printed as Drummond's by Edward Phillips in 1656, seven years after Drummond's death, with the title, 'A Translation of S. John Scot his verses beginning *Quod Vitae sectabor iter.*' Phillips, no doubt, took it from the Hawthornden Manuscripts[3], as does Kastner with some revised readings presently to be discussed.

Now, in the first place, it is unsafe to ascribe a poem to Drummond merely on the ground of its appearance in the Hawthornden MSS. A large part of these papers seem to be little more than a collection for a commonplace-book. In 1828 David Laing read before the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland an account of the MSS. in which, speaking in particular of the tenth volume, he says: 'It is proper to remark...that various pieces will be found to which Drummond has no better claim than that of being only an amanuensis. He was so accustomed to transcribe passages from other writers that it is not easy at times to ascertain whether or not the Poems are original. Among other instances which

[1] *The Poetical Works of William Drummond of Hawthornden*, ed. L. E. Kastner, Manchester, 1913, II, p. 173.

[2] *The English Poets*, ed. Chalmers, 1810, VI, p. 18. *The Poems of Sir John Beaumont*, ed. Grosart, 1869, p. 238.

[3] Now in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Edinburgh.

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might be discovered, I may point out the sonnet "Cares charming [sic] Sleep, son of the sable Night," which is by Daniel; and also the "Elegy upon the most victorious King of Sweden, Gustavus Adolphus," which is by Henry King, afterwards Bishop of Chichester, and was prefixed to the third part of a well-known work, *The Swedish Intelligencer*, printed at London, 1633[1].' Kastner, in presenting some unpublished pieces of Drummond's from these MSS. in 1911, says: 'Drummond was so widely read in native as well as foreign literature, and so accustomed to transcribe passages or entire poems from all kinds of authors, that of the unpublished pieces here selected one or two may be found to which the Scottish poet has no better claim than that of being an amanuensis[2].' The last volume of the MSS., it seems, contains poems by John Donne[3]. So much for the Hawthornden MSS. as a reliable source of Drummond's verse.

The poem in question was printed in the first collected edition of Sir John Beaumont's poems in 1629, twenty years before Drummond's death (1649), and twenty-seven years before it was printed as Drummond's by Phillips, a notoriously careless editor[4]. In all probability, then, Drummond had seen it among Beaumont's poems, and had made a copy because of some special interest in it.

The external evidence, therefore, is sufficient to establish Beaumont's authorship. But the internal evidence is, if anything, still more convincing. The poem is, of course, a translation of an epigram, in the Greek Anthology, attributed to Posidippus[5]:

Ποίην τις βιότοιο τάμῃ τρίβον; εἰν ἀγορῇ μέν
νείκεα καὶ χαλεπαὶ πρήξιες· ἐν δὲ δόμοις
φροντίδες· ἐν δ' ἀγροῖς καμάτων ἅλις· ἐν δὲ θαλάσσῃ
τάρβος· ἐπὶ ξείνης δ', ἢν μὲν ἔχῃς τι, δέος·
ἢν δ' ἀπορῇς, ἀνιηρόν, κ.τ.λ.

In the Anthology this epigram is immediately followed by a companion poem in parody and reply, ascribed to one Metrodorus[6]:

Παντοίην βιότοιο τάμοις τρίβον· εἰν ἀγορῇ μέν
κύδεα καὶ πίνυται πρήξιες· ἐν δὲ δόμοις
ἄμπαυμ'· ἐν δ' ἀγροῖς Φύσιος χάρις· ἐν δὲ θαλάσσῃ
κέρδος. ἐπὶ ξείνης, ἢν μὲν ἔχῃς τι, κλέος·
ἢν δ' ἀπορῇς, μόνος οἶδας, κ.τ.λ.

[1] *Archaeologia Scotica*, IV, pp. 69–70. [2] *Modern Language Review*, VI, p. 327.
[3] *Archaeologia Scotica*, IV, p. 72. And see Grierson, *Donne's Poetical Works*, I, p. 410.
[4] Beaumont died in 1627. The edition of *Bosworth Field*, 1629, was got out by his son, also Sir John Beaumont. The poem we are concerned with appears on p. 35 of that edition. I am indebted to the Huntington Library for the verification of this fact.
[5] *Anthol. Pal.*, IX, p. 359. In Beaumont's *Poems* the title is *An Epigram Concerning Human Life Composed by Crates or Posidippus*. In the Planudean Anthology, which alone was read before 1776, the poem is ascribed to Posidippus or Crates; in the Palatine MS. it is given to Posidippus or to Plato the Comic Poet.
[6] *Anthol. Pal.*, IX, p. 360.

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These two poems are composed in that moralizing vein which was so gratifying to the Renaissance; and we find them translated again and again: they were rendered into Italian by Luigi Alamanni, into French by Ronsard (the first poem only), into Latin by George Buchanan; *Tottel's Miscellany* gives English versions from the hand, probably, of Nicholas Grimald; Puttenham inserts a translation of them into his *Art of English Poesie* (of which Drummond possessed a copy)[1]; Richard James (1592–1638) translated them; Bacon's paraphrase of the first is always admired; and Professor Grierson discusses a similar paraphrase of the answering poem, possibly also by Bacon[2]. Philip Ayres turned them into English. Samuel Johnson made Latin versions; and also employed them as the nucleus of an essay in which he discourses on the double face presented by the circumstances of life[3]. Every one of these translators renders either both of the poems or the first one, never the Answer alone. Now Beaumont followed the first poem with *The Answer of Metrodorus*; and these latter verses have never been ascribed to any one but him[4]:

In ev'ry way of life true pleasure flows.
Immortal fame from public action grows:
Within the doors is found appeasing rest;
In fields the gifts of Nature are exprest.
The sea brings gain, the rich abroad provide
To blaze their names, the poor their wants to hide:
All households best are govern'd by a wife;
His cares are light who leads a single life.
Sweet children are delights which marriage bless:
He that hath none disturbs his thoughts the less.
Strong youth can triumph in victorious deeds:
Old age the soul with pious motions feeds.
All states are good, and they are falsely led,
Who wish to be unborn, or quickly dead.

It will be seen that this poem is in form a companion to the other, just as the second Greek poem is to the first: the same number of lines, the same rhyming couplets. Accordingly they must both be assigned to the same writer; but surely not to Drummond, in none of whose papers or published works the second appears.

Another point is not without interest. Kastner prints the poem as I have quoted it above; but in Phillips' edition the last two lines read thus:

Who would not one of those two offeres try,
Not to be borne, or, being borne, to dye?

[1] *Archaeologia Scotica*, IV, p. 77.
[2] *Modern Language Review*, VI, p. 145. [3] *Adventurer*, No. 107.
[4] Grosart, p. 239. Chalmers, p. 18. *Bosworth-Field*, London, 1629, p. 36. This again has been verified for me at the Huntington Library.

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Kastner explains that, 'The reading adopted by [Phillips] in ll. 13 and 14 appears in [the Hawthornden MSS.] as a correction by the side of the original reading, but in a later hand, which is certainly not that of Drummond[1].' If this reading was added in the seven years between Drummond's death and Phillips' printing, it must have been done by some person who was aware that the poem was not an original composition by Drummond, and who was familiar with other versions of the epigram—or is it merely by chance that the second of the two lines (the only one materially altered from those written down by Drummond) coincides with the corresponding line in Bacon's famous paraphrase, *The World*:

> Not to be borne, or, being borne, to die?[2]

This line seems to have rung in people's ears in those days. Thus Bishop King in *An Elegy Occasioned by Sickness*[3]:

> At least with that Greek sage still make us cry,
> Not to be born, or, being born, to die.

Perhaps it is idle to speculate on who made the 'correction' in the Hawthornden MSS. It may, however, be noted that Sir John Scott of Scotstarvet, Drummond's brother-in-law, was probably the source whence Phillips got the MSS.; for some copies of Phillips' edition are dedicated to him in an epistle beginning, 'Sir—Having received these ingenious poems from your Honour[4].' Sir John Scott was interested in the epigram of Posidippus—he himself translated it into Latin[5]; and it is his translation that Phillips accounts the original of the poem he prints as Drummond's. It may be that Sir John Scott, knowing that the poem in the MSS. was but a translation, felt at liberty to improve what he thought to be his brother-in-law's version by substituting a line from a better one.

At all events, the poem is plainly not a translation of Sir John

[1] *The Poetical Works of William Drummond*, II, p. 173.

[2] Grierson, *Modern Language Review*, VI, p. 148 n., has some trouble with the reading of this line in Bacon's version. It seems that in Farnaby's Ἡ τῆς Ἀνθολογίας Ἀνθολογία, London, 1671, and in the Corpus and Trinity MSS. of *The World*, the ending is as above; but in the *Reliquiae Wottonianae* (1651) it reads:

> For being born, and, being born, to die.

Surely an intolerable line. Grierson supports the former of these two readings on 'the original [Greek], and...other imitations as Drummond's:

> Who would not one of those two offeres try,
> Not to be born, or, being born, to die?'

Grierson, seemingly, had not consulted Kastner's edition of Drummond. Still the 'correction' printed by Phillips supports Grierson's contention quite as well as a supposed 'imitation' by Drummond—that is, the 'correction' represents the then commonly-quoted version of this line.

[3] *The English Poems of Henry King*, ed. Mason, New Haven, 1914, p. 119.

[4] Kastner, *Poetical Works of William Drummond*, I, pp. lxxxiv–lxxxv.

[5] *Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum*, II, pp. 482–3.

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Scott's Latin rendition. Nor may we agree with Kastner when he says that 'Drummond's immediate model was not Sir John Scott's version, but one by Ronsard, as an examination of the phraseology clearly shows[1].' An examination of the phraseology shows surprisingly few similarities. Ronsard's version begins (with a hint from Martial)[2]:

> Quel train de vie est-il bon que je suive,
> Afin, Muret, qu'heureusement je vive?[3]

Again, where the English poem has:

> Tumultuous seas affrighting dangers yield,

Ronsard writes:

> Le matelot familier du labeur
> Dessus les eaux pallit tousjours de peur.

The Greek is simply *ἐν δὲ θαλάσσῃ | τάρβος*—of which the English is a reasonably close translation. In fact, both the English poems have every mark of being directly translated from the Greek, and are not ill-done. The only reason for connecting the first one with Ronsard's version is—on the assumption that Drummond wrote it—that Drummond has put into English a French version by Ronsard of another Greek Epigram[4]. Drummond, then, probably knew Ronsard's translation of Posidippus. He must also have been familiar with his own brother-in-law's Latin version in the *Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum*[5]. He probably knew the English versions in the *Art of English Poesie*. And, it seems, he knew, and copied into his commonplace-book, a fourth version, from Sir John Beaumont's *Bosworth-Field* about 1629.

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[1] *Poetical Works of William Drummond*, II, p. 374.

[2] Martial, X, 47. Martial, later in this epigram, may have had the Greek poem in mind; e.g. compare the last line, *summum nec metuas diem nec optes*, with the last line of the second Greek poem.

[3] *Œuvres de P. de Ronsard*, ed. Marty-Laveaux, II, p. 67.

[4] *Poetical Works of William Drummond*, I, p. 232.

[5] Published, at Sir John Scott's suggestion, by John Blaeu, Amsterdam, 1637.

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A SECOND VISIT TO GONDALIAND.

In January 1923 the editors of the *Modern Language Review* did me the honour of printing a paper of mine on *Gondaliand*, which contained an attempt to interpret some of the poems of Emily Brontë. Last Christmas there was published by Clement Shorter and C. W. Hatfield a volume called *The Twelve Adventurers* containing a number of stories written by Charlotte Brontë between the ages of twelve and twenty-one. Several of these stories are closely connected with poems by Emily, and their publication intensifies the interest of the interpretation of these poems, making it something more than mere literary curiosity. The study of the childhood of a genius is beginning to be regarded as scientifically important; it has always been humanly fascinating. When the gifted child is one of a fairly large family, as a rule the brothers and sisters have no unusual powers, and his relations with them are chiefly determined by age, which is of such vast importance in the nursery. If he is the eldest, he dominates the group, as Shelley dominated his little sisters. When he is the youngest, he is apt to be bullied for his oddity, as was James Anthony Froude. When he occupies a middle position in the family, he is likely to be shy, solitary, with a general sense of being 'out of it,' varied by bursts of popularity won by some brilliant invention.

But the Brontë family had not these ordinary features. All the four surviving children had mental powers considerably above the average, and they played together in such a way that each stimulated the imagination of the others. To see how they reacted upon each other, we may trace the career of one of their heroes, Alexander Percy. He was originally the creation of Branwell Brontë, who before 1834 wrote a spirited ballad[1] about the pirate Alexander Percy, *alias* the Hawk, and his ship the Red Rover. In 1834 he wrote *The Wool is Rising or the Angrian Adventurer*, about the same hero, who had left the sea, and under the *alias* of Alexander Rogue raised a revolution in the kingdom of Angria. This was one of the kingdoms which the children invented; possibly there were four altogether, lying at the four points of the

[1] T. J. Wise, *Bibliography of the Brontë Family*, pp. 172 ff., where a facsimile is given of a page of *The Wool is Rising*, and *The Rover* is printed in full but without date. Branwell Brontë was seventeen in 1834. Mr Wise says that *The Rover* was written earlier than this.

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compass. Gondal, Emily's country, was in the north; the Land of the Genii, Charlotte's country, in the south, in Africa; Branwell's country, from which Percy came, was in the west, and Anne's perhaps in the east, but hardly anything about it has been preserved.

Charlotte's country, with its capital the Glass Town, was at first a place of magic, derived from *The Arabian Nights*, but when she had outgrown magic, she changed its name to Angria, with the capital Verreopolis or Verdopolis. In her unnamed story of 1832, given in *The Twelve Adventurers* under the title of *Love and Jealousy*, occurs an episode of the Great Rebellion under Alexander Rogue. The principal characters in Charlotte's kingdom were the Duke of Wellington and his two sons, Arthur Marquis of Douro and Lord Charles Wellesley. Lord Charles is frequently the supposed author of the tales, though he did not write *Love and Jealousy*. The Marquis of Douro is almost invariably the hero. In her imaginary country as in life Charlotte was a staunch Tory. Alexander Rogue and his followers, the working men of Angria, are 'Beelzebubs of black iniquity,' and they are opposed by the (as yet) blamelessly virtuous Marquis of Douro, who in Parliament pronounces against them 'that celebrated oration which will be delivered to posterity as a finished specimen of the sublimest eloquence[1].' Apparently this speech alone was sufficient to end the rebellion, which vanishes completely out of the story.

The epic of Alexander Percy and the Marquis of Douro was woven between 1832 and 1834 by Branwell and Charlotte, when Emily, their junior, grew from fourteen to sixteen. It formed a background for her thoughts, and material for her imagination to work upon, of even more absorbing interest than the books she read. She assimilated and used it, as Charlotte had previously used *The Arabian Nights* and the story of Richard Cœur de Lion. A poem by Emily dated 1839,

> O between distress and pleasure
> Fond affection cannot be[2],

is the speech of a man bidding farewell to his sweetheart, as he is convinced they can never be happy together, and resolving to become an ocean rover. This may be the beginning of Percy's career as a pirate. An undated poem 'My ancient ship upon my ancient sea[3]' appears to be a meditation by Percy when he abandons the sea, and takes up the career of a revolutionary leader in the Glass Town.

Emily took her own line in developing the character of Percy. To

[1] *The Twelve Adventurers*, p. 132.
[2] *Complete Poems of Emily Brontë*, p. 323.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 311.

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Charlotte he was 'a master spirit of crime, a prince of sin[1],' but in Emily's poems he always appears as a mystic and a seer. Charlotte had little taste for descriptions of battles. Though wars frequently raged in her country, she passed over them as summarily as she did over the rebellion. Emily liked to write about fighting, and several of the poems which in my previous paper I assigned to the wars of King Julius in Gondal must really refer to the rebellion in Angria. Percy seems to have been victorious at first. The poem beginning:

> I do not see myself again
> A wanderer o'er the Atlantic plain[2],

describes his success. Finally, however, he was defeated in the battle of Zamorna by the Marquis of Douro. As the Marquis afterwards used the title of Duke of Zamorna, it may be that it was conferred on him in honour of his victory. The poem *To the Horse Black Eagle which I rode at the Battle of Zamorna*[3] ought not to be attributed to King Julius, as I formerly supposed, but to the Duke of Zamorna. The other poem about the battle is the lament of a woman whose lover fell 'On cursed Zamorna's howling plain[4].'

Several of Charlotte's earlier stories are about the Marquis of Douro's first marriage. He was educated in England, where he fell in love with the beautiful but untitled country maiden Marian Hume. After their betrothal he went to the Glass Town, and there encountered the magnificent Lady Zenobia Ellrington, who used every means, including magic, to win his affection. But her wiles were in vain. Douro remained true to his Marian. A week after his great speech against Alexander Rogue he married her with the utmost pomp, and they retired to his magnificent abode on the banks of the Gambia. 'It is a truly noble structure, built in the purest style of Grecian architecture, situated in the midst of a vast park, embosomed in richly wooded hills, perfumed with orange and citron groves, and watered by a branch of the Gambia almost equal in size to the parent stream[5].'

Between 1832 and 1834 Arthur Marquis of Douro became in Charlotte's stories Adrian Duke of Zamorna, elected king of Angria. At the same time his character underwent an astonishing change; he who had hitherto been a model of constancy in love became a cold-hearted trifler with the affection of women:

> I think I see him bending his head to speak to the Countess Zenobia or the Princess Maria or Lady Julia or perhaps Queen Henrietta, while he whispers words that touch the heart like a 'melody that's sweetly played in tune.' A low wind rises

[1] *The Twelve Adventurers*, p. 133. [2] *Complete Poems of Emily Brontë*, p. 133.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 263. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 158. [5] *The Twelve Adventurers*, p. 127.

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and sighs slowly onward. Suddenly his plumes rustle; their haughty shadow sweeps over his forehead; the eye,—the full, dark, refulgent eye,—lightens most gloriously; his curls are all stirred; smiles dawn on his lip. Suddenly he lifts his head, flings back the feathers, and clusters of bright hair, and, while he stands erect and god-like, his *regards* (as the French say) bent on the lady, whoever it be, who by this time is of course seriously debating whether he be man or angel, a momentary play of indescribable expression round the mouth, and elevation of the eyebrows, tell how the stream of thought runs at that moment; the mind which so noble a form enshrines! Detestable wretch!—I hate him![1]

This description is from *A Peep into a Picture Book* and is supposed to be written by his brother Lord Charles Wellesley, who in the early stories was his most ardent admirer.

Zamorna's first wife, Marian, died of his neglect and infidelity. In *A Peep into a Picture Book* his second wife is Mary Henrietta, the daughter of Alexander Percy, who, no longer a rebel, had mysteriously become Earl of Northangerland, Viscount Ellrington, husband of Lady Zenobia, who is his second wife, and prime minister of Angria.

Charlotte continued to write about Zamorna, his mistresses, and Mary Henrietta, at least as late as 1838, her work becoming gradually more mature. It is the early, rather childish, stories, however, which bear upon Emily's poems. Emily does not allude to the story of the Marquis of Douro and Marian Hume, except perhaps in the fragment beginning:

> The sunshine of a summer sun
> On the proud domes of Elrington (*sic*)
> Glows with a beam divinely bright[2];

which describes the palace of Ellrington in the Glass Town, and another:

> Oh, all the cares these noontide airs
> Might seem to drive away[3],

which resembles the description of Zamorna's palace on the Gambia. But there are numerous passages which seem to be fragments of a long poem on the relations of Zamorna with Percy and his daughter Mary. A lady-killer had no attraction for Emily's imagination, and though her description of Zamorna contains the passage:

> His eye was full of that sinful fire
> Which oft unhallowed passions light.
> It spoke of quickly kindled ire,
> Of love too warm, and wild, and bright.
> Bright, but yet sullied, love which could never
> Bring good in rising, leave peace in decline,
> Woe to the gifted, crime to the giver,
> Wherever reposed all the light of its shine[4],

she represents him as always devotedly attached to Mary. In Charlotte's

[1] *The Twelve Adventurers*, p. 175.
[2] *Collected Poems of Emily Brontë*, p. 309.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 233.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 296.

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Mina Laury, on the other hand, Zamorna's marriage with Percy's daughter is a political move, and he has no affection for her, though she adores him. Both his marriages, as described by Charlotte, were made with the consent of the bride's family, but Emily, who mentions no wife but Mary, makes their marriage an elopement. In *A Serenade*[1] her lover summons Mary to fly with him, but this poem, dated 4 May 1843, is outside the scope of the longer fragmentary work, which is undated.

Its opening is:

> Ladybird! ladybird! fly away home,
> Night is approaching, and sunset is come;
> The Herons are flown to their trees by the Hall;
> Felt, but unseen, the damp dewdrops fall.
> This is the close of a still summer day;
> Ladybird! ladybird! haste! fly away[2]!

There are about 150 lines, which continue without a break on page 228, 25 lines, and pages 229–30, 29 lines. Here the fragment ends.

It is evening. Percy, now an old man, has sat all day alone, musing under the trees of the park surrounding his ancient hall:

> Yet not to reveries of woe
> Clings Percy's wounded spirit so:
> Scarce bound by its worn chains of clay,
> The soul has almost soared away.
> Lightened and soothed insensibly
> By the lone home of wind and tree,
> Where now his mental broodings dwell,
> Vainly would man divine or tell.
> His upward look, his earnest eyes,
> Seem gazing e'en beyond the skies.
> Who calls him back to earth again
> Will bring a wild revulse of pain[3].

As the moon rises, Zamorna comes to him and rouses him from his vision. Percy reproaches the young Duke with inflicting this misery upon him. The only news he desires, Percy cries, is news of his daughter's death:

> But haply you have news to tell,
> Tidings that yet may cheer me well;
> You've crushed at last my rose's bloom,
> And scattered its leaves on her mother's tomb.
> Its faded buds already lie
> To deck my coffin when I die.
> Bring them here—'twill not be long,
> 'Tis the last line of the woeful song;
> And the final and dying words are sung
> To the discord of lute-strings all unstrung[4].

[1] *Collected Poems of Emily Brontë*, p. 184.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 291.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 293.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 296, 228.

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Zamorna replies by offering Percy an alliance:

> Is there not havoc and carnage for thee
> Unless thou couchest thy lance at me?
> The heart in my bosom beats high at the thought
> Of the deeds which by blended strength may be wrought.
> Then might thy Mary bloom blissfully still,
> This hand should ne'er work her sorrow or ill,
> No fear of grief in her bright eyes should quiver;
> I'd love her and guard her for ever and ever.
> What! shall Zamorna go down to the dead
> With blood on his hand that he wept to have shed?
> What! shall they carve on his tomb with the sword
> The slayer of Percy, the scourge of the Lord[1]?

Percy is about to reply when the fragment ends.

Next come two very disconnected passages which describe a beautiful girl delirious and dying in a chamber of state[2]. She sees the brilliant glow of sunset through the window, and longs for her home in the west. These are not continuous with one another, but, I think, two different attempts to describe the same scene. In both occurs the comparison of the girl's vivid but incoherent fancies to sunlight gleaming on broken splinters of glass on the ground. This must be the death of Mary.

There follows a complete poem[3] in which Zamorna describes their marriage, in an allegory of a stolen rose, the symbol for her which Percy had already used. Another collection of fragments contains a description of a funeral train 'long delayed by storm and snow,' setting out while the storm still rages, together with a number of disconnected verses of lament[4]. All may be experiments for the section of the poem which was to contain the death of Mary. Apparently Zamorna rushed away over the moor in an agony of grief and remorse; there is a description of his arrival at a shepherd's cottage, where his wild appearance chills the kindly hospitality of the peasants[5].

Finally come two passages which give two different points of view on the same situation. In that beginning 'The soft unclouded blue of air[6],' the speaker, who has lately suffered from a heavy grief, is out of doors, lying on the grass near a house, and soothed in his distress by the beauty of his surroundings. Through an open window he sees within the house 'that iron man,'—whom I take to be Zamorna, though he is not named. The watcher wonders whether the glorious day will not wake in him some tender memory of his childhood, but on drawing near sees that the man is outwardly unmoved:

> Oh, crime can make the heart grow old
> Sooner than years of wearing woe,
> Can turn the warmest bosom cold
> As winter wind or polar snow.

[1] *Collected Poems of Emily Brontë*, p. 229. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 234, 264. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 259.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp 216-8. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 144. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 331.

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This poem, dated 28 April 1839, has the rather priggish tone which Charlotte attributed to Lord Charles Wellesley, Zamorna's younger brother. The allusions to their mother and their childhood make it appropriate as the reflections of a brother, but this is the only possible appearance of Lord Charles in Emily's poems, so far as I can discover.

The other fragment[1] gives Zamorna's own feelings on this afternoon,—his weariness under a weight of sorrow which could not be relieved by tears, his detestation of the prying eyes that watch him. He can no longer feel the beauty of the summer-time. Life has lost its savour for him since Mary died. These two poems are a foreshadowing of the last chapters of *Wuthering Heights*. Heathcliff succeeded in all his schemes; his long-planned revenge was in his grasp,—but he felt that all life was meaningless. His interest failed, and he died because he had no motive for taking the trouble to live. Heathcliff himself must have been a Gondal,—the lonely child found on the moor without any trace of whence he came, who disappeared when he grew to manhood, no one knew whither, and returned wealthy, no one knew how.

There is a more definite idea behind this series than there is in other groups of Gondal poems. Percy is a mystic, Zamorna a man of action. They are the complement of one another, and they are partly aware of the immense power that, united, they might wield. A strong attraction draws them together, but it is frustrated by Zamorna's selfish ambition. He must be the dominating spirit; he will not accept an equal alliance. He resolves first to crush Percy, then, on his own terms, to make an alliance with him. But when he offers the alliance, it is too late. He has destroyed the possibility of their friendship. Mary is the symbol of their union. She loves Zamorna, and will even desert her father for him, but she cannot live if the two men remain in enmity. Zamorna knows what she craves, but he cannot or will not give it to her. She dies, and he realises that when he has lost Percy and Mary all the inspiration has gone out of his life. Action without vision is worth nothing.

This is a far cry from Alexander the Hawk aboard the Red Rover, and Alexander Rogue, the master-spirit of crime. The conception passed from mind to mind, each being so far similar as to be able to take hold of it, and so far different as to give it fresh development. It slowly matures and in the end just fails to come to complete fulfilment. The outline has survived, but it is incomplete.

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[1] *Collected Poems of Emily Brontë*, p. 237.

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THE CONCEPTION OF 'MESURE' IN SOME MEDIEVAL POETS.

THE extent to which the French writers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were conversant with the ethical, philosophical and artistic modes of thought of a previous age and how accurately their writings reflect the classical traditions and principles are becoming more and more apparent. These principles are more often illustrated in their works than formulated in treatises. In what has recently been termed 'un âge d'exquise civilisation,' the method of instruction by example rather than by precept was perhaps consciously followed. The example of Gauvain, 'chevalier plein de vaillance,' who failed in the quest of the Holy Grail for having trusted in his own strength and neglected the 'grâce des sacrements,' would impress the hearers more than any treatise on the 'impuissance de la volonté sans la grâce[1].' The moral principles tended perhaps to be less precisely formulated than the rules of rhetoric and art: the 'arts poétiques' were more numerous than the 'traités de morale.' So much the greater was the need for literature to step in and fill the gap. It is instructive to take one conception and trace it through its various shades of meaning. In a time of much restlessness, of disturbed social conditions and extravagant ideals, the virtue which made the greatest appeal to men's minds as something stable and reliable, whether in art, in chivalry or in love, was the fundamental virtue of moderation, of *temperantia*; the *mesure* of the French writers, the *mâze* of the German poets and moralists—the right proportion between too little and too much, the level course between too high and too low. There was nothing new in the basic conception. The golden mean, *μέσον* or *μεσότης*, was the essence of virtue to the Greek moral philosopher, as opposed to *ὕβρις*, the lack of moderation which brought catastrophe in its train. The Roman writers echo the same sentiments: Horace with his 'auream mediocritatem' (*Carm.* II, x) and his studied equipoise of feelings and judgment, Cicero in his *De Officiis*, where *temperantia* ranks with *prudentia*, *justitia* and *fortitudo* as one of the four cardinal virtues, maintain the Greek tradition. Like a tiny stream the idea sickers through the centuries till it emerges again and sends forth rivulets in all directions. The *Moralis philosophia de honesto et*

[1] Cf. É. Gilson, 'La mystique de la grâce,' *Romania*, LI, p. 328.

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utili (Migne, 171, 1007–1056), which was widely diffused in manuscripts and printed books from the twelfth to the sixteenth century, was based on Cicero's *De Officiis* with allusions to Seneca, Horace, Juvenal, Terence and Boethius[1]. Noticeable in this medieval version is the fact that in the section entitled 'De comparatione honestorum,' the first place is given to *temperantia* and then follow *fortitudo, justitia, prudentia.* Temperance, moderation, *mesure*, the greatest of social virtues, in love, in hate, in joy or in grief: 'But thogh attempree weping be ygraunted, outrageous weping certes is defended. Mesure of weping sholde be considered, after the lore that techeth us Senek' (Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales*, B, 2180). The opposite of outrageous, the equivalent of moderate ('attempree'), that this is the original meaning attached to *mesure* (Lat. *mensura*), whether in morals or in art, there can be no doubt: 'Semper ad omne quod est mensuram ponere prodest: Nam sine mensura non stabit regia cura' (*Carmina Burana*, II a and 82a); 'In omnibus una Est virtus: servare modum' (Geoffroi de Vinsauf, *Poetria nova*, l. 299). Examples of this meaning of *mesure* are numerous in the French, as also in the English and Provençal works of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It was a favourite theme for proverbs: 'De tout et par tout est mesure'; 'De tout est mesure fors de sa feme batre'; 'Mesure dure'; 'Li fruiz qui ne meüre Sanble home sanz mesure'; 'Chose ou a mesure plus longuement dure'; 'Si m'estuet ovrer par mesure Car la soe uevre toz jorz dure'; 'Sour toute creature Doit on amer mesure[2]'; 'Hons sans mesure est molt tost empiries[3]'; 'En tal loc fai sens fraitura On hom non garda mezura[4].'

The expressions formed by prefixing a preposition to this well-worn word both in French and Provençal were also numerous and their meaning is generally obvious: 'sans mesure,' 'outre mesure,' 'par mesure'; 'ab mezura,' 'ab dreyta mezura'; other compounds were formed: 'mesurable,' 'desmesure,' 'desmesurance,' etc. Chaucer took over the word itself with the expressions and the compounds, barely even translating them. Everyone knows of the doctor that he was 'of his diete mesurable.' Of the duchess we read:

> She nas to sobre ne to glad;
> In alle thinges more mesure
> Had never, I trowe, creature. (*Book of the Duchesse*, III, 875.)

[1] Cf. G. Ehrismann, 'Ritterliches Tugendsystem,' *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, Bd. LVI, p. 143.

[2] *Li Proverbe au Vilain*, 9, 28, 207, etc.; *Proverbes français antérieurs au XV^e siècle*, éd. Morawski, 565, 567, 1085, 1229, etc.

[3] *Raoul de Cambrai*, l. 2212.

[4] Appell, *Chrest. Prov.*, pp. 64, 83.

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He translates 'outre mesure' by 'out of mesure' and makes it synonymous with 'agayn resoun[1].'

The German attitude towards *diu mâze* (the equivalent of the Old French *mesure*) was a similar, if not a still more enthusiastic, one. *Diu mâze* is apostrophized as 'muoter aller tugende' (anonymous, twelfth century), as 'aller Werdekeit ein fuegerinne' (Walther von der Vogelweide); it is an indispensable attribute of the chivalrous life:

> Ritterschaft daz ist ein leben
> der im die mâze kan gegeben.

The man who lives 'in sîner mâze,' who neither aspires too high, nor sinks too low, will live to be covered with honours (*Winsbeke*, 41).

From its original meaning of moderation the word has acquired a slightly more specific meaning, and the ideal of right proportion, 'juste milieu,' proper place or natural course has evolved. This is clearly seen in the Provençal poem in honour of Ste Foy d'Agen:

> Recobral segles per natura;
> Totz bens torned en sa mesura
> El folz sofer sa gran ardura. (XL, 421.)

Everything to its right place: the fool to his burning, and the world back to its proper course. The middle path is the only right one:

> Si alcun vol la soma aver
> De la siensa d'aquest mon,
> Trop e pauc li fas a saber
> Trobi que duy contrari son:
> Si co hom per trop si confon,
> Si confon per pauc eyssamen
> Per qu'on deu *el miey dreitamen*
> Metre son sen ab tempramen. (Bertram Carbonel[2].)

This middle course, this safeguard against excess and hence against bad taste, was an essential characteristic of the 'fin amant.' In the poems of the troubadours *mezura* becomes gradually somewhat sublimated in its meaning. It is synonymous with *cortesia*, with good taste, with the fastidious judgment of the true lover:

> E car yeu vos soy fis amaire
> Lials e ses tota falsura,
> Prec vos, e car avetz mezura,
> Sen e saber e conoissenza. (Appell, 100, 130.)

Excess, even of praise, is an offence against this sharply-defined rule of conduct, since it detracts from the lustre of the object praised:

[1] See R. C. Goffin, 'Chaucer and "Reason,"' *Modern Language Review*, XXI, p. 18.
[2] Quoted E. Wechssler, *Kulturprobleme des Minnesangs*, Kap. II.

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Que trop lauzar destrega la lauzor
Del trop lauzat, et blasmal lauzador
Lai ou vertatz repren sa conoissenza.
A ma domna de Fois man per sa honor,
Que nol plassa desmezura en lauzor:
Que trop lauzar es blasmese falhenza. (*Sordello*, De Lollis, 164.)

Folquet de Marseille states explicitly that 'Cortesia non es al mas mesura,' and he whose actions are governed by this refining element gains much in value and reputation:

En Raymbaut, d'aquelh dic qu'es plus pros,
Qu'ab mezura fa totz sos faitz entiers,
E n'es sos pretz longamens cabalos. (Appell, 98, 10.)

The same refinement of meaning may be traced in the use of *mâze* by the Minnesinger: 'Mich wundert wes diu mâze bietet' sings Walther whilst he hovers between the rival attractions of 'niedere minne' and 'hohe minne.' Only Frau Mâze, the arbiter of eloquence, can really guide him aright.

If the meaning of *mesure* and *mâze* tended to become more refined and more elegant as time went on, the reverse was the case with their opposites *desmesure* and *unmâze*. When we come to the negatives it is the 'too much' rather than the 'too little' which gives colour to the meaning:

Si com per trop es om desmesuratz,
Es per pauc vils et tornatz a nien.... (*Sordello*, 166.)

Desmesure develops rapidly into the synonym of *orgueil*, *outrecuidance*, outrageousness of every sort. The most violent denunciation of the idea that we know of occurs in the poem of the Italian moralist Thomasin von Zirclairia, who voiced the sentiments of his time in a long work written in German about the middle of the twelfth century. In no measured terms in *Der Welhische Gast* he condemns this evil quality. It is the equivalent of *hôhvart* and *ubermuot*, the messenger of folly, the playmate of drunkenness, the fledgeling of pride (cf. Buch VIII, ll. 9885 f.). Kings have been brought low by it and many a man may be seen to have come to a bad end through it:

1067. Bi unsern zîten hât getân
unmâze unde ubermuot
manic leidigez gemuot
und habent brâht manigen man
Ze boesem end, swerz merken kan.

Then, after giving several examples taken from biblical history, the writer concludes:

Der ist gar ein unsælec man
der sîn gevert niht mezzen kan,

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words which recall inevitably the line of *Raoul de Cambrai* in which the author epitomizes the subject of his poem: 'Hom desreez a moult grant painne dure.' This brings us to the best exposition of this word of European reputation that the Middle Ages offer us.

Raoul de Cambrai is the incarnation of 'desmesure.' The idea is never quite absent from the *Chanson de Roland* (cf. l. 1725), but in *Raoul de Cambrai* it is ever-present and is the pivot on which everything turns. Raoul, gently nurtured by his mother and trained in all the knightly virtues, is a model of chivalry at the age of fifteen:

> Quant xv ans ot Raoul de Cambrizis
> A grant mervelle fu cortois et gentis.

But alas! the seeds of evil were there. A little later the praise is modified:

> Biax fu Raoul et de gente faiture;
> S'en lui n'eüst .1. poi de desmesure
> Mieudres vasals ne tint onques droiture.
> Mais de ce fu molt pesans l'aventure. (494 f.)

After this the condemnation is constantly repeated:

> 1269. Li quens Raoul fu molt desmesurez.
> 2010. Li quens Raoul fust si desmesurez.

Even Guerri le Sor, himself not remarkable for his moderation, reproves him at one point:

> Voir, dist Guerris, trop ies desmesurez.

Ybert, the father of Bernier, with the example of Raoul before him, twice warns his son:

> 2103. Hons sans mesure ne vaut .1. alier.
> 2212. Hons sans mesure est molt tost empiries.

The idea runs through the whole poem like the idea of fate in a Greek tragedy. It first emerges when Raoul's mother in a moment of exasperation curses her son; it becomes fully evident when Raoul, after burning the nuns and behaving outrageously to Bernier, blasphemes God on the battlefield; it is carried through to the end of the chapter where the boy Gautier, nephew of Raoul, whom he almost equals in *desmesure*, cannot be moved by the prayers of the gentle abbot to raise his suppliant enemies from their knees. Raoul de Cambrai brings us back to the proposition with which we started—that the literature of a given period, in the examples it chooses and in the warnings it erects, gives us the key to the ideals of that period whether they be specifically formulated or not.

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THE RELATIVE POSITION OF THE 'PERCEVAL' AND 'GALAHAD' ROMANCES.

THE question of the exact position which those romances of the Grail Quest of which Perceval and Galahad are the respective protagonists, bear to one another, is one which has been hotly debated. While there has been no difference of opinion in assigning priority to the poem of Chrétien de Troyes, and the date of the *Parzival* is, within certain limits, clearly established, the prose romances, the Didot-Modena *Perceval* (ascribed to Robert de Borron), and the *Perlesvaus* (by an unknown author), have been the subject of curious fluctuations of opinion. One group of scholars has held them to be of comparatively early date, i.e. not later than the close of the twelfth century, while others have not hesitated to place them at the extreme end of the evolutionary period of Arthurian romance, and to assign in each case a date approximating to 1230. Among Arthurian scholars advocating the earlier date may be mentioned Drs Nitze, Brugger, and the present writer, while the advocates of a late origin are represented by Dr Sommer, M. Ferd. Lot, and the late Professor Bruce[1].

Quite recently, and by pure accident, certain historical evidence has come into my hands, which appears to throw an entirely new light upon the social conditions underlying this group of romances, and would seem, not only to settle the actual point in dispute, but to go further in elucidating, in a wholly unexpected manner, the evolutionary process of the Grail theme.

In Dr Coulton's *Five Centuries of Religion*, Vol. I, a work the greater part of which is devoted to a study of the important reforms introduced into the monastic system by St Bernard (1091–1153), in a passage illustrating the disrepute into which the monasteries had fallen, the author remarks that prior to the Cistercian reformation many, desirous of saving their souls lived lives of poverty, and solitary penitence, rather than become monks, and cites, among other cases, that of a noble who lived for many years the life of a charcoal burner. He continues: 'The biographer of St Bernard of Tiron recounts how, towards the end of the eleventh century, the confines of Brittany and Maine were full of solitary Hermitages of this kind[2].'

[1] Cf. Bruce, *The Evolution of Arthurian Romance*, under the sections devoted to these two romances.

[2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 272–73.

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Now it is impossible for any one familiar with Arthurian romance not to be struck by the resemblance between the picture conjured up by this passage, and the position we find in the *Perceval* romances. Whether the writer be Chrétien, Wolfram, Borron, or the anonymous author of the *Perlesvaus*, he always represents the hero's spiritual adviser as a Hermit, generally a forest-dweller. In the three first mentioned the rôle is confined to the uncle of the hero, the brother of the Fisher King, but in the *Perlesvaus* Hermits abound. We have not merely the traditional uncle, here himself a king, Pelles, 'Roi de la Basse Gent,' and his son Joseus (a redoubtable member of the Church Militant!), but the Hermit of St Austin's Chapel, whom Arthur sets out to consult: the Hermit at whose death and subsequent judgment he assists *en route*: the Hermit who has charge of the orphan son of Marin le Jaloux: the Hermit met by Gawain who owes his youthful appearance to the years spent in service of the Grail: and the Hermit who baptizes King Gurgalain—all of whom we meet with in the first six books of our story, to say nothing of the twelve Hermits who accompany Perceval to the conquest of the Grail Castle. Whether the mysterious Men of the Island, to which the hero eventually departs, are to be considered as Hermits, or, as their badge, a Red Cross on a white ground, would suggest, as Templars, is an open question. The whole setting of the *Perlesvaus* corresponds with the description quoted by Dr Coulton: the confines of the fantastic kingdoms described in the romance are full of solitary Hermitages; nowhere in the story does the hero visit a monastery.

When we turn to the Galahad *Queste* we find ourselves in an entirely different atmosphere. Hermits are few and far between, and wear the garb of a monastic Order. Monasteries, mainly Cistercian, abound. This point has been so well brought out by M. Pauphilet in his elaborate study on the romance that it is unnecessary to enlarge upon it here[1].

The evidence is absolutely, and indisputably clear; the *Galahad* romances were composed after the reforms introduced by St Bernard had borne their full fruit, and the Cistercian monasteries had multiplied throughout France and England, where they far outnumbered the houses of other foundations[2].

The hard and solitary life of a Hermit was no longer necessary; in

[1] Cf. A. Pauphilet, *Études sur la Queste del Saint Graal*, Paris, 1921.

[2] Cf. here, *Five Centuries of Religion*; Miss Eileen Power's *English Medieval Nunneries*. Map's *De Nugis Curialium* gives some piquant stories of the methods employed by the Cistercians in extending their settlements, notably in the North of England. Map did not love the Order—a decisive proof, to my mind, that he had no hand in the composition of the *Queste*.

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view of the virtue which the mere imposition of the Cistercian habit conveyed, it was sufficient for any noble, knight, or lady, when aware of approaching death, to cause themselves to be conveyed to a monastery, and be clothed in the habit; dying thus their eternal salvation was assured[1]. This does not of course exclude the fact that there were always devout souls who preferred a solitary life, such as Richard Rolle of Hampole, but these were exceptions; the majority of those who desired a religious life betook themselves to the monasteries.

At this period, the first quarter of the thirteenth century, the Cistercian glory was at its zenith, but already signs of coming decay were visible, and in a very few years we shall find the Friars arising to undertake, on their side, another, and not less necessary, reformation.

But the fact is incontestable, the *Galahad* romances do faithfully reflect the religious conditions of the period at which they were composed.

Now let us turn back to the *Perceval* texts; can we say the same of them? So far as the *data* at our disposal go one and all of those we possess were composed not earlier than the close of the last quarter of the twelfth century. Chrétien's poetical activity has been tentatively placed within the twenty years, 1160–1180; Borron, the reputed author of the Didot-Modena *Perceval*, wrote some time within the closing decade of that century. The date of the *Perlesvaus* remains to be fixed; we have no clue to the identity of the author, but recent investigation tends to place it at about the same date, i.e. subsequent to the reputed discovery of the tombs of Arthur and Guenevere at Glastonbury, in 1191. The *Parzival* of Wolfram von Eschenbach, the only one of these romances we can place with any degree of certainty, was written in the opening years of the thirteenth century. What were the religious conditions of that date? Undoubtedly the same which obtained at the time the *Galahad* romance was written. St Bernard had died, his great work of reformation completed, in 1153; already, when the rules for the general Chapter were drawn up, in 1119, there were thirteen Cistercian Abbeys in France alone, and the provisions for the attendance of Abbots from the distant foundations shew how widespread were the activities of the Order. Thus, every Abbot whose monastery was in France, Germany, or Italy, was bound to attend annually; those from Spain every two years; from Ireland, Scotland, Sicily, and Portugal, every four years;

[1] For a full discussion of this practice, known as 'ad succurrendem,' cf. Coulton, *op. cit.*, under the above heading. Also pp. 368–72, for stories of the virtue inherent in a monk's habit.

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from Norway every five years; while those from Syria and Palestine were only expected to attend every seventh year[1].

How are we to explain this problem, that, while the *Galahad* Grail romances, composed in the first quarter of the thirteenth century, reflect with absolute fidelity the religious conditions of the period, the *Perceval* romances which, in their present form, are only some thirty years older, present us with a picture of a religious life a century older, and, at the period they were written, long outgrown?

In this connection it appears to me significant that in the *Perceval* continuation of Gerbert, which we know to have been composed after the appearance of the cyclic romances, the author falls into line with these. Perceval, instead of accompanying his sister to her home, as in Wauchier, leaves her at a nunnery, and himself visits an Abbey where he sees the wounded king, Mordrains. At the same time Gerbert retains the Hermit connection, and in one instance at least appears to have borrowed this from the *Perlesvaus*. Manessier, on the other hand, though he knows and uses the *Queste*, never brings Perceval to a monastery, although he represents him as receiving priest's orders before his death. His spiritual counsellor is here, as elsewhere, a Hermit. The Wauchier continuation, which, as is now generally recognized, contains very early material, knows nothing of monasteries.

It seems to me that the only rational explanation of these curious problems is that the *Perceval* story, which we know to be, in its essentials, of very early date, largely, so far as the hero himself is concerned, of Folk-tale origin, took form and shape, as a *Perceval-Grail* Quest, at a much earlier date than we have hitherto recognized—I would suggest not later than the first half of the twelfth century—and that subsequent writers who retold, or remodelled, the original romance faithfully retained the distinctive colouring.

The story cannot possibly have started with Chrétien de Troyes; by the time he wrote the conditions were practically those of the *Queste*; had the incidents of the tale been in any way of his invention, he must inevitably have given them the colouring then prevailing. We have an interesting indication of the fact that he recognized the archaic character of his material and tried to bring it up to date, by his introduction into the mother's counsels of the admonition to frequent churches and monasteries, a detail found nowhere else. Needless to say, in the

[1] Cf. J. Cotter Morison, *The Life and Times of Saint Bernard*, pp. 40–41. It is rather curious that there should be no mention of England; probably the close connection between the Angevin Kings and the Continent would bring the English Abbots under the annual regulation.

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course of his adventures, the hero encounters neither, though he mistakes the tent of the lady of the ring for such. Chrétien has made a spasmodic effort to bring his material into line with actual religious conditions, but he carried it no further, and none of the other *Perceval* writers did even so much.

Dr Brugger, in his carefully analytical study of the evolution of the Arthurian cycle (*Zeitschrift für französische Sprache*, XXIX), long ago expressed his opinion that Chrétien stood at the end, and not at the beginning, of the evolutionary period, and the evidence, as I hope to shew elsewhere, of the *Perlesvaus* text as to the variations in the account of the visit to the Grail Castle, to say nothing of the perplexing element of the Swan Knight contamination, certainly not derived from Chrétien, goes far to bear out that statement.

But here we have the evidence of actual historical fact to shew that had the *Perceval-Grail* romances indeed originated at the end of the twelfth century, they would inevitably have borne the impress of the conditions under which they were conceived. Had the Didot-Modena *Perceval*, or the *Perlesvaus*, for example, been written at a date subsequent to that of the *Queste* they would inevitably have conformed to the prevailing religious atmosphere, whereas both of them, and the latter in particular, agree in the most striking manner with the picture drawn by the biographer quoted by Dr Coulton, of the conditions prevailing at the end of the eleventh century.

Is it not time that we took a larger view of the Arthurian problem; that we no longer confine ourselves to a comparison of the existing texts, but enquire into the social and religious conditions of the period at which these texts were presumably composed? All writers did not live in the same *milieu*. All had not access to the same sources—a detail too often overlooked; the texts at the disposal of a court poet would be others than those consulted by an ecclesiastic. As the evidence above set forth proves the problems involved in the great question of the evolution of Arthurian romance cannot all be solved by the mere process of textual comparison, they cover a wider ground, and make demand upon more extended sympathies. In view of the evidence above adduced I would submit that we are now justified in asserting (*a*) that there were *Perceval* romances before Chrétien de Troyes; (*b*) that both the D.M. *Perceval*, and the *Perlesvaus* are certainly older than the *Queste*, and owe nothing whatever to the cyclic romances.

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RARE OR UNEXPLAINED WORDS IN THE ANGLO-NORMAN 'VOYAGE OF ST BRENDAN.'

A CONTRIBUTION TO FRENCH LEXICOGRAPHY.

THE Anglo-Norman poem of 1840 octosyllabic lines on the *Voyage of St Brendan*, written probably in 1121 by a certain Beneeit at the command of Aaliz of Louvain, shortly after her marriage to King Henry I of England, possesses a linguistic importance quite out of proportion to its length. The variety and interest of its vocabulary are remarkable, especially when compared with the poverty and commonplaceness of the vocabulary of Beneeit's contemporary, Philippe de Thaün. Owing to the varied nature of the subject-matter (a description of Brendan's adventurous voyage in search of the Earthly Paradise) and the realistic tendency of the author, the poem contains a large number of rare, often unique, words. Many of these have already been satisfactorily explained in existing dictionaries and dissertations; but many others have been overlooked or left uncertain owing to the absence of a critical edition. Being in possession of all the MS. material, I venture to offer explanations of the meaning and etymology (or formation) of some of the latter. This will incidentally help to lighten the notes of a critical edition of the poem, which I hope to bring out at no distant date. Many other words in the text deserve discussion; but attention has been concentrated on those cases in which some definite conclusion seemed attainable.

It is fortunate that the author, though Anglo-Norman, shows no sign of uncertainty as regards rhymes or the counting of syllables. All his lines are regular, but with this peculiarity, that when they end with a feminine rhyme the final atonic syllable counts as the eighth. The deliberate choice of an exceptional metre, the skilful observance of the medial break or 'caesura,' and the constant use of leonine rhymes, show that the author (in spite of the modest tone of his prologue) was fully conscious of his powers as a versifier, and prided himself on his strict observance of rules. Thanks to these circumstances, and the happy way in which the manuscripts check and complete each other, it is possible to reconstitute almost every line of the original text with tolerable certainty.

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The poem is preserved in the following MSS.:

A. London, Brit. Mus., Cotton Vesp. B. X[1], fol. 1–11 r°; Anglo-Norman, end of twelfth century; the completest, and the closest to the original; it has been made the basis of the critical text. A diplomatic copy of this MS. was published by H. Suchier (in Boehmer's *Romanische Studien*, I, pp. 567 ff.), and an inaccurate transcript by F. Michel (*Les Voyages Merveilleux de Saint Brandan*, Paris, 1878).

B. Paris, Bibl. Nat., nouv. acq. fr. 4503, fol. 19 v°–42 r°; Anglo-Norman, end of twelfth century; omits many passages, especially the more difficult; towards the end of the poem it abridges violently.

C. Oxford, Bodleian, Rawl. D 913, fol. 85; Anglo-Norman, end of twelfth century; contains vv. 1–310 only, and some of these are illegible. Variants of this MS. were given by Suchier, *op. cit.*, pp. 564–6.

D. York, Chapter Library, 16 K 12, part I, fol. 23–36 r°; Anglo-Norman, early thirteenth century; written by an erratic scribe, but apparently based on a good MS.

E. Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal, 3516, fol. 96–100; Picard, probably written in 1267 or 1268; the text has been considerably rejuvenated, and the expansion of feminine lines to a normal length (practised in some degree by all the scribes) has been carried out systematically. A diplomatic copy of this MS. was published by T. Auracher in *Ztschr. f. roman. Phil.*, II, pp. 438 ff.

Mistakes common to A and B, D and E respectively indicate that each of these pairs of MSS. was based on a MS. derived independently from the original. A translation of the poem in Latin prose (published by C. Plummer in *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, II, Oxford, 1910, pp. 270 ff.; here designated L), based on a MS. which probably did not belong to either the AB or the DE group, often assists materially in establishing the original text; conclusive evidence was brought forward by E. Pfitzner (*Das anglonormannische Gedicht von Brendan als Quelle einer lateinischen Prosafassung*, Diss. Halle, 1910) to prove that the Latin version was based on the French poem, and not vice versa.

Free use has been made of the following dictionaries, which are referred to, as a rule, by the author's name: for Latin (classical and medieval), Lewis and Short, Forcellini, Du Cange; for French, Godefroy, Tobler and Lommatzsch, Littré, the *Dictionnaire Général*; for Provençal, Raynouard, Levy, Mistral; for English (early and modern), Bosworth and Toller, the *New English Dictionary*; for Old Icelandic, Cleasby and Vigfusson, Zoëga; for German etymologies, Kluge; and for Romance etymologies, Meyer-Lübke. The *Navigatio Sancti Brendani*

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(the source of the Anglo-Norman poem) has been quoted from the edition by C. Wahlund (in *Die altfranzösische Prosaübersetzung von Brendans Meerfahrt*, Upsala, 1900, pp. 2 ff.), and in important cases the text of C. Schröder (in *Sanct Brandan*, Erlangen, 1871, pp. 3 ff.) has also been consulted. The studies by J. Vising (*Étude sur le dialecte anglo-normand du XII^e siècle*, Upsala, 1882), R. Birkenhoff (*Über Metrum und Reim der altfranzösischen Brandanlegende*, Marburg, 1884) and H. Calmund (*Prolegomena zu einer kritischen Ausgabe des ältesten französischen Brendanlebens*, Bonn, 1902) have been utilized. I am greatly indebted to Mr C. T. Onions for some valuable hints with regard to the Germanic etymologies, and to Professor P. Studer for looking through this paper and suggesting a number of improvements.

ACHALI(T), ACALI(T), past part. as adj. 'insensible, stupefied.'

V. 1366 (Judas is describing to Brendan his weekly round of torments):

Par le lundi e nuit e jurn
En la roë sui en tresturn,
E jo chaitis, encroëz enz,
Turni tant tost cum fait li venz.
Venz la cunduit par tut cel air,
Tot dis m'en voi, tot dis repair.
Puis el demain en sui galiz,
Cum cil qui est tot *acaliz*.

Variants to v. 1366: B *Cume*; B *tut eschaliz*, E *tos acalis*; D *Quant li cuirs m'es tut achaliz*. The agreement of A and E authenticates the line.

Godefroy has *acali*, adj. 'embrasé,' giving this example only; and Calmund (p. 86) derived *acaliz* from **adcalitus*. Both apparently connected the word with Lat. *calēre* 'to be hot'; but there is no question here of Judas' experiencing heat (the torment of fire is reserved for Wednesdays). Tobler quotes two examples of *achali*, adj. from *fabliaux*, and translates 'träg, saumselig,' which suits the context perfectly; he omits, however, the *Brendan* example.

The word has no connection with *calēre*, but is derived from V. Lat. *callīsco*, **callīre*, which replaced Lat. *callĭsco*, *callĭscere* 'to become hardened, dull, insensible,' the inchoative form of *calleo*, *callēre* 'to be hardened' (cf. Lewis and Short). The survival of this verb in the Romance languages does not seem to have been pointed out hitherto, although the substantive *callum* 'hard skin or flesh' persists in Ital., Span. and Port. *callo* (Meyer-Lübke, 1521). The tendency of inchoative verbs to join the *punīsco*, *punīre* type is well known (cf. E. Herzog in *Ztschr. f. roman. Phil.*, XXIV, pp. 81 ff.); thus *florescere*, *putrescere*,

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evanescere, **asserescere* became **florire*, **putrire*, **exvanire*, **asserire* respectively (cf. *Brendan*, v. 1321, *aserir* 'to become evening'). The French representative of **ad-callīre* would be **achalir* 'to become insensible, stupefied,' of which *achali(t)* is the past participle. Vv. 1365–6 may be translated: 'Then on the morrow I am violently cast out of it like a man who is completely stupefied.' By a natural extension the word came to mean also (in Tobler's examples) 'slow, sluggish.'

The variant of MS. B is interesting, in that it suggests the existence of a verb *eschalir* < **ex-callīre*, another derivative of *calleo*; but I can furnish no other example.

ACHANT, s.m. 'tilt, lurch, sudden overturning movement'; *prendre a.*, 'capsize.'

V. 1018 (a griffin attacks the voyagers):

Uns grips flammanz del air descent,
Pur eals prendre les ungles tent,
E flammantes ad les goës,
E trenchantes fort les poës.
Bord de la nef n'i ad si fort,
Sul od l'ungle que nel en port;
Pur sul l'aïr e le sun vent
Pur poi la nef *achant* ne prent.

Variants to v. 1018: *Pur*] E *A*; A *naf*; *achant*] D *tute*, E *parmi*; *prent*] DE *fent*. L renders vv. 1017–8: *Alis suis creberrime percucientibus aera tam fortiter verberavit, ut navem fere cogeret periclitare.* D and E probably derived *fent* from their common original; but their readings are more hackneyed, and therefore less acceptable, than that of A and B.

Godefroy omits *achant*. Tobler gives this example only, but no explanation. Meyer-Lübke (in *Ztschr. f. frz. Spr. u. Lit.*, XLV, p. 266) added a useful note on the verb *achanter*, but did not explain the substantive.

It is clearly a verbal noun from *achanter*, of which a few examples are quoted by Godefroy and Tobler (cf. also *achanteler*), the general meaning being 'to place or turn on the side.' Here it is quite naturally applied to the sudden lurch of a ship which capsizes. Vv. 1017–8 may be rendered: 'On account of the mere impetuosity (of its flight) and the wind that it creates, the ship all but capsizes.' English *cant*, which is probably from the French, is used in exactly the same sense (cf. *New Eng. Dict.*, *cant* v.[2] and sb.[1]).

For the etymology see Meyer-Lübke, 1616, *canthus*.

AGREIE, s.f. 'equipment.'

V. 1498 (the voyagers praise God for his unfailing assistance):

Mercïent Deu de lur veies
E de tutes lur *agreies*.

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So MSS. A and B; D *E de trestutes lur agrees*, E *E de lor mals e de lor joies* (: *voies*). The Picard writer of E, puzzled by *agreies*, preferred to invent a new line.

This substantive belongs to a well-known group of words, of which the majority are nautical terms: O.Fr. *greie* 'rigging' (*Vie de St Gile*, v. 884), *agreier* 'to rig, equip' (*ibid.*, v. 929), Mod.Fr. *gréer*, *agréer*, *agrès*, *gréage*, *gré(e)ment*, etc. (cf. Littré and the *Dictionnaire Général*). O.Fr. *agrei*, *agroi* 'equipment' (e.g. of a fighting man or of a horse) and *agreier* 'to prepare' (*4 Livres des Reis*, I, viii, 12) belong to the same group, though not used in a nautical sense (cf. Tobler, *agroi*). The feminine substantive is known only from the example in *Brendan*, which Tobler quotes (under *agroie*) with a note of interrogation. It seems here to be used in a general sense, like *agroi*; Brendan and his companions thank God not merely for their nautical equipment, but also for their clothing and food-supplies. The author of the poem was keenly interested not only in the equipment of the boat (vv. 173–180, 597–602), but also in the material needs of his voyagers (vv. 181–4, 285 ff., 603–8, etc.); cf. especially vv. 959–60.

It might be suggested that *agreie* stands for **agree*, a feminine form of *agré* 'pleasure,' verbal substantive from *agreer* (derived from *gratum*), of which Tobler gives one example; the spelling *agrees* actually appears in MS. D. But *ei* does not rhyme in this text with *e* (of any origin), except possibly in one instance (*clartét* : *pareit* 'wall,' vv. 275–6) where the text is uncertain.

The origin of *agreie* and the related words is clearly Germanic, though opinions differ as to their exact source. G. Baist (in *Ztschr. f. roman. Phil.*, XXXII, p. 45) derived them from the Old Norse verb *greiða* 'to make ready, prepare, equip,' etc. The English verb *graith*, which represents the same word, is found in the senses of 'to array in clothes or armour' (cf. *agroi*), 'to dress (a person),' 'to fit out (a vessel),' etc.; cf. *New Eng. Dict.* The substantives *greie*, *agroi* could be taken direct from the Old Norse *greiði*, s.m. 'arrangement, equipment, etc.'; cf. W. Frahm, *Das Meer und die Seefahrt in der altfranzösischen Literatur*, 1914, p. 59. The English substantive *graith* signifies 'equipment in general,' 'apparel,' 'armour,' 'harness,' 'gear, tackle,' etc. The *Dictionnaire Général*, however, pointed out that, in spite of the occurrence of *agreier*, etc. in O.Fr., *gréer* and its derivatives came into current use only in the eighteenth century, and based them on Old Dutch *gereiden* 'to prepare.' Meyer-Lübke (3739) followed the *Dictionnaire Général*, but admitted the Old Norse origin as a possible alterna-

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tive. The Old French and Anglo-Norman forms are surely of Norse origin; but this does not preclude the possibility of a further borrowing from Dutch in the Modern French period.

AIG(U)AGE, EWAGE, s.m. 'channel, water-way.'

V. 569 (the voyagers land on the Isle of Birds):

La nef leisent en l'*aiguage*
E mangerent al rivage.

Variants to v. 569: D *leisserent*, E *laissierent*; *aiguage*] A *eugue*, BE *aigage*, D *ewage*. L has: *Viri sancti requiem terre desiderantes, super litus sedentes reficiuntur*. The corrupt reading of MS. A might represent either *aiguage* or *eiguage* (cf. *aigue* v. 332, *eigue* v. 1001) or possibly *ewage*; the form adopted is that which agrees best with other spellings of the MS.

In an earlier passage (vv. 489 ff.) the author has described how Brendan and his monks drew their ship with ropes up a watercourse (*un duit*) until they reached at the head of the stream a great tree filled with white birds. It is in this stream that they leave their boat. Godefroy's translation 'étendue d'eau' (based on MS. E of the *Brendan* only) is therefore inaccurate.

The word is not derived, as might be expected, from a V.Lat. form **aquaticum* (Calmund, p. 77), but from *aquagium* 'aqueduct,' a word found from about 200 A.D. (cf. Lewis and Short, Du Cange). *Aquagium* is based on a combination of *aqua* and *agere* 'to lead, bring.' The same word persisted in English down to the eighteenth century in the form *aquage*, meaning either 'watercourse' or 'toll paid for water-passage'; the parallel form *ewage* is found only with the second of these meanings (cf. *New Eng. Dict.*).

AINE, s.f. 'groin'; *pendre en aines*, 'hang suspended, dangle.'

V. 1717 (description of the sword over the gate of Paradise):

Dreit al entrer pent uns glavies—
Qui cel ne creint nen est savies—
La mure aval, le helt amunt;
N'est merveille si poür unt.
En *aines* pent, e turnïet;
Sul del vedeir esturdïet;
Fer ne roche ne adamant
Ne pot guarir a sun trenchant.

Vv. 1717–8 are missing in MSS. B and D; the reading adopted is that of A, except that *e* has been supplied in v. 1717; E *Es aisnes pent e si tornoie Con rais de soleil qui flamboie.*

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The expression *pendre en eines* occurs also in Adgar's *Legends of the Virgin Mary* (ed. Neuhaus, 1886, p. 218, v. 43; not quoted by Tobler), and *soustenir comme en aines* was used in the early fourteenth century by Guillaume Guiart (cf. Tobler); in these examples the meaning is clearly similar to that in v. 1717 of the *Brendan*. In the other example quoted by Tobler (*Amadas et Ydoine*, v. 3085, *estre en aines* used of a lady who swoons on seeing her lover in distress) the expression appears to be used in a metaphorical sense.

Tobler places *en aines* under *aine* (<*inguen*) 'groin,' but adds no explanation. I would suggest that *pendre en aines* signified originally 'to hang between the groins (like a penis),' and thus acquired the general sense of 'to dangle, be suspended.' As in the case of many other picturesque but vulgar expressions, its literal meaning may have become obliterated; though the rareness of its appearance in literary texts might well be due to the fact that the primitive sense was still realized.

AMASSER, v.n. 'unite, become a single mass.'

V. 1159 (a gigantic devil hurls at the voyagers a fiery blade of metal):

Cum plus halcet, e plus enprent,
E en alant forces reprent;
Primes depart, puis *amasset*;
Ne cheot sur eals, ainz les passet.

For the preceding lines, see *galeste*. In v. 1157, MSS. BDE have *esprent*. In v. 1159 the four MSS. agree, except that E adds *e* before *puis*.

The meaning appears to be that the piece of semi-molten metal, as it flies through the air, 'blazes the more, the higher it rises, and gains strength as it proceeds; it first splits up (into two or more fragments), then combines again into one mass; it does not fall upon them (i.e. Brendan and his monks), but passes beyond them.'

The picturesque description reminds one of Joinville's account (§206) of 'feu gregeois'; it is not impossible that the author of the *Brendan* may be utilizing some personal experience in this passage. Tobler mentions this example of *amasser*, but notes that it is obscure. In v. 1668 the verb is used in its ordinary sense, as a transitive verb, 'to mass, heap up.'

AMASSÉ(T), past part. as adj. 'massive, solid.'

V. 681 (the disciples of St Ailbe issue in solemn procession from their monastery to meet Brendan and his monks):

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675 Li abes del leu fait porter fors
Ses reliques e ses tresors:
Cruz e fertres e les tistes
Bien engemmez de amestistes,
De or adubez e de peres
680 Preciuses e enteres,
Od encensers de or *amassét*,
E les gemmes enz encassét.

Vv. 679–82 are missing in MS. B. The reading adopted in vv. 681–2 is that of A (except that the scribe muddled the spelling of *encensers*). D has: *Od censiers d'or amasez* (: *enchasez*), E *E d'encensiers d'or amasse* (: *encasse*), L *cum turribulis auro et lapidibus preciosis nitentibus.*

The virtual agreement of A and E suffices to guarantee the reading adopted in vv. 681–2; moreover D constantly replaces final *t* by *z*. The non-agreement of *encassét* with *gemmes* is merely an example of O.Fr. laxity as regards the agreement of past participles, and need cause no surprise in an Anglo-Norman text. To correct the rhyme-words to *amassez* : *encassez* would help little, as *encassez* would still be of the wrong gender, and it is difficult to make *amassez* refer to *encensers*. Calmund (p. 130) discussed the passage, but without coming to any definite conclusion.

Amassét is here used adjectivally, as an epithet of gold, in a sense corresponding exactly to English *massive* 'solid, not hollow or plated' (cf. *New Eng. Dict.*). The treasures of the monastery include 'censers of massive gold, in which gems are set.' Godefroy and Tobler do not give this meaning of the word. Du Cange gives an example of *ammassatus* 'in unam massam redactus' (referring to frozen wine), but this has rather the sense of English *massy* 'solid and weighty.'

ASEN, s.m. 'teaching, instruction.'

V. 583 (God's messenger meets the voyagers on the Isle of Birds, as pre-arranged):

581 En prime main al cler soleil
Ast vus venant le Deu fedeil
Par qui *asen* unt cest avei,
E par sun dun unt le cunrei.

Variants to v. 583: B *assen*, D *asens*, E *assent*; *unt*] B *vont*; *avei*] E *anoi* (: *conroi*). The corresponding passage in L is: *ecce Dei minister cujus erudicione edocti sunt, et administratione victum habent.*

This is a verbal substantive from *asener* (see below), used in a sense corresponding exactly to the verb. The *minister Dei* (or *bon oste*, as he is called in the French text) had previously (vv. 423 ff.) given the voyagers instructions as to their future movements, and had promised to meet them on the Isle of Birds. Hence it is natural to translate:

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'through whose teaching they have this guidance.' Were *asen* taken in the more usual sense of 'indication of direction,' it would become synonymous with *avei* in the same line. The author of the Latin translation clearly gave *asen* the meaning here indicated. Godefroy (under *assens*) and Tobler (under *assen* and *assens*) do not recognize this meaning; but one of the examples quoted by Tobler under *assen* supports the present explanation. This is v. 318 of the *Lai de l'Oiselet* (Barbazan et Méon, *Fabliaux et Contes*, III, p. 124):

> Vos m'aprenderez l'autre sen (i.e. the third precept),
> Car des deus ai je bien l'*assen*;

where *assen*, though translated 'Gewinn, Erwerb,' undoubtedly means 'instruction.'

The variants of D (*asens*) and E (*assent*, verbal substantive from *assentire*) in v. 583 reflect the confusion which prevailed in O.Fr. regarding the use of these forms. The derivatives of Germ. *sin* and Lat. *sentio, sensus* became inextricably mixed, and Godefroy and Tobler were doubtless justified in including *assen* and *assens* under one heading. In vv. 788 and 1546 of the *Brendan*, *asens* (rhyming in each case with *tens*) is used with the meaning 'indication of direction,' derived from German *sin* 'direction.' But *assent* ought surely to be treated separately; and why are three examples of *assen* arbitrarily placed under a separate heading in Tobler, col. 575 (misprinted as 557)?

ASENER, v.a. 'instruct, teach.'

V. 474 (Brendan explains to his monks the nature of the fish-island):

> N'est pas terre, ainz est beste,
> U feïmes nostre feste,
> Pessuns de mer sur les greinurs.
> Ne merveillés de ço, seignurs.
> Pur ço vus volt Deus ci mener
> Que il vus voleit plus *asener*.
> Ses merveilles cum plus verrez,
> En lui mult mielz puis encrerrez.

Variants to v. 474: A *Qui il*; D *Que il vult plus aseigner*, E *Que plus nos voloit asener*. The passage in L corresponding to vv. 473–4 is: *Ideoque illam nobis ostendi voluit Dominus, ut ex eo magis cognosceremus, quoniam 'mirabilis Deus in sanctis suis.'*

V. 508 (Brendan desires to know the significance of a great tree covered with birds):

> Li abes prent a merveiller,
> E prïet Deu sun conseller
> Que li mustret quel cose seit,
> Si grant plentét d'oiseus que deit,
> Quel leu ço seit u est venuz,
> D'iço l'*asent* par ses vertuz.

In v. 508 MSS. A, D and E agree, B reads *De ço l'enseint.*

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V. 1778 (an angelic youth shows Brendan the delights of Paradise):

Mult bien avant l'ad cil menét,
De multes riens l'ad *asenét*;
Bien diviset, e si li dit
De quel avrat chascuns delit.

The passage is missing in B. Variants to v. 1778: D *l'unt asenez*; E *De molt de riens l'a asené.* L has: *Quem quidem juvenis alias duxit, et multa sibi monstravit; et multa docens, et varia distinguens....*

In each of these passages the same meaning is required. O.Fr. *sen* had derived from Germ. *sin* (Meyer-Lübke, 7932) the meaning of 'sense, wisdom,' which the German word had probably taken over from Lat. *sensus*; cf. O.Fr. *sené* 'wise, prudent.' Hence *asener* was used in the sense of 'to make wise, teach,' a meaning not explicitly given by Godefroy or Tobler. The variants of D in v. 474 and B in v. 508 suggest the possibility of confusion with *enseigner.*

ASORBER, v.n. 'lose one's sight.'

V. 1656 (description of the dense fog surrounding Paradise):

Li granz calins tant aorbet,
Qui i entret, tuz *asorbet*,
Si de Deu n'at la veüe
Qui poust passer cele nue.

So MS. A; in B the passage is missing. Variants to vv. 1655–6: D *Li g. chalins mult les aorbet Kar qui enz est tuit en asorbet,* E *Li g. c. tant i aorbe Cels que i entrent tos asorbe.* L has: *Caligo quidem adeo magna erat, quod si quis in ea esset, se lumine privatum judicaret.*

Of the two O.Fr. verbs *assorber*, derived from *absorbere* and *orbus* respectively, this is the second, as vv. 1657–8 indicate. But Godefroy and Tobler give it as a transitive verb only, meaning 'to deprive of sight, blind,' whereas in this case an intransitive verb is required. The reading of MS. A, sufficiently supported by D (in spite of the alteration of *tuz* to *tuit*), and wilfully altered by E (who wished to make *asorber* transitive), is clearly the correct one. It is natural that the subject of *asorbet* should be the same as that of the subordinate verb in v. 1657, and the Latin translator has interpreted the sentence in this way. The passage may therefore be rendered: 'The great fog blinds one so much, that whoever enters it loses his sight completely, unless he has received from God the vision which could penetrate that cloud.'

The verb *as(s)orber* is a less common form of *essorber* < *exorbare*, with the same change of prefix (or phonetic change?) as in *asperir* for *esperir*, *aspirer* for *espirer* (*Brendan*, v. 142), *assaier* for *essaier*, etc. The corresponding Provençal verb *eisorbar* is used, like the French verb, in

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both transitive and intransitive senses. Meyer-Lübke (3026) omits to mention the French representative of *exorbare*.

AVEI, s.m. 'guidance.'

V. 583 (for the text, see *asen*).

Godefroy, under *avoi*, quotes this example, which he translates 'chemin, route,' and one other very dubious example (*Mystère de St Crespin*, p. 69) which he renders 'conduite, manière d'agir.' Calmund (p. 92) explained the word correctly as a verbal substantive from *aveier*; but *avei, avoi* is omitted by Tobler.

Since O.Fr. *aveier, avoier* (from *ad* + *viam* + *-are*) signifies 'to guide, direct,' *avei* may be translated 'guidance,' which is the sense required by the context. The verb *aveier* occurs with its normal meaning in v. 140 of the poem.

BEIT(I)ER, BEITRER, v.n. 'steer.'

V. 233 (the voyagers are becalmed and lose their bearings):

As aviruns dunc se metent,
La grace Deu mult regrettent,
Quer ne sevent quel part aler,
Ne quels cordes deient haler,
Quel part *beitrer*, quel part tendre,
Ne u devrunt lur curs prendre.

In v. 233 MSS. A and C have *beitrer*, B *beitier*, D *beiter*, E *bouter*; D and E add *ne* before the second *quel*. L renders vv. 233–4: *Sed ignotum est eis quo intendant, aut quo proram erigant* (corr. *dirigant*?)

The word figures in Godefroy and Tobler as *beltrer*, on the strength of Michel's reading of MS. A of the *Brendan*, although Suchier read the word as *bettrer*. Bartsch (in Bartsch and Horning, *La langue et la littérature françaises*, col. 79) read *bettrer* in MSS. A and C, *bettier* in B, *beiter* in D, but inserted in his critical text the form *better*, which he translated 'poursuivre.'

Both *beltrer* and *bettrer* are, however, erroneous readings. A close examination of photographic facsimiles of each of the MSS. (except C, of which I have studied the original) leaves no doubt whatever that the correct readings are as given above. In MS. A, which first gave rise to the error, the *i* of *beitrer* bears no accent, stands rather high, and is met below its apex by the horizontal bar of the following *t*; hence it could easily be misread as *t*, but *l* is out of the question. In the other MSS. the word is perfectly clear, but E has replaced the unfamiliar expression by *bouter* 'to thrust.' The form *beltrer*, in default of any other example, should therefore disappear from O.Fr. dictionaries. Bartsch's emenda-

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tion *better* (=*beter*? cf. Meyer-Lübke, 1065, and Tobler) is against all the MSS., and the meaning that he attributes to it seems arbitrary and unsatisfactory.

The context and the Latin translation indicate 'to steer' as the meaning required. A. Delboulle (in *Romania*, XXXII, p. 445) suggested that *beltrer* was a derivative of *beautre* or *peautre* (earlier **beltre* or **peltre*) 'gouvernail'; and G. Paris (in *Romania*, XVII, p. 103) had previously connected *peautre* with Lat. *pelta* 'léger bouclier,' of Greek origin. Unfortunately this etymology must be rejected together with the form *beltrer*.

The use of the word as a nautical term, and its occurrence in an Anglo-Norman text only, suggest that its origin was probably English or Norse. No early English word with suitable form and meaning is available, but in Old Norse we find a verb which appears to satisfy all requirements, namely *beita*. According to Cleasby and Vigfusson *beita*, of which the basic meaning is 'to cause to bite,' was freely used as a nautical term, in the sense of 'to cruise,' i.e. 'to let the ship bite the wind.' Zoëga renders it by 'to steer.' It is difficult not to see in Old Norse *beita* the source of the O.Fr. verb. The form *beitier* would be its normal equivalent in French, such a word being naturally assimilated to forms like *traitier*, *afaitier*, *coveitier*, etc., in which *ie* for *e* was due to a preceding yod; cf. O.Fr. *haitier* based on Old Norse *heit* (Meyer-Lübke, 4096). The form *beitrer* is less easy to explain. It might conceivably be derived from the Old Norse form *beitr* with flexional *r*, used as pres. indic. 3 sg. and as past participle; but no similar instance seems to be known. Alternatively, *r* may have arisen spontaneously after a dental consonant; but in all other examples of this development (e.g. *arbalestre*, *dartre*, **peltre-peautre*, *perdriz*, *rustre*, *tertre*) the dental is supported by a spirant or liquid consonant.

BRANDE, s.f.; ESTRE EN BRANDE, 'be in peril.'

V. 904 (description of a perilous sea-voyage):

Puis q'unt curut tres quinzeines,
Freidur lur curt par les veines,
Poür lur surt forment grande,
Que lur nef est tut' en *brande*,
E poi en falt pur turmente
La nef od eals que n'adente.

Variants to v. 904: *Que*] BD *Kar*, E *E*; D *esteit tute en branle*, E *est trestote brande*. E appears to have omitted *en* before *brande* through inadvertence. L translates the passage: *Sic cum sex ebdomadarum spacium equore vegetati* (corr. *agitati*) *essent, timor immoderatus ad eos*

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accessit, et venas frigore mortificavit, et nervos contraxit. Quippe tempestas valida, fervore maris crescente, navem fere mersit supinam.

Godefroy translates *brande* in this passage by 'embrasement, flamme,' and is followed by Tobler, though neither is able to quote any other example with this meaning. In view of the existence of *brander* 'to burn,' *brandon* 'firebrand,' etc., their interpretation is not unnatural. But the context says nothing of fire; the ship's peril and the consternation of the voyagers are due to a storm. The usual meaning of *estre en brande*, viz. 'be in peril,' is therefore perfectly applicable here. *Estre en branle* (cf. the variant of MS. D), *estre en brandel(l)e*, *mettre en brandelle* are found with similar meaning; cf. A. Delboulle, in *Romania*, XVII, p. 286, with note by G. Paris, and Godefroy, *Supplément* (under *branle*). These expressions are not confined to Anglo-Norman.

Since the accepted interpretation of this passage is incorrect, the accepted etymology (cf. G. Baist, in *Ztschr. f. roman. Phil.*, XXVIII, p. 106 and XLIII, p. 81) deriving *brande* 'peril' from Ang.-Sax. *brand* 'titio, torris,' also loses its justification. It is much more probable that *brande* is connected with the verbs *brandir*, *branler*, *brandillier*, *brandeler*, etc., meaning 'shake, totter, waver,' etc., and that it signified first 'wavering, uncertainty,' then 'anxiety, peril.' Meyer-Lübke (1273) derives the verbs from Germ. *brand* 'sword,' and takes 'brandish a sword' to be their primitive meaning. *Branler* and *brandillier* (like *gresler* and *gresillier*) both go back to a single form, Gallo-Roman **brandiculare*; cf. Gamillscheg, in *Ztschr. f. roman. Phil.*, XL, p. 150. *Brande* and *branle* may well be verbal substantives from *brandir* and *branler* respectively.

CELEBREIER or CELEBRÏER, v.a. 'celebrate.'

V. 845 (the voyagers spend the eve and morning of Easter on the back of the great fish):

Tute la nuit desque al matin
De festïer ne firent fin;
Le di paschur *celebrïent*,
De lur hures ne s'ublïent.

Variants to v. 845: B *Le jur pascal*, DE *Le jur de pasches*; A *celebreient*, E *celebrerent* (: *oblierent*). L translates the passage: *Nocte tota usque ad mane in celebratione seduli sunt; et die paschali servitium plenarie perficiunt.* The form *celebrïent* is guaranteed by the rhyme and by the agreement of the MSS. (A not infrequently adds inorganic *e* before a vowel).

Although Vising (*Étude*, p. 43) and Brekke (*Étude sur la Flexion*

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dans le Voyage de S. Brandan, p. 59) formerly had difficulty in explaining this word, there can be no doubt as to its meaning. The form, however, deserves comment. *Celebreier* is *celebrer* + the common verbal suffix *-eier* (< V.Lat. *-ĭdiare*). The pres. indic. 3 pl. form *celebrïent* (like *plïent, lïent*, etc.) is analogical on forms like **prẹcant* > *prïent*; cf. *turni* 1362, *turnïet* 1717, *esturdïet* 1718. The infinitive could be either *celebreier* or *celebrïer*, the latter being analogical on forms in which the *i* is accented; as MS. A everywhere uses the *i* forms (cf. *festïer* 844, *prïer* passim), it is probable that the author used *celebrïer*. It is strange that no other example of this verb should be known.

(*To be continued.*)

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THE INFLUENCE OF YOUNG AND GRAY IN SPAIN.

In the preface to his interesting study entitled *La poésie de la nuit et des tombeaux en Europe au XVIII^e siècle*[1], M. van Tieghem distinguishes between two sources of inspiration in the pre-Romantic epoch, thus:

> D'un côté, ce sont les influences extérieures, résultant de modèles nouveaux ou de nouvelles sources d'inspiration qui sont alors découvertes ou mieux connues: Ossian, l'Edda, les ballades du moyen âge. De l'autre côté, ce sont les éléments intérieurs, nouvelles idées, nouveaux sentiments, nouvelles formes d'art, qui doivent leur naissance ou leur développement à des écrivains nouveaux dont le succès est immense: Young, Richardson, Gessner, Rousseau, Goethe; qu'il s'agisse d'ailleurs d'une mode éphémère ou d'une gloire du meilleur aloi.

Spain, though less influenced than certain other countries by the work of Shakespeare, the greatest of all these sources of inspiration —placed by M. van Tieghem midway between the two groups—was in no way behind her neighbours in following one of the writers mentioned: Edward Young. Apart from translations, adaptations, and the like, the writings of three of her principal literary men in the eighteenth century show the influence of the *Night Thoughts*, and that in no uncertain manner. As M. van Tieghem, in the whole of his conscientious and well-informed study of one hundred and eighty pages, has devoted only some two pages to the influence of Young in Spain, and nothing at all to that of Gray in Spain, the present article aims at filling the gap. The two authors mentioned are chosen as being the only English representatives of their *genre* who had any influence on Spanish literature at all: of such writers as Parnell, Warton, Robert Blair and Hervey nothing can be found but an occasional translation, or a brief mention in one of the numerous Spanish journals of the nineteenth century.

I.

The principal representative in Spain of the English school of melancholy was undoubtedly the author of the *Night Thoughts*. We shall therefore first consider the translations and other ways by which his writings came to influence Spanish literature, and afterwards enquire

[1] Paris, Rieder, 1921. (Extrait des *Mémoires* publiés par l'Académie Royale de Belgique, Deuxième série, t. XVI.)

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how far such influence was absorbed by its foremost contemporary figures.

Some fifty years after the first appearance in England of the *Night Thoughts*, a three-volume collection of the 'selected works' of Young was published in Madrid. The date of this translation is 1789–1797, and the author of it Juan de Escóiquiz, of whom we have written elsewhere in connection with his translation of Milton[1]. So popular was the work that a second edition appeared in the following year, and a third in 1804. The collection[2] begins with *The Last Day* (translated as *El Juicio Final*), one of Young's earliest works, written before he was thirty. It is followed by a verse translation of the *Paraphrase on Part of the Book of Job*, and by an extremely free prose adaptation of parts of *The Centaur not Fabulous*, entitled *Cartas morales sobre el deleite sensible*. Finally, in the second and third volumes, come the *Night Thoughts* (*Las Noches*). These are all translated into verse except four parts (numbered XVI, XVII, XVIII, XXII)[3] which are done into prose. There is also a prose rendering of *The Last Day*, by Cristóbal Cladera, which Escóiquiz heard of after making his own verse translation, and is earlier in date than the selections[4].

In his preface the translator eulogises Young, and in particular the *Night Thoughts*:

> Entre el crecido número de libros de todas clases que han inundado la Europa, en especial de dos siglos a esta parte, son pocos los que merecen el título de originales....Entre [estos] deben sin duda alguna colocarse, así esta obra que presento, traducida en verso castellano, como otras de Eduardo Young, y en especial el famoso Poema de las Noches....

Nevertheless, he seems to have had some doubt of his own abilities, since he proposes in the same preface to translate first the minor works already mentioned, and afterwards the first Night, 'con ánimo de continuar con el Poema de las Noches.' His renderings, so he says, are

[1] See 'Milton in Spain,' in *Studies in Philology*, 1926, XXIII, pp. 169 ff.

[2] 'Obras selectas | de Eduardo Young, | expurgadas de todo error, | y traducidas | del inglés al castellano | por | Don Juan de Escoiquiz, | canónigo de la Santa Iglesia Metropolitana | de Zaragoza | [Sumiller de Cortina de S.M. y maestro del Serenísimo Sr. Príncipe de Asturias. Segunda edición] Madrid: Año de MDCCLXXXIX. | En la imprenta de Don Benito Cano. | Con las licencias necesarias.' The words in square brackets occur in the second edition (1798–1804) only. I have consulted the first edition at the Biblioteca de Cataluña, Barcelona, the first volume of the second edition at the British Museum (11607. aa. 21), and the third edition at the University of Barcelona library.

[3] Escóiquiz followed Letourneur in enlarging the *Night Thoughts* and re-dividing them into twenty-four cantos, in place of the original nine. See Letourneur's *Discours préliminaire*: 'J'ai assemblé, assorti de mon mieux, sous un titre commun, tous les fragments qui pouvaient s'y rapporter, et former une espèce d'ensemble. La même raison m'a fait multiplier ces titres; et des neuf Nuits de l'original, j'en ai formé vingt-quatre.'

[4] See translator's note to his own preface below.

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fairly close[1], but he uses Letourneur's French translation more than a little, though he has the original work at his hand[2].

The republication of the volumes, the high social and ecclesiastical position of the translator, and the eulogies of his preface all point to Young's extreme popularity in Spain. How otherwise could the worthy Canon have contemplated translating the work of a heretic? Yet he makes no attempt to present his poet as blamelessly orthodox:

> Apenas hay nación que no haya deseado enriquecer [su idioma] con [traducciones de las obras de nuestro autor]: en España no se ha ejecutado hasta ahora[3], sin duda porque como Eduardo Young tuvo la desgracia de vivir fuera del gremio de la Iglesia Católica, y en un país en que la libertad de pensar, hablar y escribir no conoce freno, sembró entre las verdades más útiles muchas proposiciones nada conformes a nuestros sagrados dogmas, e injuriosas a la Santa Iglesia Católica.

He has suppressed all that he finds worthy of censure in the original, and followed Letourneur's French translation in omitting passages which he judges superfluous or extravagant. In the preface to Volume II he returns to the question of Young's unorthodoxy. But he vindicates his translation by the following brief but audacious eulogy:

> El Poema de las Noches es sin duda la elegía más sublime que se ha escrito sobre la grandeza y miseria del hombre.

In spite of Escóiquiz' own assertions, his versions of Young are by no means literal: his method was to use a free rimed metre which effectively masked any use of Letourneur, since it necessitated the introduction of more of Escóiquiz than of either Letourneur or Young. As an example of his inflated style, the opening lines of the first Night may be quoted:

> Plácido sueño que en sabroso olvido
> Sepultas los cuidados:
> Bálsamo que a los miembros fatigados
> Restauras el vigor desfallecido,
> Concédeme un instante de reposo.....
> ¿Mas qué es esto? ¿tan pronto me abandonas?
> Con vuelo presuroso
> Te apartas de mis ojos afligidos.
> ¡Cruel! siempre blasonas
> De acudir lisonjero al blando lecho
> Del hombre venturoso y regalado,
> Del inféliz te espantan los gemidos,
> Y desprecias su humilde y pobre techo.

[1] 'Del Poema sobre el Juicio final he tenido que emendar muy poco, y menos de la Paráphrasis sobre Job, por ser estas dos obritas las más correctas de nuestro Young, y en que menos se desliza.'

[2] 'Hallando, pues, este trabajo hecho, me he valido de él para el orden y separación, así como del original inglés para la traducción; deseando por este medio dar a esta todo el fuego del original, y el hermoso método de la versión francesa.'

[3] Translator's Note: 'Después de escrito este Prólogo ha llegado a mis manos una traducción del Juicio Final hecha por D. Cristóbal Cladera; pero por ser en prosa y la mía en verso, no me he detenido en publicarla, sin pretender por esto disminuir la gratitud que debe el público al zelo de dicho Cladera.'

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This represents Young's five opening lines:

> Tir'd Nature's sweet restorer, balmy sleep!
> He, like the world, his ready visit pays
> Where fortune smiles; the wretched he forsakes;
> Swift on his downy pinion flies from woe,
> And lights on lids unsullied with a tear.

While the two following lines:

> From short (as usual) and disturb'd repose,
> I wake: how happy they, who wake no more

are expanded into:

> ¡Con qué inquietud descansa el desdichado!
> Después de un breve sueño interrumpido
> Me despierto....Por cuán afortunado
> Tengo al hombre que en brazos de la muerte,
> En su dulce regazo sumergido
> Olvida los reveses de la suerte.

It will be agreed that this expansion, for which Escóiquiz had less excuse than when he was translating Milton, entirely destroys the character of Young's style, and when we discover the many places in which he 'emended' and 'corrected' him, the value of his translation is sensibly diminished in our eyes.

In 1807 (a second edition also was published in 1819) appeared a volume entitled *El Sabio en la soledad, o meditaciones religiosas sobre diversos asuntos por Eduardo Young*[1]. In spite of the national crisis, this book was given considerable attention by the press, possibly in part because of its translator's military connection. I have noted in particular a short but laudatory notice from the *Redactor General de Cádiz*[2], which city would naturally be a focus of interest. The remaining notices which I have found in periodicals of the time are merely reproductions of the title-page, and have no pretence to describe or criticise the translation. The book itself is very rare, and I have found it neither in Madrid, nor in a number of the chief Spanish provincial libraries. The only copy known to me, in fact, is in the Menéndez Pelayo library at Santander.

[1] 'El | sabio | en | la soledad | o | meditaciones religiosas | sobre diversos asuntos, | por Eduardo Young, | traducidas y corregidas | por Don Antonio Schwager, | capitán primero del regimiento suizo | de Reding, núm. 2. | Con las licencias necesarias. | Madrid: | en la oficina de Don Benito García y Compañía | Año de 1807.' At the back of the last page: 'Se hallará en la librería de la Viuda de Quiroga, calle de Carretas, con las demás obras selectas de Eduardo Young.'

[2] No. 529. Nov. 24, 1812. '*El Sabio en la Soledad*, Por Eduardo Young. Traducido al castellano por D. Antonio Schwager. Inútil sería elogiar el mérito de esta obrita, que además de hallarse traducida en varios idiomas, el relevante y muy acreditado mérito de su autor por las muchas obras selectas que ha escrito, es notorio a los literatos y a los sabios; como se convencerá cualquiera tenga el buen gusto de leerla.'

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The *Sabio en la soledad* is the translation, not of any of Young's works directly, but of a French adaptation of one or more of them. This I infer from a corresponding Italian version[1] which is described as being by the 'Signor abate Pey canonico' and as 'tradotto dal Franzese de Madamigella*****.' The Spanish translation, it is true, says nothing about the French, but is so similar to the Italian that its indebtedness to either the French or the Italian version is beyond doubt. It consists of twelve prose meditations, mainly on certain Psalms, meant to serve as a 'continuation' of the *Night Thoughts*, or so the translation of the French preface informs us. It evidently enjoyed a great success in its day[2] and did much to exalt the name of Young. But it is really not Young's at all, but a work, as the Italian version has it, 'del tutto nuova col medesimo titolo.' The French translation itself is only a free adaptation of the English; and the Italian and Spanish translations differ between themselves so much that they are evidently no more faithful to their model[3]. At the same time, the work is not without its significance; even had it been a forgery, it would have shown that forgeries of Young were popular enough to be worth the making in three or four countries of Europe.

Young by no means went out of fashion with the vogue of Romanticism in Spain. In the library of Menéndez Pelayo at Santander is a selection entitled 'Lamento nocturno, o Meditaciones de Young,' made by one Julián Viana Razola, and published in Madrid in 1828[4]. Five years later appeared another selection from Young's minor works[5], and the year 1834 saw the republication (making the third edition) of

[1] This version, which is in the British Museum, is entitled: 'Il Saggio nella Solitudine. Imitato in parte dall' opera dell' Young che porta lo stesso titolo.' Fermo, 1789.

[2] The Spanish preface (not found in the other versions) begins, for example, as follows: 'Hay un estilo místico y encantador que suspende al espíritu sin ilustrarle, porque tiene más fuego que luz, y más sutileza que razón; pero hay un lenguaje sublime que eleva al alma, la nutre y la interesa, porque estando fundado sobre grandes verdades, no ofrece sino grandes objetos, y extrae su dignidad de su real grandeza. Este es el caso, si no me engaño, de esta obra. Se ha traducido, por hallarse vertida en varios idiomas, lo que acredita bastante su mérito....'

[3] The titles of the meditations are the same, and the title-texts also, with but one exception. The substance of the meditations, however, differs considerably, whole passages appearing in one of the two versions only.

[4] This is a small volume (132 pp.) containing the first two Nights only, the first divided into four cantos, the second into five. In 1829 the *Night Thoughts* ('Lamentos de Young') were forbidden by the Archbishop of Valencia to be read, together with many other works 'containing theological doctrines which merit censure.' This is no doubt an indirect testimony to its popularity.

[5] (H.T.) 'Obras diversas | del | Dr. Eduardo Young.' (T.) 'Obras diversas | del | Dr. Eduardo Young. | puestas en castellano | por | A. R. y R. | Barcelona. | Impr. de A. Bergnes y Cª, Calle de Escudellers, N. 13 | Con licencia. | 1833.' pp. 153. The contents are: 'Estimación del valor de la vida,' 'Cartas morales sobre el deleite' and 'Tratado de las Pasiones.' Hidalgo, who mentions this book, cites only the first two articles of its contents.

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Cladera's translation of *The Last Day*[1]. This latter edition may be examined in the Biblioteca Menéndez Pelayo, Santander; the former work I have consulted at the Biblioteca de Cataluña, Barcelona. Apart from these translations, and a fragmentary translation as late as 1840[2], I have found nothing else of significance until quite modern times[3], so it seems clear that the vogue of Young in Spain ended with the vogue of Romanticism.

II.

Coming now to the question of the influence of Young upon individual authors, we may postulate the fact at once that the sombre, atrabilious figure of Young, which parts of the *Night Thoughts* suggest, had a morbid attraction for more than one of the youthful Spanish poets of the late eighteenth century[4]. Possibly this attraction is best expressed in a sonnet of Noroña's which gives an image certainly not lacking in precision, though somewhat over-coloured. The title itself is significant:

RETRATO DE LA TRISTEZA DEL DOCTOR YOUNG.

Sobre la negra tumba recostado
Está el anciano Young; contempla atento
Bajo la losa todo su contento,
Porque nada la Muerte le ha dejado;
Con lágrimas su rostro está bañado,
Y temblando su cuerpo macilento;
Sólo consta de un ay su triste acento,
Que resuena en el techo embovedado.
¿Supremo Ser, exclama, que, subido
Sobre el cerco de estrellas prodigioso,
Ves con tedio al que gusta de esta vida,
Cuando será mi espíritu impelido
De tu potente diestra, y con reposo
Hará junto a tu trono su manida?

Three contemporaries of Noroña's, very much more famous than he, are the principal representatives of Young in Spain. These are Cadalso, Cienfuegos and Meléndez Valdés.

[1] The title-page reads: 'El | juicio final | Poema en tres cantos | escrito en inglés | por Eduardo Young | y traducido al castellano por | D. Cristóbal Cladera, | tesorero de la santa iglesia de Mallorca | Tercera edición. | Palma: | en la imprenta de Villalonga, lib. de E. Trias. vi+54 pág.' Cf. review in *Diario de Barcelona*, March 7, 1835. The *Juicio final* of the Conde de Torrepalma does not seem to owe anything to Young's *Last Day*.

[2] In the *Cisne* of Valencia, 1840, Vol. II, p. 142.

[3] The imitations of José M. Gruesso, a Colombian poet who died in 1835, and who also translated Hervey, hardly come within the scope of this article.

[4] And well into the nineteenth century also. Corroborative testimony will be found in some verses in the *Diario de Barcelona* (1833, p. 220) signed 'Montano,' and addressed 'A mi amigo D. J. G. en la muerte de su única hija S....' They begin:

Oh musa melancólica y sublime,
Tú que a Young inspiraste
Sus *Noches* llenas de terror y angustia....

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The two latter, and younger, of these were less notably influenced than the first, if we may believe popular handbooks of literature and even more serious studies. Yet Meléndez Valdés, who evidently thought of Young as one of the first writers of the day[1], apostrophises him in the seventh of his odes, *La Noche y la Soledad*:

.....La cítara fúnebre templemos,
O Young, que tú tañías
Cuando en las rocas de Albión llorabas,
Y a Narcisa a la muerte demandabas[2].

* * * * * *

Y con Young silenciosos nos entremos
En blanda paz por estas soledades,
Do en sus noches sublimes meditemos
Mil divinas verdades;
Y a su voz lamentable enternecidos
Repitamos sus lúgubres gemidos[3].

In the same ode he is clearly indebted to the *Night Thoughts*. The opening invocation to Solitude is strongly reminiscent of Young's early apostrophe ('Silence and darkness!...[4]'). The second invocation ('Tú, augusta soledad...[5]') recalls the passage:

Thou, who didst put to flight
Primeval silence[6].

In each poem there follows a consideration of the greatness and littleness of man, in which may be found even verbal resemblances:

A beam ethereal, sullied and absorpt!
Tho' sullied, and dishonour'd, still divine!

* * * * *

Yet man, fool man! here buries all his thoughts;
Inters celestial hopes without one sigh,
Prisoner of earth, and pent beneath the moon,
Here pinions all his wishes.

* * * * *

Wing'd by heaven
To fly at infinite.

* * * * *

¿Puede al hombre nacido para el cielo
Embebecer el suelo?

* * * * *

Mas los hombres...
...así viven
Del mundo en el estrépito metidos,
Cual en galera míseros forzados.
.....olvidando el alto grado
A que el gran Ser al hombre ha sublimado.

* * * * *

...Con sublime vuelo
A lo que ha de venir lanzarse osa,
Y eleva a las estrellas la ardua frente.

* * * * *

Later (in each poem) comes a description of Heaven:

O ye blest scenes of permanent delight... ...Esferas de eternal ventura.

[1] See, e.g., the 1797 edition of his poems (Valladolid), I, p. xiii: '...poniendo nuestras Musas al lado de las que inspiraron a Pope, Thomson, Young, Racine, Roucher, Saint-Lambert, Haller, Utz, Cramer, y otros célebres modernos sus sublimes composiciones.' Also 'Carta autógrafa a Jovellanos, escrito en Noviembre de 1766': '*Noches*, de Young. Sus máximas son dignas de que tengan lugar en el poema de *Las Edades*,' and *ibid.*, '17 de julio de 1779'...'el estilo magnífico y terrible del inimitable Young...la fuerza divina de sus sentencias.'

[2] *Ibid.*, III, p. 51. The reference is of course to Young's 'Night the Third.'

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 59. [4] Night I. [5] III, 46. [6] Night I.

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Here, save for Meléndez' apostrophe to Young just quoted, the resemblance seems to end, unless a striking passage in Night IX inspires Meléndez' condemnation of those who sacrilegiously mock at the decrees of God, 'making night still darker by their deeds':

> Los hombres siempre en la maldad osados,
> Del señor los altísimos decretos
> Sacrílegos burlaran;
> Y a sueño vergonzoso el día dados,
> En las tinieblas fúnebres inquietos
> Todo a su libre antojo lo trocaran, etc.

It may well be, however, that Meléndez owed far more to Young than these few passages, for his second elegy ('El Melancólico'), and his first[1], second[2], sixth[3] and ninth[4] odes have all something of the spirit of the *Night Thoughts*, and he himself confesses the influence of other parts of that poem than those just quoted, though the resemblances are not obvious[5].

Indeed, we must not, if we believe his own words, make too much of them:

> Yo he leído muchísimo *Las Noches*, me he quedado con mucho, y aunque en esta composición no quise verlas de propósito, temiéndome lo que me ha sucedido, hallé, concluida mi obra y cotejándola con la *noche* que he dicho, algunos pensamientos ya ocupados por él, y que yo me creía originales; aunque no son tantos, a mi ver, que puedan por este lado desacreditarme[6].

In the interesting biographical introduction to the 1820 edition of Meléndez Valdés' works, we may read what the poet thought of his own attempts at the imitation of Young's *Night Thoughts*:

> Su desconfianza era extremada; y al remitir este poema a su amigo le decía con una modestia, a todas luces excesiva, que aquella canción al lado de las *Noches* era una composición lánguida, su moral débil, sus pensamientos vulgares, las pinturas poco vivas y los arrebatamientos fríos[7].

'El detractor más encarnizado del poeta,' adds the anonymous biographer, 'no le hubiera tratado con más rigor.' 'Juvenile but promising,' is his own verdict; our own, perhaps, might be something more favourable still.

[1] 'El Invierno es el tiempo de la Meditación.'
[2] 'La Presencia de Dios.'
[3] 'Al Ser Incomprehensible de Dios.'
[4] 'Vanidad de las quejas del hombre contra su Hacedor.'
[5] See his letter to Jovellanos, dated July 17, 1779, on *La Noche y la Soledad*, when he says 'Hallará V.S. algunos pensamientos tomados de la *noche* décima, que es del mismo asunto; pero confieso llanamente que no han sido hurtos.'
[6] Carta a Jovellanos, 17 de julio de 1779.
[7] *Poesías de D. Juan Meléndez Valdés*, Madrid, 1820. Vol. I, p. xxix. The reference is to the letter just quoted: 'Sus años [*sc.* de Young], sus doctrinas, su situación, y más que todo, su genio, son infinitamente superiores, para querer yo presumir tan atrevidamente. Mi canción, al lado de sus *Noches*, es una composición lánguida, sin [*sic*] moral, débil; mis pensamientos vulgares, mis pinturas poco vivas, y mis arrebatamientos fríos. Las musas castellanas son capaces de todo, pero la humilde musa de *Batilo* no puede tanto.'

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Cienfuegos was probably less influenced by Young than was Meléndez, yet in such melancholy poems as *La Escuela del Sepulcro* we find continually resemblances of spirit if not of letter—unless the use in that poem of the name Lorenza be cited on Young's behalf. The real influence of the *Night Thoughts*, however, is to be found in the tone and sympathies of some of Cienfuegos' verse, or in passages like the following:

> ¿Es tan breve el vivir? ¿y el hombre insano
> En hacerse infeliz solo le emplea?
>
> La quieta noche
> A los mortales con su sombra encierra,
> Y acalla al mundo que tranquilo yace
> En un mar de silencio sumergido.
> Mas ¡ay! ¿cuál son tan a deshora turba
> La silenciosa paz de las tinieblas?[1]

It would be difficult to cite more direct reminiscences than these.

III.

The influence of Young upon Cadalso—more particularly the debt of the *Noches lúgubres* to the *Night Thoughts*—is a commonplace of literary criticism. 'Sólo el haber imitado al famoso Young,' says Cadalso's own publisher, 'le corona de elogios[2].' Historians of Spanish literature have one and all repeated, and sometimes exaggerated, the assertion. 'Young,' says Cueto, 'es el modelo que le ofrece cuadro adecuado para desplegar enfáticamente el fúnebre dolor que le abruma[3].' Ticknor writes of 'some unfortunate prose imitations of Young's "Night Thoughts[4]"'; Fitzmaurice-Kelly considers that the *Noches lúgubres* were 'inspired by the "Night Thoughts" of Young[5],' and Salcedo Ruiz goes farther, saying: 'Las *Noches lúgubres* son una imitación...inferiorísima de las de Young[6].' More recent authors repeat the same phrases. Hurtado and Palencia write: 'En las *Noches lúgubres* imitó [Cadalso] al inglés Young[7]'; César Barja uses the words of Fitzmaurice-Kelly just

[1] *La Escuela del Sepulcro.*

[2] 'Nota del editor,' p. 307, to the edition of 1818.

[3] *Historia crítica de la poesía castellana en el siglo XVIII*, 3ª ed., 1893, I, p. 319.

[4] *History of Spanish Literature*, § 343, note.

[5] 'Sus *Noches lúgubres*...están inspiradas por los "Night Thoughts" de Young' (*Historia de la literatura española*, 3ª edición, corregida, 1921, p. 294). It is right, however, to add that my predecessor at Liverpool did once—in his little known inaugural lecture before the University—express himself on the subject with greater correctness, when he said: 'Cadalso respectfully modelled his "Noches lúgubres" after Young's "Night Thoughts."' This may be an adaptation of the phrase from the *Cartas Marruecas* cited above.

[6] *La literatura española*, III, p. 166.

[7] *Historia de la literatura española*, p. 827.

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quoted[1]; Cejador y Frauca merely alleges the fact of 'imitation[2],' and says no more; G. T. Northup does likewise[3].

Now the writers quoted above may be very ably defended, and that by no less an authority than Cadalso himself, who, it will be allowed, may be supposed to have known whether he imitated Young or not. In the *Cartas Marruecas* he writes that he composed the *Noches lúgubres* 'after the manner of those which were written by Young[4],' and though this is not to say that he imitated them, he appears to proceed to make it clear that he did by entitling a certain poem 'Poema sobre las "Noches lúgubres" que he compuesto con motivo de la muerte de Filis, imitando el estilo y los pensamientos de tristeza de las que compuso en inglés el doctor Young.' All this would be quite conclusive—if one could detect the imitation!

I have gone into this question in some detail with a former pupil, Mrs R. A. Cotton, who recently wrote, under my direction[5], a thesis upon Cadalso's life and works, and has touched upon the influence of Young. Mrs Cotton's conclusions may be briefly given in the form of quotations from her work.

> It is questionable if Cadalso actually read through the nine lengthy books of the 'Night Thoughts.' Had he done so, his 'Noches lúgubres' would either have been very different, or he would not have described it as imitating 'el estilo y los pensamientos de tristeza de.....Young[6].'
>
> When the points in which Cadalso and Young resemble each other are carefully examined, it is seen that they are quite accidental; they are thoughts which any other writer might have conceived and expressed in the same way. And even those passages in which there seems to be the strongest evidence of imitation are accounted for when we remember that the subjects are the same, and that it is not strange that one writer should hold the same views thereon as another...[7].
>
> The idea that [Cadalso] did, either in style or thought, imitate the English poet, must then be abandoned[8].

Mrs Cotton is willing to modify this view only to the extent of allowing that 'if Cadalso imitated the "Night Thoughts" at all, he imitated Night the First.' For my own part, after making a careful and independent comparison between the two works, I have come to the conclusion that, if anything, Mrs Cotton might have gone farther, for I can find in the *Noches lúgubres* nothing which can be dignified by

[1] *Libros y autores modernos*, p. 55.
[2] *Historia de la lengua y literatura castellanas*, VI, p. 178.
[3] *Introduction to Spanish Literature*, Chicago, 1925, p. 316.
[4] Carta LXVII: 'Si el cielo de Madrid no fuera tan claro y hermoso.....me atrevería a publicar las "Noches lúgubres" que he compuesto por el estilo de las que escribió el doctor Young.'
[5] Emily Greenwood (Mrs R. A. Cotton), *Cadalso*, Liverpool, 1924. (The thesis has not, up to the present, been published.)
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 132. The reference is to the title of his poem quoted above.
[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 141–2. *Ibid.*, p. 149.

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the name of 'imitation' of the *Night Thoughts* at all. Let the critic consider the following miserable crop of parallelisms:

YOUNG.	CADALSO.
Silence and Darkness.	La obscuridad, el silencio pavoroso.
I wake, how happy they who wake no more.	Ay, si fuese el último [día] de mi vida, ¡cuán grato sería para mí!
Tired Nature's sweet restorer, balmy sleep.	El sueño, dulce intervalo en las fatigas de los hombres.
Night, Even in the zenith of her dark domain, Is sunshine to the colour of my face.	Para mí nunca sale el sol....Cuantos objetos veo en lo que llaman día son a mi vista fantasmas, visiones y sombras cuando menos.
The bell strikes one. We take no note of time But from its loss.	Pero dan las dos. ¡Qué sonido tan triste el de esa campana!...No suena una campana que no me parezca tocar a muerto.

Possibly, too, the following lines from Night III may have taken root in Cadalso's mind and borne fruit:

> With pious sacrilege, a grave I stole;
> With impious piety, that grave I wrong'd;
> Short in my duty; coward in my grief!
> More like her murderer, than friend, I crept,
> With soft-suspended step, and muffled deep
> In midnight darkness, whisper'd my last sigh.

These are all the verbal similarities which I have found between the two works. To them must be added the similarity (to a certain point) of the outlook of each upon life, ambition, friendship, wealth, pride and death, and (an important minor detail) the use by Cadalso of the name Lorenzo, which he undoubtedly took from Young. Against these likenesses must be set striking dissimilarities as to style, medium, realism, imagery, and even philosophy, for between Young's melancholy musings and Cadalso's there is a great gulf fixed. All these points cannot, in this brief survey, be elaborated, but their bearing is sufficiently evident, even to the casual reader of Cadalso and Young.

The conclusion to which we may come is as follows: (1) The often-repeated general statement that 'Cadalso imitated Young' is made upon the authority of Cadalso's own misleading words and has not been based upon investigation. (2) Cadalso most probably used, though he never followed slavishly, the first Night of Young. (3) There is no evidence to disprove the supposition that, having kindled his inspiration in this way, he relied no further on the *Night Thoughts* at all. We may also hazard the further supposition that Cadalso made no attempt to hide the fact that he had used the *Night Thoughts* because of the fame which that work had won. It would be difficult to find any other reason

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for a proceeding rather uncommon in literature—the exaggeration of one's debt to another. Alcalá Galiano was about as near to the truth as anyone has been—certainly nearer than Cadalso himself—when he wrote:

> Cadalso, recién perdida una mujer a la cual amaba con pasión ciega, lloró su perdida en pesados discursos en prosa poética, donde creía remedar al celebrado inglés con introducir un sepulturero llamado Lorenzo, por ser éste el nombre de la persona a quien el poeta inglés dirigía sus querellas, y donde no acertó el español a expresar los afectos que vivamente sentía[1].

Alcalá Galiano, as is well known, knew more than a little of English literature, and it may very well be that his judgment is based on a study of Young as well as on a remark by Cadalso.

IV.

Any notes which may be here set down upon the vogue of Thomas Gray in Spain can only be said to have the interest of curiosity. His peculiar type of melancholy met with far less sympathetic welcome in Spain than in France, where he was both translated and imitated, and influenced native poets, from Delille to Lamartine. One only of his works had any success in Spain, viz. the *Elegy written in a Country Churchyard*, which was translated many times into Spanish. Menéndez y Pelayo, in one of his earliest writings[2], mentions six Spanish verse translations, and there were certainly more, of which, in examining journals of the time, I have been able to discover the text or the mention of a few.

The most popular seems to have been one by 'J. A. M.,' almost certainly the Argentine José Antonio Miralla (1789–1825), translator of Ugo Foscolo and a poet of some merit. I have not discovered in what periodical it first appeared, but have found two reprints of it in provincial journals, published in cities as far apart as Barcelona and Cádiz, in the latter twelve years later than in the former[3]. The trans-

[1] *Lecciones pronunciadas en el Ateneo de Madrid*, Madrid, 1845, p. 266. Sr. Marqués Merchán (*Don Bartolomé José Gallardo*, Madrid, 1921, pp. 178 ff.) also believes Young to have influenced Cadalso but little ('¿Podrá negarse que la emoción, el sentimiento, y hasta la loca idea, son suyas, muy suyas, y sólo de Young ha tomado, con grave perjuicio, el título y la forma de la obra?'), but he has apparently overlooked Cadalso's own statement, since he only admits that the latter *may possibly* have known of the *Night Thoughts*.

[2] *Estudios críticos sobre escritores montañeses*, p. 103: 'Tengo noticia de seis traducciones en verso castellano de esta elegía, la de Pérez de Camino (imitación más bien), la de D. J. V. Alonso, la de Miralla, la de Hevia, la de D. José Fernández Guerra y la de D. Enrique de Vedia.' On Alonso's translation, see Cueto, *Historia crítica de la poesía castellana en el siglo XVIII*, 3ª ed., 1893, III, p. 473.

[3] The *Guardia nacional* of Barcelona (29 May 1837) and the *Tertulia* of Cádiz (29 April 1849).

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lation is as close as the writer could make it, even at the expense of quality. It will be sufficient to quote two stanzas:

La esquila toca el moribundo día,
la grey mugiendo hacia el redil se aleja,
a casa el labrador sus pasos guía,
y el mundo a mí y a las tinieblas deja.
La débil luz va del país faltando,
y alto silencio en todo el aire veo,
menos dó gira el moscardón zumbando,
y allá dó al parque aduerme el cencerreo.

One of the earliest translations appears in the *Minerva, o el Revisor General* for 1805[1]. It is anonymous, which is perhaps not surprising, for it is the crudest of all the Spanish renderings known to me, translating the words of the elegy into an inharmonious prose, and scattering most of its beauties in the process. A line or two is ample to characterise it:

Oigo ya el fúnebre tañido de la campana que me avisa de que se acaba el día. Los balantes ganados se encaminan con lentos e inciertos pasos hacia sus establos y el cansado labrador se dirige a su cabaña dejando el universo todo en espantosas tinieblas, objeto de mis tristes meditaciones.

In 1843 a translation of the *Elegy* by José de Urcullu appeared in *La Colmena*[2], preceded by a eulogistic preface by the editor (Angel de Villalobos) in which he extols not only the highly moral and religious sentiments of the poem, but the versification and purity of style of the translator. For interest of comparison I quote the first two stanzas, from which it will be seen that the well-known elegiac stanza is completely discarded:

Del moribundo día
Anuncia el fin la lúgubre campana;
Acia el aprisco marcha a paso lento
La mugidora grey; cansado vuelve
A casa el labrador dejando el mundo
En tiníeblas, y a mí meditabundo.
De esta alegre campiña
El brillo encantador desaparece;
Hondo silencio por el ayre reina,
Excepto en donde alígeros insectos
Se sienten susurrar, y el discordante
Son del cencerro del redil distante.

One other translation, or rather adaptation, of the *Elegy* was printed in the *Alhambra* for 1840, viz. that by José Fernández Guerra, to which

[1] Pp. 105–111. 'El Cementerio del Aldea. Elegía de Gray traducido libremente del inglés.'

[2] *El Cementerio de la Aldea.* Elegía, por Tomás Gray. Traducida del inglés por Don José de Urcullu, pp. 73 ff., 175 ff. The translation is adorned with engravings illustrating the poem, and preceded by a eulogistic account of the works of Urcullu, a Spanish American resident in Portugal. The text of a letter written by Urcullu to Ackermann (who published the *Colmena*) is also given. In it he says that he knows no other Spanish translation of the *Elegy*, and that he has made his own as literal as possible without being slavishly so.

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I have already drawn attention in the *Modern Language Review*[1], showing how entirely it was in keeping with the melancholy spirit which inspired Cañete, Roda, Aureliano Fernández Guerra, and other contributors to that journal. Of this version I reproduce the first three stanzas and the final 'epitaph[2]': both quotations show that Fernández Guerra did something more than 'imitate' the *Elegy*, though he can certainly not be said to have translated it:

EL CEMENTERIO EN LA ALDEA.

(Imitación de Grai.)

La campana ya fúnebre tañía,
y el alma recordaba con terror
era llegado el término del día
que nacer viera en delicioso albor.

Ya sin aliento el retozón ganado
iba en espeso grupo hácia el redil;
y le seguía el labrador cansado,
dejando el orbe entre tinieblas mil.

El verdor y la pompa desparecen
que mis ojos pudieron deslumbrar;
y la congoja y el silencio crecen,
de los horrores de la noche a par.

EPITAFIO.

O tierra, sele blanda y amorosa;
pues ni buscó el aplauso de la fama,
ni el favor de fortuna caprichosa.

Nace, y melancolía en él derrama
su hiel. Aunque de cuna pobre, oscura,
sintió en su pecho la apolínea llama.

Solo poseyó un alma noble y pura:
dar no pudo otro alivio al desgraciado
que lamentar con él su desventura.

Halló un amigo, y vió su afán colmado.
No inquietes sus cenizas, pasajero:
de ti sea este asilo respetado.

Sus virtudes y vicios el severo
Juez los ha de pesar en fiel balanza:
él aquel día grave y postrimero
aguarda entre el temor y la esperanza.

Two copies of a later translation than any of these—that of Vedia—are preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional. The tiny volume—or rather pamphlet, for it has but sixteen pages—first attracted me by its having been published in Liverpool: neither place nor date of publi-

[1] 'Some Provincial Periodicals in Spain during the Romantic Movement,' *M. L. R.*, xv, pp. 382–8. Cf. also the 1859 edition of Cañete's poems, note 33. The version bears the note 'Leída en la sesión de competencia del Liceo la noche del 24 del corriente.'

[2] In which, as it will be noted, the familiar stanza and rime-scheme, which have hitherto been kept, are both discarded.

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cation is given on the title-page[1], nor even the translator's name, but a dedication[2] supplies the missing details.

Vedia managed to enlarge the *Elegy*, without doing more than translate it somewhat freely, to sixty-three stanzas. His rendering of Gray's first four lines will not compare well with the attempts of certain of his predecessors:

> Ya de la queda el toque reposado
> Anuncia el fin del moribundo día,
> Y por la loma el mugidor ganado
> Camina lentamente a la alquería.
>
> El cansado gañán, por el sendero,
> Torna a su pobre choza, con premura,
> Y abandonado el Universo entero
> A mí nos deja y a la noche obscura.

Interest in Gray was confined almost entirely to the *Elegy*, and I have barely found a reference in the literature of the time to any of his other works[3]. There was little in them, it is true, which could be expected to have influenced Spanish poetry, and even the melancholy of the *Elegy*, though the poem penetrated into Spain, by dint of being (as M. van Tieghem puts it) 'le chef d'œuvre de l'école anglaise des cimetières[4],' is quite foreign to that of the contemporary poets of Spain. Perhaps it may not be unfair to explain the non-penetration of Gray, at least in part, by the contrast between the spirit of the *Noches lúgubres* of Cadalso and the *Night Thoughts* of Young.

E. Allison Peers.

Liverpool.

[1] 'Elegía | escrita en un cementerio campestre | de Tomás Gray | traducida en verso castellano.'

[2] 'Al Sr. D. Carlos Gutierrez. ministro plenipotenciario de la República de Honduras y Encargado de negocios de la de San Salvador cerca de su Majestad británica etc. etc. etc.... H. L. de Vedia. Liverpool, 1° de abril de 1860.'

[3] The following passage occurs in the *Revista europea* for 1837 (Vol. III, p. 259), but it is a translation from the French of J. J. Ampère, and so may hardly be said to count: 'Se sabe que el asesinamiento de los bardos del país de Gales inspiró a GRAY una soberbia oda en que inflamándose él mismo con aquel horrible recuerdo cantó con aquella misma poesía profética y vengadora de los antiguos bardos. A la oda de GRAY se puede comparar el canto de un poeta nacional (Ewans Welsh Bards, pág. 16) y contemporáneo de aquel terrible atentado.'

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 35.

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GRILLPARZER'S HERO AND SHAKESPEARE'S JULIET.

IN his Introduction to the volume containing *Des Meeres und der Liebe Wellen*[1], in the historical and critical edition of Grillparzer's works, Dr Reinhold Backmann, tracing back to their earliest beginnings Grillparzer's attempts to portray women of the Hero-type, refers to the importance of Shakespeare's influence. 'Endlich trat das grösste Bildungserlebnis Grillparzers Jugend hinzu: Shakespeare, insonderheit "Romeo und Julia,"' he writes of the period about 1810. 'Shakespeare half ihm die Fesseln sprengen, Romeo und Julia lieh seinem Idealbild dichterische Gestalt[2].' He goes on to refer to the figure of Kornelia and the nurse in Grillparzer's *Spartakus* fragment, and then to *Psyche*, 'die erste ganz unzweifelhafte Vorstufe zur Hero.' In reference to the composition of *Des Meeres und der Liebe Wellen* itself, however, Backmann has little to say of the influence of Shakespeare's Juliet on Hero, and it is the purpose of this article to throw new light on the subject.

Hanns Braun has summarised what has been said by previous writers on the relation between *Romeo and Juliet* and *Des Meeres und der Liebe Wellen* in his monograph, *Grillparzers Verhältnis zu Shakespeare*[3]. He remarks, like Edgar Gross[4] in an article under the same title, which just preceded the publication of his own work, that the theme of Grillparzer's tragedy at once suggests a comparison with Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*, and he refers to the opinions of earlier writers on this topic (pp. 94 f.). His summing-up is to the effect that the outward similarities between the two works, as evinced particularly in the tower-scene, arise through a tragic conflict which is common to both pieces. The inevitable 'parallel passages[5]' appear, but for these it is at most justifiable to concede in certain cases that reminiscences of Shakespeare's play may have exercised an influence. In no case does there exist what could justly be termed an actual borrowing on Grill-

[1] In *Franz Grillparzer, Sämtliche Werke* (Historische und kritische Gesamtausgabe), I, Vol. IV (1925).
[2] *Loc. cit.*, p. viii.
[3] H. Braun, *Grillparzers Verhältnis zu Shakespeare*, Nürnberg, 1916.
[4] E. Gross, *Grillparzers Verhältnis zu Shakespeare*, *Shakespeare-Jahrbuch*, Vol. LI (1915), pp. 1 ff. (Reference here to p. 31.)
[5] Cf. also Backmann's notes (in *Werke*, I, Vol. IV) to ll. 1073–1120, 1807 ff., 1812 ff., 2012 ff., 2060 f., etc.

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parzer's part. The evidence so assembled would suffice to show that Grillparzer knew *Romeo and Juliet*, and that he was influenced by the play in certain of its externals. Of this order of influence are such passages as the one in which Hero, believing her lover to be far away, is emboldened to address words to him into the night, whereupon Leander unexpectedly replies (like Romeo: 'I take thee at thy word,' Act II, Sc. 2) from close at hand (l. 1061). There is, too, apart from the general similarity between the balcony-scene in *Romeo and Juliet* and the tower-scene here[1], the circumstance of Leander's having climbed the tower without aid, as Romeo had climbed the orchard walls, and the consequent inquiry from Hero of similar nature to that of Juliet[2].

Gross, however, refers to parallels of a more fundamental kind.

> Hero wie Julia wird durch die erwachende Leidenschaft in allen Tiefen ihres Wesens umgewandelt, beide scheinen in ihrem Gesamtdasein auf eine neue Entwicklungsstufe emporgehoben zu sein. Mit der Liebe erwacht ihr eigentliches Weibsein, ein psychologischer Vorgang, den Grillparzer auch an 'Esther' und 'Libussa' schildert. Schnell und plötzlich der Leidenschaft, wie einer unabänderlichen Macht, verfallen[3], erheben sich Julia, Hero, Esther und Libussa aus der bisherigen Kargheit zu reicher Lebensfülle, in der die geschlechtliche Reife als dunkle Triebkraft wirkt, ohne dass der geringste Schein absichtlicher Koketterie aufkommt[4].

He speaks further of the similarity between the functions of Benvolio and Naukleros in the two plays, and of the resemblance between the characters of Romeo and Leander, how they both behave when in love, and how, apart from outwardly hostile circumstances, they both bring about the catastrophe through their blind precipitation. But it is chiefly through a development of the thought contained in the passage quoted that we shall be able to trace the subtler and more interesting of Shakespeare's influences.

On the same page Gross uses the words:

> Nur einen leisen Wiederklang der liebegesättigten Stimmung aus der Abschiedsszene zwischen Romeo und Julia nach gemeinsam verbrachter Nacht (III, 5), wird man in Heros Stimmung am Morgen nach dem genossenen Liebesglück im Turm erkennen, wenn sich in ihr, wie in Julia, die unter tiefstem Erleben erwachte Frau enthüllt.

[1] Cf. A. Sauer's Introduction in the fifth Cotta edition, Stuttgart, 1892, Vol. I, p. 70: 'Die Balkonscene in Romeo und Julie hat für den Aufbau das Muster abgegeben.' Similarly Braun, *loc. cit.*, p. 97.

[2] Cf. Braun, *loc. cit.*, p. 98.

[3] But Hero's surrender to passion is, of course, much less sudden than Juliet's. It is interesting to compare Grillparzer's reference to *Romeo and Juliet* in his *Studien zur englischen Literatur*: 'Dass der Wechsel der Leidenschaft in Romeo viel zu rasch und eigentlich undramatisch ist, wird wohl kein Vernünftiger leugnen.....die Übereilung an sich wahrer Empfindungswechsel ist einer der Hauptfehler Shakespeares.' (Cotta edition, Vol. XVI, pp. 165 f.) This remark of Grillparzer's on the very point in question indicates a contrast between his own play and Shakespeare's, a form which 'influences' with him not infrequently take.

[4] Gross, *loc. cit.*, pp. 31 f.

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It is rather the contrary which seems to be the case. The whole of Act IV is full of this state of feeling in Hero. And she resembles Juliet in other respects too. Is she not like her in being 'dämonisch'—in the sense in which Goethe applies the word to Egmont, and in which sense we shall find Grillparzer himself using it below—in her blindness to danger and deafness to warning? And is she not like her in becoming so utterly careless of everything that had previously occupied her mind and affections? As a result of real love having taken possession of her whole being, in her complete surrender to passion, Juliet becomes blind to filial duty, to her own and Romeo's danger, careless of all other ties, and capable of deceit. How eloquent of the power of real love to change her whole nature is the way in which Juliet receives the news of her cousin's death at Romeo's hands, and the way in which she behaves while

> ...bloody Tybalt, yet but green in earth,
> Lies festring in his shroud. (Act IV, Sc. 3.)

In the same way Hero's nature is changed. She, too, becomes forgetful of her duty and filial affections, becomes deaf to warning, blind to Leander's danger and her own, and capable of deceit. But she is (in the finished work) of a much less violent and passionate nature than Juliet[1]; and Grillparzer's representation of the effect of love upon her, in maturing her to womanhood in the sense in which Juliet is matured, takes forms not essentially different from, though gentler than in Juliet's case.

Grillparzer's original intention, however, was to create a Hero who would have resembled Juliet even in this respect, as we have considerable evidence to show. As far back as in 1820 he had planned to represent Hero as being 'matured to womanhood' in Act IV, as is seen in the plan sketched out in his diary during the autumn of that year[2]. This Hero was of a much more passionate nature than the later one, and the third act was planned to end with a scene in which the chaste, natural, and naïve Hero, as we know her now, is nowhere in evidence. She is, in fact, more closely akin to Juliet at this stage. After a second meeting with Leander, she agrees to receive him into her tower at night. They arrange to carry on a clandestine intercourse and do so. Both of them practise deceit and subterfuge, and, in general, there is very little trace of the finer elements and more attractive qualities of the later work.

[1] Emil Reich (*Franz Grillparzers Dramen*, Dresden, 1909, p. 165) speaks of 'die allzu überhitzte Leidenschaftlichkeit, die mit südlicher Glut in Romeo und Julia aufschäumt,' in contrast to *Hero*.

[2] *Werke*, II, Vol. VII, No. 322.

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Even in January 1827 Grillparzer cannot have had a conception of Hero materially different from that of the early plan. This is clear from two passages referred to by Reich as being written on one of the numberless pages[1] of Grillparzer's preliminary notes and plans for *Hero*. This page of Grillparzer's manuscript, which is the only one bearing a date, was written on January 8, 1827[2]. Reich quotes from it (p. 168): 'Hero soll von vornherein einen Zug zur Heftigkeit haben.' This is certainly not applicable to the later Hero; and elsewhere, in some remarks on the characters of the play which are yet to be referred to, and which are doubtless of later date, we find Grillparzer writing: 'Hero mit einem durchgehenden Zuge von *Heiterkeit*' (the last word underlined)[3]. This passage bears the distinct aspect of being a conscious revision of the above, made by Grillparzer with the earlier notes in front of him.

The second passage referred to by Reich as being written on the same page of Grillparzer's manuscript on January 8, 1827, is the well-known one referring to Charlotte Paumgartten and the lamp-motive[4]. Grillparzer had made a note on this point, in the first place, in his diary for the year 1819[5], before his work on *Hero* had begun. Strangely enough, though many Grillparzer commentators have quoted this passage, none of them has remarked that, however well it may suit Grillparzer's earlier conception of a passionate Hero in 1820 and 1827, it does not apply (in the same sense) to the later Hero. Charlotte Paumgartten had set the lamp on the floor in order to have her arms free for an embrace, an act resulting from a state of feeling such as we could understand in the earlier Hero (or in Juliet), but certainly not in the later one; and whereas Grillparzer still writes in 1827: 'Nicht gerade die Begebenheit soll dort Platz finden, sondern die Gesinnung, die Gemüthsstimmung,' in the finished work it is the incident itself which is utilised[6], while the state of feeling prompting Hero's action

[1] Reich, *loc. cit.*, p. 167. Of these 'numberless pages,' very little has as yet come to light.

[2] Confirmed by Backmann's note to *Hero*, l. 1255.

[3] First quoted from Grillparzer's manuscript by H. Laube, *Grillparzers Sämmtliche Werke*, Stuttgart, 1872, Vol. v, p. 131.

[4] Quoted by Backmann (*loc. cit.*, note to *Hero*, l. 1255) as follows: 'Im 3. Akte zu gebrauchen, wie damals Charlotte, als sie den ganzen Abend wortkarger und kälter gewesen, als sonst, beim Weggehen an der Hausthür das Licht auf den Boden setzte, und sagte: ich muss mir die Arme freimachen, um dich zu küssen. Nicht gerade die Begebenheit soll dort Platz finden, sondern die Gesinnung, die Gemüthsstimmung.'

[5] Cf. *Werke*, II, Vol. VII, p. 239, No. 607: 'Wie sie trotzig war den ganzen Abend und höhnisch fast und unhöflich, beim Fortgehen aber das Licht auf den Boden setzte und sprach: ich muss dich küssen und mich umfieng und an sich drückte mit all der verzehrenden Gluth der Leidenschaft und des Verlangens. Studiere diesen Charakter genau. Dem Dichter kommt nicht leicht ein interessanterer vor.'

[6] Act III, l. 1255, Hero: '(das Licht auf den Boden stellend) Die Lampe solls nicht sehen.'

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is entirely different. Maidenly modesty has taken the place of ardent passion.

Quite consistent with this change in Grillparzer's conception of Hero is another referred to by Sauer in his Introduction to the Cotta edition (Vol. I, p. 73). Originally, according to Sauer, Hero was to become a prey to madness on discovering Leander's death—a motive almost paralleled, it may be remarked, by Juliet's outbreak in Act III, Sc. 2—while in the final version she retains possession of her faculties to the extent of being able to attempt concealment and dissemble her agony of grief, even in the dreadful moment of discovering Leander's corpse. Here, too, Grillparzer has made less violent the effect of passion.

It seems impossible to doubt that when he first conceived his *Hero*, Grillparzer thought of modelling his heroine on Shakespeare's. Here we may have the key to a difficulty that appears to have baffled all Grillparzer's commentators and editors. It occurs in a note of Grillparzer's originally published by Laube in his (the first) collected edition of Grillparzer's works, and frequently re-quoted by later editors—though in some cases[1] without the final sentence, which contains the difficulty in question. The note, written on the same (undated) page of manuscript as the words quoted above: 'Hero mit einem durchgehenden Zuge von *Heiterkeit*' (which, as has been observed, look like a revision of an 1827 note), runs as follows:

> Im vierten Akte...ist sie (Hero) schon wieder ins Gleichgewicht des Gefühls gekommen, aber eines neuen, des Gefühls als *Weib*. Zwar im Gleichgewichte, aber doch höchst gesteigert, sensuell, all das Dämonische, die ganze Welt Vergessende, taub und blind, was die Weiber befällt, wenn eine wahre Liebe eine Beziehung auf die Sinne bekommen hat. Dasselbe, was mir dem Weibe in der Tragödie von Yorkshire eine so furchtbare Wahrheit giebt, nur unendlich gemildert durch Hero's Charakter.

In the light of what has been said above, the phrase 'unendlich gemildert durch Hero's Charakter' shows this note to have been written after the change in Grillparzer's conception of his heroine. We may therefore regard it, too, as possibly, if not probably, a revision of an earlier note—a possibility which must be borne in mind in attempting to account for the mention here of the 'Tragödie von Yorkshire.'

At first sight it looks as if Grillparzer might have been referring to the so-called *Yorkshire Tragedy*, which he may well have known as a work attributed by some to Shakespeare's pen[2]. But he could not

[1] The sentence is omitted, for example, in Meyer's *Klassiker-Ausgabe* and even by Backmann in *Werke*, I, Vol. IV.

[2] The play had been published at Stationers' Hall in 1608 with Shakespeare's initials on the title-page. Sir Sidney Lee suggested, as the real author, Geo. Wilkin, the author of *The Miseries of Inforsed Mariage*. An edition of *The Yorkshire Tragedy* appeared in

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possibly have meant to refer to the one woman who figures in this work. In the few glimpses we get of Calverly's wife, we can trace no vestige of resemblance in her to either the earlier or the later Hero, whether in her character, in her state of feeling at any time, or in her experiences. She is gentleness itself, and dutifulness, and wifely devotion, under the most extreme provocation. Nor has any other tragedy with 'Yorkshire' either in the title, or as the name of the author, been discovered which would make the sentence intelligible. And yet there seems to have been a clear, if tacit, admission on Grillparzer's part of a definite literary influence. The use of the word 'mir[1]' must surely indicate that he knew at first hand the tragedy referred to and wished to record the vivid impression made *upon him* by the woman character in it, whose portrayal on becoming matured to womanhood, as Hero is matured, he thought 'so terribly true to life.' The problem gains both in interest and significance when we realise that the influence suggested by Grillparzer's words is not only of a fundamental character, but is also of a type which could perhaps only find its way into the writings of a dramatist of his particular perceptions and psychological bent.

Since Grillparzer's words, as they now stand, fail to enlighten us as to the actual source of the influence in question, and in view of the striking parallelism between his Hero (especially the earlier one) and Juliet, the conjecture suggests itself that the word 'Yorkshire' is an error, and that it should read 'Shakspeare[2].' An inquiry at the Grillparzer-Archiv in Vienna has elicited the interesting information that the manuscript used by Laube reads 'Yorksc*h*ire[3].' It remains now to account for this mistaken rendering (if such it be) of the word 'Shakspeare.' The error might be accounted for in various ways, but perhaps most plausibly by suggesting that if Grillparzer was copying out some notes made by himself at an earlier period of his work upon *Hero*[4], he might easily have misread the word 'Shakspeare' as 'Yorkschire' and written it so, in the version we have before us, as a result of over-haste, thoughtlessness, or lack of sympathetic contact with his earlier text. In German script, and especially in Grillparzer's handwriting, the words 'Yorkschire' and 'Shakspeare' are strikingly similar in general ap-

Vienna in 1812, and it had been published in translation (*Das Trauerspiel in Yorkshire*) in various 'Supplement-Bänden' to Shakespeare's works by that time.

[1] The word has unfortunately been omitted in quotations subsequent to Laube, probably as the result of an oversight in Sauer's version of the former's 'Nachwort zu Des Meeres und der Liebe Wellen.' (Cotta edition, Vol. VII, pp. 104 ff.)

[2] Grillparzer frequently uses this spelling.

[3] Dr Backmann kindly provided a tracing.

[4] We saw how probable it was that Grillparzer re-wrote and changed the passage referred to by Reich as being written on Jan. 8, 1827.

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pearance. There is remarkably little to choose between his writing of 'Y' and 'Sh,' or between (and this is how the mis-spelling 'Yorkschire' may arise) 'ch' and 'p.' If Grillparzer's writing of the two words could be reproduced here, it would be seen that they look almost identical, the only noticeable difference between them lying in the vowel before the second 'r.' The error may have resulted from other attendant circumstances as well (such as, for instance, a recent chance reminder of the existence of a supposedly Shakespearian play entitled *The Yorkshire Tragedy*), circumstances of which we can have no knowledge. But if we may assume that Grillparzer meant to write 'Dasselbe, was mir dem Weibe in der Tragödie von *Shakspeare* eine so furchtbare Wahrheit giebt, nur unendlich gemildert durch Hero's Charakter,' we see how reasonable and illuminating, in the light of his preceding remarks on Hero's state of feeling in Act IV, such an observation would be. It would follow that the tragedy in question was *Romeo and Juliet*, the one love-tragedy by Shakespeare most allied to Grillparzer's in theme, and that the woman referred to was Juliet herself.

This conjecture is incapable of absolute proof, at any rate until the volume of notes to *Hero* in the historical and critical edition appears. But it at least provides a possible solution of the difficulty on the basis of the available data. And if it is the correct solution, Grillparzer's words assume a special value, for they provide us with evidence almost unique of its kind in the whole of his writings, and a new and definite clue for investigating, along the lines here attempted, Shakespeare's influence on him.

D. YATES.

BRESLAU.

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MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

Two References to Chaucer made by Nicholas Udall.

(i) A book bearing the title *Paraphrases of the New Testament* does not seem a promising field for the seeker after Chaucerian references, yet it is in such a book that an important allusion is to be found. Like the allusion to be next mentioned it is made by no less a person than Nicholas Udall, the author of *Ralph Roister Doister*, who from 1543–1548 was employed by Queen Catharine Parr to translate from Latin into English Erasmus' *Paraphrases*, which had appeared some twenty years previously. Udall's translation was published in 1549.

In the Preface to St Luke's Gospel, dated from London, the 30th September, 1544, Udall comments upon the work of a translator, and insists upon each author's freedom to write in his own vein. In this connexion Udall cites the popularity of Chaucer at this period, i.e. the closing years of the reign of Henry VIII:

> What other thyng commendeth Chaucer and causeth his woorkes to be more set by then thousandes of other freashe hastye bokes hastily shootyng forth lyke May floures, and not wytheryng but utterly diyng with the first readyng.

Udall's comment is that no man writes so ornately that he does not retain 'sum snatche of his natiue countrey phrases'; he even acquiesces in the retention of terms 'that are now almoste worne clene out of use,... so it be doen with iudgemente.' Spenser was to show how this 'iudgemente' was to be exercised; thus we have Udall as a link between Chaucer and Spenser, smilingly nodding his approval both to the past and to the future.

(ii) The second reference made by Udall to Chaucer occurs in his translation, *Discourse or Traictise of Peter Martyr...concernynge the Eucharistia*, which appeared in 1550. Udall, in the course of his prefatory address to his patron, William Parr, Marquis of Northampton, and brother to Queen Catharine, while asserting the need for having this 'notable good weorke' in simple English, declares that there must of necessity be 'many thynges that maye seme to passe the capacitee and understanding of the unlettred sorte.' If every book were to be of such sort that the gross multitude should be able to understand it, 'then what should Chauncer (*sic*), Goore, Lidgate and others doe abrode, whom some even of the learned sorte doe in some places scarcely take?'

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Many things the 'simple ignorant people' read and hear about are far above their understanding. Udall concludes this portion of his preface by urging that considerations such as these should not impede the setting forth of edifying works.

The two allusions made by Udall to Chaucer within six years are therefore noteworthy, firstly as suggesting a link between Chaucer and Spenser, and secondly, as showing that Chaucer was being widely read, despite his presenting some few linguistic difficulties.

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SOME TEXTUAL NOTES ON THE ENGLISH MYSTERY PLAYS.

The following remarks on some readings adopted in our editions of the Mystery Plays suggested themselves to me in a recent study of the plays of the Old Testament Group and are offered to the student of these texts for what they are worth.

The York Mystery Plays, ed. by Miss L. Toulmin Smith.

I. p. 22, ll. 1–7:

> For woo my witte es in a were,
> That moffes me mykill in my mynde,
> The godhede þat I sawe so cleere,
> And parsayued þat he shuld take kynde,
> of a degree
> That he had wrought, and I denyed þat aungell kynde
> shuld it noȝt be.

As Miss Smith here notes that in the MS. the first five stanzas are written very confusedly and that she has attempted corrections, and as the sixth and seventh lines should have, in this stanza, as they have in the rest of the play[1], eight syllables each, I believe that the original reading for 'denyed' (l. 6) was the disyllabic 'dedyned' (cf. 'dedyned' in l. 11 and 'parsayued' in l. 4), which perfectly suits the sense, the metre and the rime, and that ll. 6–7 quite regularly read as:

> That he had wrought, and I dedyned
> þat aungell kynde shuld it noȝt be[2].

[1] Except for ll. 73 and 160 which have seven syllables each and l. 138 which has nine.

[2] Since proposing this reading I have seen Holthausen's (*Archiv*, LXXXV, p. 412) and Kölbing's (*Englische Studien*, XX, p. 182) emendations, but neither appears to me very satisfactory.

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II. p. 67, l. 369:

Fadir, as þou likes my lyffe to spende.

I suggest that the original reading was 'you,' not 'þou,' because, apart from the possibility of 'þ' and 'y' being confused in MSS. (cf. 272/45), we have the following internal evidence favouring 'you':

(1) Throughout the play Isaac and the servants invariably—if we omit the case 'sub judice'—address Abraham as 'You.' (That both Abraham and Isaac use 'þou' towards God is beside the question.)

(2) With 'like' the impersonal construction is the only one that seems to occur elsewhere in this cycle; cf. 8/7; 12/72. By reading 'you' for 'þou' we retain the impersonal form here also.

III. p. 81, l. 219:

Where is þis warlowe with his wande?

The MS. has 'when': the 'where' is Miss Smith's. But it is evident that the 'when' of the MS. means 'whence' and that Pharaoh's inquiry was one regarding Moses' antecedents and had nothing to do with his whereabouts. This is shown by the parallel Towneley text actually having 'whence.' For the form 'whenne' or 'quhyne' (meaning 'whence') cf. *Piers Plowman*, A, VI, 16; *Bruce*, VII, 240.

IV. *The Towneley Plays* (E.E.T.S.).

p. 4, ll. 85–6:

Agans my grete myght
May thing stand then be (MS. Reading)

p. 26, ll. 107–8:

For they would never stryfe
With me then me offend (MS. Reading)

The editor has in both cases changed 'then' to 'ne.' But that this is needless tampering with an idiomatic feature of the text is shown by this use of 'then' (='than') in the sense of 'nor' in at least two other instances: 39/535; 58/75. Cf. also *Cursor Mundi*, 17586 Cotton and 29114 Cotton, and see *N.E.D.* under 'than.'

V. *Specimens of the Pre-Shakesperean Drama*, Vol. I. (Manly.)

p. 32, l. 44:

Therefore, sere, fore love of me.

According to both Manly and Miss Block the MS. has 'fere[1].' It

[1] Halliwell (*Ludus Coventriae*, p. 41) prints 'sere' without comment as if it were the MS. reading; Miss Block in her recent edition (p. 36) follows Manly in thinking that the MS. 'fere' is for 'sere,' but retains 'fere' in her text.

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seems that 'sere' is substituted (1) because 'sere' occurs in l. 62, and (2) because 'fere' puts the speaker on a footing of equality with her husband. But cf. the Dublin MS. Abraham Play, where, though in ll. 318, 328 Sara addresses Abraham as 'Souereigne,' yet in ll. 86, 108 she calls him 'fere' and in l. 133 even 'gentil hert.' Cf. also the Chester 'Creation' (l. 251), where Eve calls Adam 'my leeif fere.'

The Non-Cycle Mystery Plays, ed. by O. Waterhouse (E.E.T.S.).

VI. p. 44, l. 208 (Brome play):

My hart begynnys stronly to rysse.

MS. 'begynnyd'; Miss Smith 'begynnys' (*Anglia*, VII); Manly 'begynnyth' (*Specimens*, I, p. 48). Manly's emendation is better than Miss Smith's, for the 3rd Sing. Pres. Ind. ends oftener in '-th' than in '-s' in this East Anglian play; and, indeed, we actually have 'begynnyth' in l. 147. But so common is the confusion in this play between '-th' and '-t' or '-d' that an emendation in this one instance would be hardly justifiable. We have 'sent' (351) and 'senth' (317); 'mowthe' (218) and 'mowt' (347); 'wrogth' (404); 'knowyt' (320); 'schoyt' (440); 'weryt' (464). We also have once 'derewordy' (411) for 'dereworthy.' We might then very well allow 'begynnyth' to stand in l. 147 and 'begynnyd' here.

VII. p. 19, l. 2[1] (Newcastle play):

No marvel it is if I do show.

Holthausen (H)[2], 'if I dos how'; Brotanek (BK)[3] and Waterhouse (W), 'no marvel if I it destroy.'

I suggest that the original Northern text had 'no maruell es if I do sla.' The verb 'sla' would govern 'þir folk' in l. 3 and furnish a correct rime to 'faa' (l. 4). Cf. *Cursor Mundi*, 7616; *Bruce*, II, 207–8. For the phrase 'no marvell es' cf. Y. 93/1.

VIII. p. 19, ll. 9–14:

All Mankind dead shall be,
With Storms both stiff and steer;
All but Noah my Darling free,
His Children and their Wives,
Ever more yet they trow'd in me,
Save therefore I will their Lives.

[1] The numbering of the lines is after Waterhouse, while the text reproduced at the head of each of the following notes is Bourne's.

[2] *Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift*, Vol. III (1897).

[3] *Anglia*, XXI, pp. 165 ff.

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I agree with BK in regarding these six lines as forming one stanza, but I would rather read them as:

All mankin dede sall be
With stormis bath stiff and stere,
All but Noe my derling fre
His childir and þair wifis dere;
Euir-mare ȝitt þai trowid in me,
Save þarfore I þair lifis in fere.

For l. 12 I accept W's suggestion that 'dere' should follow 'wifis' here as well as in l. 171; cf. Halliwell's *Lud. Cov.* 91/2; Y 65/311. In l. 14, I take it that the stop-gap phrase 'in fere' has been omitted by Bourne (B). ('Lifis' is monosyllabic; cf. 'floodis,' l. 7; 'trowid,' l. 13; 'thingis,' l. 25, etc.)

IX. p. 24, l. 164:

O yes dame, could thou layne.

BK adds 'trewely' to this line and changes l. 166—from 'How God of Heaven an angel sent' to 'How God an angel sent fra hie'—so as to get his rime. H and W read 'stint' for 'layne.' BK's emendation appears far-fetched, to say the least; while it is difficult to accept that of H. It is more likely, I think, that the word here rendered 'layne' was in the original 'leynd' (= tarry, linger, abide; cf. T 68/140; Y 44/214, 45/16; Wright's *Ch.* II, 49; *Bruce*, IV, 747). B either deciphered it incorrectly or sought to emend it from his knowledge of dialectal 'layne' (= hide, keep secret about. See *N.E.D.*). Anyway, I believe 'leynd' suits the context better than 'layne.' That l. 164 has, then, only six syllables, while l. 166—'How God of heaven,' etc. (cf. Y 59/118; T 22/446) or 'How God on hye,' etc. (cf. *Dub. Abraham*, 347)—has eight syllables, does not in itself prove that the former is incomplete; cf. ll. 9, 11 of this play, which neither H, BK, nor W has sought to change. As for the rime 'leynd: sent,' it may be that the original had, not 'sent,' but 'send' or 'seynd,' a form which occurs often both in the pret. and p. p. Cf. l. 192 and the rime 'wende: sent,' ll. 146, 148 (where BK needlessly alters B's 'hath sent' to 'will send'); also *Bruce*, I, 145; II, 176, etc.; 'The Thistle and the Rose,' 78. For the rime 'lend: send' cf. Y 59/116–118; *Cursor Mundi*, 10775–6 Cott.; *Bruce*, III, 747–8.

X. p. 24, l. 169:

With storms both stiff and steer fell.

BK and W dispense with 'fell,' but do not account for its supposed gratuitous inclusion by B. I believe 'fell' is not unoriginal but only

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out of place as it stands[1]: we know of transpositions in ll. 59, 138, etc. In my opinion the line in the original ran: 'With stormis fell bath stiff and stere,' where 'fell' is to be taken, not, as B perhaps took it, as the verb meaning 'destroy, knock down' (cf. T 141/24), but rather as the adjective meaning 'sharp,' 'cruel' (cf. T 170/142). As for the rime-word 'dere,' inserted by W in l. 171, see remarks above on ll. 9–14.

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DID JONSON WRITE 'THE EXPOSTULATION' ATTRIBUTED TO DONNE?

The elegy beginning 'To make the doubt clear that no woman 's true,' has been thought to be Donne's, having been published among his works in the first edition of 1633, two years after his death. Subsequently it appeared in all the seventeenth-century editions of his poems, and it has been retained by all his modern editors. For the sake of convenience, I shall call it by the title which it bears in Grierson's edition, 'The Expostulation.'

When the second folio of Ben Jonson's *Works* was published in 1640, the poem, with some unimportant variations, was included in *Underwoods*. The editors of Jonson—Whalley (1756), Gifford (1816), and Cunningham (1875)—have included it among the authentic work of their author. Thus there exists the unusual situation of the appearance of the same poem in the latest edition of one well-known seventeenth-century poet, and in what must still be considered the standard edition of another.

Jonson's editors have not deigned to argue the question of authorship. And while Sir Edmund Chambers, in editing Donne, has at least realized the necessity of stating why he believes in Donne's authorship, he has not, it seems to me, proved his case. He merely states:

> This poem was included in the collection of verses called *Underwoods*, which first appeared in the second folio edition of Ben Jonson's works. It is No. 58 in Cunningham's edition. I see no reason, however, to take it from Donne. It appeared in two editions, 1633 and 1635, during Jonson's life; the *Underwoods* is posthumous, and of no great authority; and both style and sentiment are characteristic of Donne....It is signed J. D. in William Drummond's Hawthornden MS. 15.

Professor Grierson does not specifically discuss the authorship of the poem. He does say, however (Introduction, p. cxxx), that 'the presence

[1] In l. 175, on the other hand, the 'perfect,' in B's 'less or more perfect,' is palpably unoriginal.

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or absence of a name or initials is not a conclusive argument' for the authorship of a poem. He makes two exceptions to this statement, saying that 'the initials in a collection so well vouched for as HN, Drummond's copy of a collection of poems in the possession of Donne, can only be set aside by a scepticism which makes all historical questions insoluble.'

Without wishing to incur the charge of any such scepticism, I believe that the question should not be settled wholly on these grounds. Both the *Underwoods* and the first edition of Donne were posthumous; almost certainly whichever one of the two men did write the poem lent it to the other, possibly for criticism; and the result was that it appeared in the published works of both. If the initials in Drummond's MS. must be regarded as proof positive, of course the subject is closed. If, on the other hand, as some critics—notably W. D. Briggs—think, this evidence is not conclusive, I should like to examine some of the internal evidence for believing in Jonson's authorship.

First of all, in *Underwoods* the poem appears as the second of a series of four love-elegies, all apparently addressed to the same lady. In the first of these elegies (*Underwoods*, 57), the poet asks forgiveness for having betrayed the confidence of his lady. In the second elegy—the poem in question—he rebukes her for a similar offence which she in turn has committed against their love, and ends by directing his abuse at 'that treacherous breast to whom weak you did trust our counsels.' The third elegy again takes up the subject of keeping close love's confidences. The three elegies having apparently succeeded in keeping the lovers together only temporarily, in the fourth and last he bids her a regretful farewell.

Although there is no way of proving absolutely that these four poems constitute an integral series addressed to one lady, I think that no reader, unaware of the problem, who happened to come upon them together in *Underwoods* would feel the slightest doubt as to their being all by the same author. The style is the same; they follow in logical sequence; and they have about them the same air of earnestness and sincere feeling. Castelain says of them: 'pour moi, celui qui a écrit l'une est forcément l'auteur des autres[1].' And though he hesitates to attribute them all to Jonson, at least no editor of Donne has suggested claiming the other three for his author, as to me would seem a more sensible proceeding than taking merely one.

Let us consider such general indications as may be found in the

[1] *Ben Jonson, L'Homme et l'Oeuvre*, p. 803 n.

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metrical tendencies of the two poets in their use of the heroic couplet. In making the comparison which follows, I have chosen from each poet 500 lines of verse which I consider typical[1]. The results may be seen from the following tabulation.

	Percentage of Run-on lines
Donne	24·8
Jonson	29·6
'The Expostulation'	41·4

Again, while both poets were fond of using the caesura to break the monotony of the line, Jonson used the device more frequently than did Donne. The following table is based on the same 500 lines of Donne and Jonson, and on 'The Expostulation.'

	Percentage of lines containing caesuras after 4th, 5th, 6th, or 7th syllable
Donne	45
Jonson	62
'The Expostulation'	64·3

Thus it is seen that on the basis of these elements of metrical technique the poem more nearly resembles Jonson's usual practice than Donne's. Of course, evidence such as this, particularly in considering a poem so short as seventy lines, is far from conclusive when taken alone; yet in connexion with other evidence which points in the same direction it is not without value.

The strongest reason for believing the poem to be Jonson's is the number of classical borrowings to be found in it. Jonson, as is well known, was thoroughly steeped in the classics, and in his work it is not at all uncommon to find him translating or adapting at will Latin passages to suit his needs. This is far from being true of Donne. I quote from Professor Grierson:

> It is clear that he [Donne] knew the classical poets, but there are few specific allusions. Ovid, Horace, and Juvenal one can trace, not any other with certainty, nor in his sermons do references to Virgil, Horace, or other poets abound.

Now in the brief seventy lines of 'The Expostulation' there are no fewer than five passages taken from Latin authors, three of which are well-nigh literal translations, and the others, close imitations. Two of the authors are not among those to whom Donne, according to Professor Grierson, alludes. The parallel passages follow:

[1] From Jonson: *The Forest*, 12, 13, *Underwoods*, 12, 32, and 34, ll. 1–8 (as numbered in Cunningham's nine volume edition). From Donne: Elegies 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, and 18, ll. 1–40 (as numbered in Grierson's edition).

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(i) Are vows so cheap with women? or the matter
Whereof they are made, that they are writ in water,
And blown away with wind?

Catullus, lxx:

sed mulier cupido quod dicit amanti
in vento et rapida scribere oportet aqua.

(ii) Sooner I'll think the sun would cease to cheer
The teeming earth, and that forget to bear;
Sooner that rivers would run back, or Thames
With ribs of ice in June would bind his streams;
Or Nature, by whose strength the world endures,
Would change her course, before you alter yours.

Ovid, *Tristia*, I, viii, 1–8:

In caput alta suum labentur ab aequore retro
flumina, conversis Solque recurret equis;
terra feret stellas, caelum findetur aratro,
unda dabit flammas, et dabit ignis aquas,
omnia naturae praepostera legibus ibunt,
parsque suum mundi nulla tenebit iter,
omnia iam fient, fieri quae posse negabam,
et nihil est, de quo non sit habenda fides.

(iii) like painters that do take
Delight, not in made works, but whilst they make.

Seneca, *Epistulae*, ix:

Attalus philosophus dicere solebat iucundius esse amicum facere quam habere, quomodo artifici iucundius pingere est quam pinxisse.

(iv) Love in your eyes, that gave my tongue the law
To like what you like, and at masques or plays,
Commend the self-same actors the same ways.

Ovid, *Ars Amatoria*, ii, 197–201:

Cede repugnanti: cedendo victor abibis;
fac modo, quas partis illa iubebit, agas!
arguet: arguito; quidquid probat illa, probato;
quod dicet, dicas; quod negat illa, neges!
riserit: adride; si flebit, flere memento[1]!

(v) Love was as subtly catch'd as a disease.....
And ought not be profaned on either part,
For though 'tis got by chance, 'tis kept by art.

Ovid, *Ars Amatoria*, ii, 13–14:

Nec minor est virtus, quam quaerere, parta tueri.
casus inest illic: hic erit artis opus.

If Donne foisted all these borrowings upon his readers as his own work, at least this is the only time he has done so; with Jonson, on the other hand, such borrowing was a common practice.

[1] This borrowing, as well as the first and third here cited, has already been noticed by Briggs, in *Modern Philology*, xv, 5, Sept. 1917, pp. 291–2.

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Lastly, the simile in 'The Expostulation,' taken from Seneca, *Epistulae*, ix, is used by Jonson in a poem of which his authorship has never been questioned. In *Underwoods*, 4, Jonson writes:

> And as a cunning painter takes,
> In any curious piece you see,
> More pleasure while the thing he makes,
> Than when 'tis made.....

It may also be worthy of note that in both these similes Jonson employs the unusual word 'make,' where the more natural word would be 'paint.' I do not wish to press this coincidence too far, for in both poems the rhyme may have determined his choice. More important is the fact that Jonson frequently repeats himself in this fashion. This being true, is it not more natural to suppose that the simile—itself translated from a Latin writer who was a favourite with Jonson, and not, apparently, much used by Donne—should appear in two poems of Jonson, rather than in one poem of Jonson and one of Donne?

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THE SOURCES OF WATSON'S 'TEARS OF FANCIE.'

Addendum.

The influence of Spenser is clearly evident in this sequence. The phrases 'In prime of youthly yeares' and 'amorous desire' occur more than once in *F.Q.* In Sonnet LI the six lines from 'No tree' to 'careles ease' are copied *verbatim* from *F.Q.* II, vi, 13.

JANET G. SCOTT.

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REVIEWS.

Probleme der englischen Sprache und Kultur. Festschrift Johannes Hoops zum 60. Geburtstag überreicht von Freunden und Kollegen. Herausgegeben von WOLFGANG KELLER. (*Germanische Bibliothek*, II, XX.) Heidelberg: Carl Winter. 1925. vii + 270 pp. 15 M.

The volume opens with an introductory letter from the editor to Professor Hoops, in which the latter's remarkable services to English and to general Germanic studies are briefly but happily recalled. They are, of course, familiar to, and appreciated by, hundreds of scholars outside of Germany, and one can but regret that this congratulatory volume contains nothing from an English or American hand, the sole contribution in English—some interesting and original *Notes on the Name of James Harrington's Oceana*—emanating from S. B. Liljegren of Lund, who makes out a strong case for his view that Harrington's vague hints 'open up vistas of quite unexpected range.'

Width of range rather than minute inquiry is perhaps the leading characteristic of this collection of sixteen articles, which together offer some 'fine confused reading,' but, one by one, stimulate thought and further inquiry in many fields. One might write a long essay on the characteristics of the German mind with this one volume as a basis: Arnold Schröer's challenging article on 'Völkerpsychologie,' which takes pride of place and fills no less than 54 pages, would provide an excellent basis of discussion. All who know the doughty and outspoken Professor in the flesh will rejoice to see that his spirit remains unbroken, his appreciation of both the dark and the light sides of the English and the Germans vivid and personal, his fairness 'ungeheuchelt.' He often achieves an acute criticism in the middle of a 'Rettung,' as when he denies that the English are prone to 'Heuchelei,' only to add that the temper mistakenly so-called is really 'ein *Wahn*.' If occasionally he overshoots the mark or misses nuances that hardly any foreigner appreciates he is a master in the art of 'Wiedergutmachen,' and his plea for a deeper, more historical and also more philosophical study of the foreigner: 'Wer auf schnelle Werturteile aus ist, der lasse die Hand von der Völkerpsychologie!' is one that can be heartily approved, even if its author, like ourselves, has not in every instance completely realised his aim. The Appendix ('Der englische Zauber') is a piece of journalism written in June 1915, and hardly worth reprinting. The remarks about the 'fette Oxforder Professur' degenerate into a caricature which a finer taste would have chosen to excise from a volume of this kind.

Articles which might best be read in connection with that of Schröer are Alexander Cartellieri's able sketch of Richard Cœur-de-Lion, which appears to be a little more up-to-date than Miss Norgate's book,

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but does not depend for its effect on its new facts; Levin L. Schücking's fragmentary but stimulating essay on 'Literatur und Familie zu Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts in England'; and Rudolf Imelmann's contribution of eleven letters of Lord Acton, written in German on the subject of George Eliot, to Imelmann's father Johannes, who translated Acton's biographical sketch and obtained from the historian some explanatory notes to his text. To these may be added the careful, if unexciting, chronicle by Heinrich Spies entitled 'Theaterzensur und Zeitgeist im neuen England,' in which the vagaries of the censorship of plays are better displayed than is the evolution of the 'Zeitgeist,' as might be expected. A pleasant article, of no great value, is Schick's 'Indische Quellen zu Longfellows Kavanagh.' It will appeal to those who are admirers of Longfellow and also to those who combine a taste for poetry and mathematics.

The articles by Morsbach, Keller, Horn and Max Förster contain more solid matter. Before turning to them mention must be at least made of Otto Funke's courageous attempt at a 'Definition des Begriffes "Eigennamen"' of Walther Fischer's effort to show that Chaucer's Prioress and her 'Frensh...After the scole of Stratford atte Bowe' are emanations of the Comic Spirit, of Otto Cartellieri's quaint account of a duel in Valenciennes in the year 1455—que fait-il dans cette galère?—and of Otto Ritter's 'Lauthistorisches zum Namen Don Adriano de Armado,' which may be commended to the students of Shakespeare's spelling and might have been enlarged with advantage, as indeed Ritter is aware. Until some fairly complete collection of this type is available the editors of our Renaissance texts will continue to tread upon uncertain ground, especially if they base their views, as too often, only on the written forms and neglect phonology.

In 'Prinzipielles zur modernen Syntaxforschung' Morsbach breaks a lance with Deutschbein and the 'psychological' school, maintaining the sound thesis, 'Die Tradition spielt auch in der Syntax eine grosse Rolle,' and the less axiomatic charge, 'dass man (in der neueren Forschung) die Syntax der Gegenwart und ihre psychologische Deutung zu sehr in den Vordergrund geschoben und ihre zeitliche Bedingtheit, den historischen Werdegang der syntaktischen Gebilde in den Hintergrund gedrängt hat.' The dispute is typically academic, for neither method is adequate without the other, nor do the examples here adduced suffice to decide the questions at issue. In the second part of the essay Morsbach makes an interesting, if highly schematic and German, attempt to discover the meaning and scope of the term syntax, arriving at a definition formulated in 36 (mainly polysyllabic) words!

Wilhelm Horn's essay, 'Der altenglische Zauberspruch gegen den Hexenschuss,' is characteristically thorough and definite. He appears to be familiar with all the relevant literature and deals systematically with all the difficulties, bringing in parallels from Finland, Sweden, Bosnia, Babylonia and of course Germany. The old Bavarian formula *contra caducum morbum* (Steinmeyer, LXX, Wolfskehl und von der Leyen, p. 204) might have been cited as a parallel instance of 'replying in kind,

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but more vigorously,' at p. 97, or again at p. 98 with Manninen's account of the Finnish 'Geschoss' (*lento*, etc.), which seems to be epilepsy. Probably the efficacy of iron and of weapons of iron or steel is originally closely connected with lightning and thunderbolts, as in the *Edda* saga of Thor's fight with the giant Geirröd. The references to the drawn swords of Odysseus and Aeneas are of small value, since the spirits of the underworld are conceived as corporeal, even when invisible. It is not clear to me that iron, *by itself*, need have a magic power. Howitt (cited by Marett, *Anthropology*, p. 231) says, 'To the black-fellow his club or his spear are part and parcel of his ordinary life. There is no "medicine" or "devil" in them. If they are to be made supernaturally potent, they must be specially charmed. But it is quite otherwise with his spear-thrower or his bull-roarer....The latter [illegible] the noise of thunder, though a mere chip of wood on the end of a string.' These, then, are in themselves 'medicine.' There is 'virtue' in, or behind, them. But, of course, the black fellow may have lost his primitive belief in the magic of iron.

As will be clear, Horn's inquiry takes us far afield. So does Max Förster's learned study of 'Die Legende vom Trinubium der hl. Anna,' in which the printer has made one or two slips. I cannot set out Förster's argument. He believes it most probable that the legend arose in England or Normandy and as early as the end of the eleventh century. But he seems to me not to have disproved the theory of a Byzantine origin. Cooper's *Thesaurus* (which Förster does not mention) cites 'Damascene,' i.e., John of Damascus, as the authority for his note on Anna. Unless it can be definitely asserted that neither he nor any other Greek authority relates the legend we cannot be certain that the Latin version may not be drawn from a Byzantine source. This, indeed, Förster admits, but it has not prevented him from writing a very valuable account of the legend.

Not much space remains—certainly too little—in which to do justice to the two remaining contributions. 'Der König des Lebens' is a metrical version by F. Holthausen, the Kiel professor, of the well-known morality *The Pride of Life*, of which there are several editions and an earlier translation by Brandl. The attempt to render this work into rhymed quatrains, left purposely rather rough, is distinctly successful, though here and there the sense is perhaps not given as exactly as it might be. In one verse Holthausen seems to have missed the meaning of the last line. Here is his version beside the original:

English, 379 f.	*Holthausen*, 96.
Þer ne fallit no maynpris,	Bürgschaft gibt's da wenig,
Ne supersidias;	noch Einstellungsbefehl;
Þay Þe be kyng or iustis	ob Richter oder König,
Þe passit not Þe pas.	*sie alle gehen fehl.*

The sense seems to be 'Es geht ja keiner durch,' or in modern Americanese, 'They'll not get away with it.' Even if, with Holthausen, one reads 'he passith not the pas,' the meaning is the same. The remark on strophe 56 f., 'Auf welche Bibelstelle sich diese Worte beziehen, vermag

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ich nicht zu sagen' must be accredited to the pedagogue rather than to the poet in the professor. *Job*, *Ecclesiastes* and *I Corinthians* will serve, and there is a parallel in Hebbel's *Agnes Bernauer*, Act III, sc. 8. For the rest, it is a good stirring version, well worth doing.

The editor, Wolfgang Keller, is to be congratulated on bringing together so much excellent matter in this not too great space. For his own contribution he has been content with seven pages on the important problem of Scandinavian influence on English flexion. I am not competent to pronounce on his views. They depend largely on the interpretation of the rune ᛉ as Germanic *z* and its preservation in speech well into the tenth century. Keller's conclusion is that Scandinavian flexions were carried over into English and the most important differences between modern F· 'ish flexions and those of the most closely related languages may ' raced to Scandinavian sources

MARSHALL MONTGOMERY.

OXFORD.

The Buik of Alexander. Edited by R. L. GRAEME RITCHIE. (Scottish Text Society.) Vol. I. Edinburgh. 1925. 8vo. cclxxxiv + 210 pp.

The Buik of Alexander is a translation in Scots of episodes from French metrical romances of Alexander the Great. Volume II of this edition was noticed in this *Review* in October, 1922 (vol. XVII, p. 424). The present volume, which contains the episode entitled *The Forray of Gadderis*, shows, like its forerunner, Dr Ritchie's editorial excellences of patient industry, scholarly thoroughness and brilliant erudition. *The Forray* tells how, during the long siege of Tyre, Alexander once dispatched 700 soldiers to raid the cattle in the Vale of Josaphas. In spite of the stout resistance of the keepers, Alexander's men succeeded in driving off the cattle, but were intercepted by 30,000 foemen marching to relieve Tyre. A fierce battle followed, and when Alexander arrived to help his men he found only ten alive.

This volume, like Volume II, conveniently presents the Scots and the French on opposite pages, the French being from Bodleian MS. 264, which Dr Ritchie considers nearest the text used by the translator.

It is, however, the editor's introduction, long and in places perhaps over-annotated, that will attract most attention, especially the part discussing the authorship. On this question there was, a quarter of a century ago, a vigorous controversy between Dr George Neilson and Dr J. T. T. Brown. So numerous are the phrases, whole lines and illustrations resembling each other in *The Buik* and in Barbour's *Brus* that some connexion must exist between the two poems. But what? Dr Brown maintained that the translator of *The Buik*, which gives its date as 1438, made interpolations in *The Brus*. Dr Neilson, regarding the date as wrong, believed that Barbour himself made the translation, which he afterwards used as a quarry for his *Brus*. Dr Ritchie adopts

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the theory of the Barbour authorship, which he buttresses in an elaborate argument, displaying great dexterity and pouring out boundless stores of learning. But it is always perilous to argue from resemblances. Many of those cited by Dr Ritchie seem to me mere coincidences, many are the inevitable medieval tags. Barbour may indeed have read, and even translated, some of the Alexander romances; but resemblances can hardly prove him author of *The Buik* in face of the explicit statement of its date as 1438, that is, some forty years after Barbour was in his grave:

> Sensyne [i.e. since the birth of Christ] is past ane thousand ȝeir,
> Four hundreth and threttie thair-to neir,
> And aucht and sumdele mair, I wis.

This statement Dr Ritchie, without giving any reason, assumes to be inaccurate. It is not enough to say that blunders often occur in regard to dates. We should receive proofs why we are to believe the date 1438 to be wrong. Till that is done, we cannot accept Dr Ritchie's theory as the one and only explanation of the resemblances between *The Buik* and *The Brus*.

W. Murison.

Aberdeen.

Milton: Man and Thinker. By Denis Saurat. London: Jonathan Cape. 1925. xii + 363 pp. 15*s*.

This English work is, as Professor Saurat says, 'in part a translation or adaptation of' his larger *La pensée de Milton* and three review articles, *Les sources anglaises de la pensée de Milton*, *Milton et le Zohar*, *La Cabale et la philosophie de Milton*, the first two published in *Revue Germanique*, the last in *Revue des études juives*. The first of these was reviewed at some length in this *Review* and it is unnecessary now to recapitulate what was said, and is now well known, of M. Saurat's admirably full and clear exposition of the metaphysics and theology of Milton. No such full and accurate study of Milton's thought, and its possible sources, had been attempted, and Saurat's work is likely to remain for most people a sufficient and complete statement of the thought underlying the great three poems of Milton's later life, the doctrines so dogmatically expounded in the late discovered treatise *De Doctrinâ Christianâ*. The present writer is not entirely a convert to M. Saurat's view of the great and permanent interest of Milton's philosophy or its importance to the student and lover of his poetry. Rather he feels that whenever Milton's peculiar doctrines obtrude themselves into *Paradise Lost* the poetic temperature is lowered. His genius was more akin to Homer's than to Dante's. Poetically he is most enjoyable when telling a magnificent story and describing heroic figures and sublime scenes. To enjoy his often piquant philosophic and theological views and arguments we should read, not *Paradise Lost*, but the *De Doctrinâ* itself. But all this is arguable and I propose not to review M. Saurat's work at length but rather to

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call attention to one or two points on which repeated study of his argument has left me with some doubts.

The first of these concerns Milton's use of the word 'beget,' especially in the speech from which the whole story begins:

> This day I have begot whom I declare
> My only Son.

This M. Saurat understands to imply 'that the creation of the Son took place on one particular day.' Perhaps it did; but not, I think, on this day. How, in that case, could Abdiel, one of the angels present when the announcement was made, speak later of the Son as him by whom all things,

> even thee (Satan) and all the spirits of Heav'n,

had been created? Satan disputes this doctrine, claiming to be 'self-begot, self-rais'd'; but he does *not* argue that the Son is a later begotten being. Is it not rather that Milton distinguished between two senses of the word 'generation,' 'begat' (genuisse) as used by the Father of the Son, the one proper, the other metaphorical, 'nempe vel producendo, vel exaltando, which theologians have confounded'? Of the creation of the Son the Scriptures tell us only (Milton contends) that it was 'ante mundum conditum,' not that it was 'eternal.' 'The other passages,' he goes on, 'which are cited refer only to the metaphorical generation, i.e. his resurrection from the dead or his anointing to the functions of a Mediator.' He refers again to *Hebrews*, i. 5, 'For to which of the Angels' etc., and adds 'de exaltatione super angelos.' This is the verse he is echoing in the lines quoted; and it is not the creation of the Son but his exaltation over the angels which is proclaimed on a certain day, wounding Satan's pride and exciting his envy:

> Deep malice thence conceiving and disdain.

But the most important and interesting question raised and stressed by Professor Saurat is that of Milton's debt to the *Zohar* and especially what Saurat calls Milton's 'doctrine of retreat.' I am not a Cabalist and shall not attempt to discuss the general question of Milton's knowledge of the *Zohar*. Very probably he did know it, though for one detail on which Saurat relies a recent writer has suggested the Jewish history of Yosippon, the pseudo-Josephus. But whatever suggestion Milton may have drawn from this or that source, he accepts no dogma in the *De Doctrinâ* for which he cannot cite the authority of Scripture. Now my sole concern is to know whether Milton did hold a doctrine of 'retreat' (see pp. 124 and 285 ff.). Is it correct to say that 'in his philosophy everything comes from God by his retraction, which produced first that divine matter from which the universe is evolved naturally'? It is a startling thought and interesting because it suggests an ultimate metaphysical source of that free will which is the deepest concern of all that Milton wrote in prose and verse. Yet I cannot but think, the more I consider it, that Professor Saurat is reading too much into some three lines (*P.L.* VII, 170–2) and that there is no such doctrine in Milton. There is no inkling of it in the *De Doctrinâ*, and Saurat admits that

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Milton found no authority for it in Scripture: 'So he boldly took a passage out of the *Zohar* and made it the very centre of his metaphysics.' Will the lines Saurat cites support this statement? God says to the victorious Son:

> My overshadowing Spirit and might with thee
> I send along, ride forth, and bid the Deep
> Within appointed bounds be Heav'n and Earth.
> Boundless the Deep, because I am who fill
> Infinitude, nor vacuous the space.
> Though I uncircumscrib'd myself retire,
> And put not forth my goodness, which is free
> To act or not, Necessity and Chance
> Approach not me, and what I will is Fate.

Do these last lines describe the notion of creation, creation by retractation? I think not. What is described is the condition of the Deep *before* God puts forth his creative power. Even then he is everywhere. Infinite space is not empty, because God the true Infinite is there as it were potentially, not putting forth his might unless and until he chooses. Matter even in its 'embryon atoms,' mere 'hot, cold, moist, and dry,' is yet in God, has in him its being or potentiality of being: 'neque enim materia illa res mala est, aut vilis existimanda sed bona...nec aliunde quam ex fonte omnis substantiae derivanda, indigesta modo et incomposita, quam Deus postea digessit et ornavit.' But did he order and adorn it by 'retreat' or by putting forth

> my goodness which is free
> To act or not, Necessity and Chance
> Approach not me, and what I will is Fate?

'Creatio est qua Deus Pater Verbo et Spiritu suo, hoc est sua voluntate, quidquid est rerum produxit ad patefaciendam potentiae et bonitatis suae gloriam.'

Into the womb of potential being the Father sent forth the Son to

> bid the Deep
> Within appointed bounds be Heav'n and Earth.

It may be that I misapprehend Professor Saurat, if he or I or anyone understands creation 'by retreat.' What I feel is that he has based his assertion that Milton here threw over the Bible for the *Zohar* on too slender evidence.

Even if this be so it does not seriously detract from the interest of his clear exposition of Milton's thought and his interesting linking of it with current speculation. No one has brought out so clearly the degree to which Milton moved 'to the left,' developed his own independent thought, basing it upon a literal reading of Scripture. Whether in doing so he really moved out of the Christian dogma of sin and redemption is a difficult question which I shall not discuss. To what has been said above I might just add this, that the idea that infinite space was the most abstract and potential aspect of the infinity of God is a thought which was current in the century. It is clearly stated by Henry More.

H. J. C. GRIERSON.

EDINBURGH.

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The Prelude. By WILLIAM WORDSWORTH. Edited from the Manuscripts, with Introduction, Textual and Critical Notes by ERNEST DE SELINCOURT. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1926. lxii + 614 pp. 25*s.*

Till now we have only known *The Prelude* in the form in which it was given to the public after Wordsworth's death in 1850, and questions have been raised for a long time, first as to the correctness in minor matters of the 1850 text, and secondly as to the relation in which this text stands to the poem as it was drafted between 1798 and 1805. Wordsworth's political opinions had grown gradually more Conservative, his religious attitude more tamely orthodox during his later life: must not the poem read to Coleridge in 1805 have breathed a very different spirit from the poem as revised for publication when the poet was an old man?

Great hopes were raised when it was announced that Professor de Selincourt had been entrusted by Mr Gordon Wordsworth, the poet's grandson, with the preparation of a critical edition of the poem, based on a number of manuscripts of different dates, going back to 1805 and earlier. The book is now before us, and our hopes have been more than realized. High as was Mr de Selincourt's reputation for careful work, fine taste and sanity of judgment, it must now stand higher than ever. His edition is an event in modern English scholarship.

Many a bold man might have been discouraged by the task presented to him. There are five complete MSS. of the poem, called by the editor A, B, C, D, E. A was copied by Dorothy at the end of 1805, and B by Sara Hutchinson for Coleridge early in 1806, C by John Carter about 1817–19, D by Mrs Wordsworth about 1828, E by Dora Wordsworth in 1839. But that is only the beginning of the problem. These MSS. were in turn altered by the poet as improvements suggested themselves to him, and this in writing often partially concealing the original text, and often hardly legible in itself. Further there are a number of notebooks of earlier date than 1805, containing long passages or whole books, written partly in the poet's difficult hand, partly in the hand of amanuenses and then corrected by him.

Out of this chaos Professor de Selincourt has produced order. He has given us on opposite pages the text of 1805 based on MSS. A and B and the familiar text of 1850, which was based on MS. E but contains, as was suspected, both printer's errors and some divergences due to the editor. In textual footnotes we have the readings of the other texts. An Introduction which is a model of editorial compression, self-restraint, good judgment and delicate taste, describes the manuscripts and suggests the lessons to be learnt from them in their relation to the text of 1850 with regard to Wordsworth's changing opinions, and his poetical canons. Finally more than a hundred pages are given to notes in which, with a rare knowledge of Wordsworth and of the Lake Country as well as of Milton and other poets from whom Wordsworth borrowed, Mr de Selincourt brings out the full significance of passages whose meaning we might have missed.

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What then is the main result that emerges from our increased knowledge? It is, perhaps, that the difference of spirit between 1805 and 1850 is not quite as striking, especially as regards politics, as it had been surmised to be. There are significant changes, as the omission of the name of Fox. But even in 1805, we must remember, Wordsworth was far removed from what he was in 1792, and he could then speak of Burke in terms which cannot have reflected his feelings at the time he heard him speak. In the sphere of religion, the changes introduced into the text to remove any suspicion of paganism or unorthodoxy are more conspicuous, and Mr de Selincourt sets before us a host of little changes which show the increasing ecclesiasticism of Wordsworth's mind. I may give one which he does not specially emphasize. In Book II Wordsworth tells us that he and his schoolfellows rowed at times to a small island of Windermere:

> where remain'd
> An old stone Table, and a moulder'd Cave,
> A Hermit's history.

In 1850 we have:

> where survived
> In solitude the ruins of a shrine
> Once to Our Lady dedicate, and served
> Daily with chaunted rites.

We may feel sure that the former lines give the truer account of the interest the schoolboys had in the island.

Wordsworth's increasing acceptance of things established is further seen, as the editor points out, in his softened attitude to the academical system of Cambridge which had provoked his righteous indignation.

The majority of the changes, however, made in the different drafts of *The Prelude* were purely stylistic. The poet aimed at a clearer expression of his thought, at the substitution of strong lines for weak ones, he aimed also at self-suppression, remembering that he could not speak as freely to the great public as to Coleridge. Forms of the verb 'be' were replaced by words of more content—'rose,' 'shone,' 'heaved,' 'stands,' 'couched': the genitive in 's was preferred to the form with 'of': the personifying 'her' to 'its': 'the' often disappeared: 'soareth' was replaced by 'soars,' 'tamèd' by 'well-tamed': on euphonic grounds 'that' was often substituted for 'who' or 'which.' Though, unaccountably, some very flat lines were left, the general result was a gain in compression and strength. Sometimes, but this was rare, a really fine line was a late addition: to take Mr de Selincourt's examples, the line which now ends a description of the Lake Country in autumn:

> Clothed in the sunshine of the withering fern; (VI, 11)

or the concluding lines of the passage on Newton's statue:

> The marble index of a mind for ever
> Voyaging through strange seas of Thought, alone. (III, 62–3)

Examples of changes for the better are 'Fearless of blame' (II, 74) which took the place of 'Unapprehensive of reproof' and the noble lines:

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the ever-living universe,
Turn where I might, was opening out its glories,
And the independent spirit of pure youth
Called forth, at every season, new delights
Spread round my steps like sunshine o'er green fields, (VI, 774–8)

which grew out of:

the ever-living universe,
And independent spirit of pure youth
Were with me at that season, and delight
Was in all places spread around my steps
As constant as the grass upon the fields.

I need not give illustrations of the many changes which were for the worse.

On the whole *The Prelude* of 1850, while spiritually tamer, is artistically a better work than the draft read to Coleridge—the editor reminds us that Wordsworth would never have published that without some revision—and we must give hearty assent to Professor de Selincourt's well-weighed words:

> The ideal text of *The Prelude* would follow no single manuscript. It would retain from the earliest version such familiar details as have any autobiographical significance. Of purely stylistic changes from that text, it would accept those only which Wordsworth might have made...had he prepared the volume for the press in his greatest period, changes designed to remove crudities [or weakness?] of expression and to develop or clarify his original meaning; but it would reject those excrescences of a manner less pure, at times even meretricious, which are out of key with the spirit in which the poem was first conceived and executed. Most firmly would it reject all modifications of his original thought.

But a few points of detail remain.

On p. 470 lines are printed which appear in a facsimile of the MS. after p. xvi. As I read the MS., Dorothy wrote 'Bethkelet's,' and the poet in his corrected version of the lines 'Bethkelert's,' neither, 'Bethgelert's.' But these facsimiles show us the enormous difficulties of transcription that have been encountered.

VI, 281 [271]. The passage may owe something to Coleridge's Sonnet, but the account of his lying on the leads of Christ's Hospital is probably due to oral communication.

VI, 339 [323]. Robert Jones was a Fellow of St John's College, Cambridge, from 12 April 1791 to April 1808, after which he held the college living of Soulderne, Oxon.

VI, 556 [624]. It is noteworthy that the earlier reading 'step' (later, 'pace') persisted till 1845.

VIII, 311–323. The word 'pellitis' is misprinted in the note.

IX, 293. Is there much ground for associating Beaupuy with the *Happy Warrior* when Wordsworth told Miss Fenwick that in writing the poem he had in mind Lord Nelson and Captain John Wordsworth?

X, 869, 70. Did not 'Mark Rutherford' misconceive Godwin's *Political Justice* if he considered it a creed of hopelessness? It surely erred from its too optimistic faith in the speedy perfectibility of man, and it was this in it which appealed to Shelley. The hopelessness came when the doctrine was found to be impracticable.

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XI, 199. One must agree with the editor that the maid meant is Dorothy, though with surprise that Mr T. Hutchinson, a member of the family, took another view.

XI, 323 [XII, 266]. It seems to me impossible to think that Mary Hutchinson was the prototype of Lucy who was 'in her grave.'

XI, 367 [XII, 308]. I think the difficulty about the lines 'I and my two Brothers, Orphans then, Followed his Body to the Grave' (subsequently altered to 'I and my three brothers,' etc.) is not hard to solve. Wordsworth has been telling how he and his two brothers had watched for the horses that were to take them home from school, and speaks of the change that came to them in their father's death. But he realized later that the expression he used ignored the third brother Christopher, who had been at home when they were at school, but who was with them at the funeral. He accordingly changed 'two' to 'three.'

This is a very inadequate tribute to a great book, the mere mechanical scheming of which must have cost much anxious thought both to the editor and to Mr Sisam of the Clarendon Press.

G. C. MOORE SMITH.

SHEFFIELD.

An Elementary Historical New English Grammar. By JOSEPH WRIGHT and ELIZABETH MARY WRIGHT. London: H. Milford. 1924. xi + 224 pp. 7*s.*

This excellent text-book presents in handy form the development of New English phonology and accidence. The whole ground of Sound-Change is covered, and every point is illustrated by a wealth of examples. As in the authors' *Middle English Grammar*, the Romance element has received the same careful treatment as the Teutonic element.

Phonology occupies two-thirds of the volume. Here new light is thrown on many problems by Professor Wright's expert knowledge of the modern dialects. So, for instance, on the interchange of tense and slack $\bar{e}$ and $\bar{o}$ before *r*, and of *d* and $\eth$ between vowel and syllabic *r*, and on the anomalous pronunciation of *break* and *great*.

But the dialect evidence adduced against the orthodox theory of the monophthongization of ME. *ai* in Standard English, seems at least as conflicting as the statements of the early grammarians; and the conclusions on this point involve neglect of the useful evidence of sixteenth-century rhymes, and of the overwhelming evidence of inverted spellings.

Indeed, throughout the book, scepticism of the value of both rhymes and grammars has been pushed to extremes; and in more than one instance there is no attempt made to weigh conflicting theories.

Some of the phonetic symbols used might be improved upon. The symbol *a* is not the best for the vowel in *blush*; and the use of *ai* for the seventeenth-century descendant of ME. $\bar{\imath}$ obscures the cause of the confusion between that vowel and the descendant of ME. *ui*.

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One notes that the learned authors have presented the first adequate account of the development of $\bar{o}$, $\bar{o}$ and $\bar{u}$ before *r*, and of *o* before *rd, rp.*

A very useful exposition is given of Dependent Vowel-Change, and of unstressed vowels, especially of the vowels of unaccented words. Due emphasis is laid on Spelling-Pronunciation, and on the difference between formal and colloquial pronunciation.

The chapters on Accidence are worth the attention even of students whose interest lies more in literature than in language.

The main part of the book, Phonology, not only fulfils the purpose for which it was written, but may be recommended also to the general reader, as exhibiting very clearly the chief causes of our puzzling Modern English orthography.

J. H. G. GRATTAN.

LONDON.

A Grammar of Spoken English on a strictly Phonetic Basis. By HAROLD E. PALMER. Cambridge: W. Heffer and Sons. 1924. xxxvi + 293 pp. 12*s.* 6*d.*

This book is written for adult foreign students, and for English teachers who give instruction in living English speech. The author's experience in these matters is probably unrivalled, and his published work has already made widely known the soundness of his methods.

The equal importance of all the means of grammatical expression (v. Paul's *Prinzipien*) has been admitted by all competent linguists since Sweet; but the investigation of tone and stress still lags far behind that of inflexions, form-words, and word-order. In such investigation, Mr Palmer, following his teacher Professor Daniel Jones, has broken new ground, and his results are invaluable to students of the grammar of Modern English.

The book falls into four sections.

Part I, Phonetics, optimistically assumes some knowledge of phonetics on the part of the reader. It includes an excellent introduction to the study of the functional value of Tone.

Part II, Parts of Speech, occupies more than half the volume. An interesting attempt is made to group together, under the heading of 'Determinatives,' a number of sub-groups which have never fitted comfortably into the time-honoured pigeon-holes. Such are Articles and Demonstratives, Quantitatives and Numerals, Ordinals, Possessives. There is here some crossing of logical and formal categories; yet convenience may justify the arrangement. The teaching on the Definite and Indefinite Articles will be of great value to the foreign student.

By the bye, an error is taken over from Sweet: it would be easy to find dozens of examples, such as 'we now come to *a* full-stop,' to show that the indefinite article does *not* necessarily 'make us expect further information about the thing expressed by the noun.' Once or twice Mr Palmer puts the cart before the horse. Thus he describes demon-

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stratives as 'practically intensified forms of the definite article'; and when he states that a sentence 'is modified by the alogistic article' he is unintelligible. The Verb occupies some 150 pages. The treatment is sound, and there is no failure to distinguish between living and dead formatives. There is an excellent account of the Compound and Auxiliary Verbs. The full conjugation of a typical Finite Verb, and the complete tables of Anomalous Verbs, will be great helps to the foreign student. In §325 *who* has been excepted in error: cf. 'I don't know *who* to thank'; and the footnote on p. 130, referring to *never*, needs revision. The term 'Prepositional Object,' as employed on p. 155, is open to serious objection. Especially noteworthy is Mr Palmer's admirable account of the Progressive Forms of the Verb. His note on the difference of stress between Present Participle and Gerund, used as Qualifiers, is only one among many instances of the value of his studies in stress and tone. The section on the Adverb sets forth for the first time, and in concise form, the whole difficult Modern English usage; and the ten-page catalogue of Adverbs will remove this stumbling-block to the foreigner. Noteworthy is the distinction emphasized between the 'epithetic' and the essential Adverb. Useful lists of Prepositions and Connectives are given; and a volume of valuable teaching on the Interjections has been condensed into a couple of pages.

Part III, on the Parts of the Sentence, opens with an excellent account of Word-order. Mr Palmer adopts Kruisinga's term 'Nominal Predicate,' for which 'Noun Predicate' would perhaps be a better expression. His clear and scholarly account of the Adverbials is worthy the attention of all who are interested in the comparative grammar of local relations. The restriction, however, of the term 'place' to the incessive relation (§ 498 n.) is of doubtful utility.

Part IV, 'Logical Categories,' includes such varied subjects as Emphasis, Affirmation, Negation, Interrogation, Plurality, Reported Speech. It also touches, though but lightly, on Modality, Time and Tense, and the inter-connexion of Prepositions and Case.

Space prevents details of the excellent points one has noted in every section; and any adverse criticisms are offered in view of one's certainty of a speedy demand for a second edition.

A real flaw in the book is the adoption of the 'broad' phonetic notation, which in the hands of a self-taught student may easily lead to slip-shod and even vulgar pronunciation. In the case of the unstressed vowels of English, this notation fails utterly, as has been clearly expounded by Dr Perrett in his *Peetickay*. Especially is there need for a symbol for the neutralized *i*, *e*; as may be seen in transliterations such as *iksaitid* (excited), *dərekʃn* (direction), *drainis* (dryness), *esiks* (Essex), *sensəbl* (sensible). The symbol *ə* may do for the last vowel in *hundred* and for the second vowel in *Himalayas* (which words, by the bye, Mr Palmer unaccountably transcribes as *hʌndridz* and *himileiəz*); but it will certainly not do for the first vowel in *polite* and *phonetic*, nor can one guess whether Mr Palmer's *əksept* means *except* or *accept*.

In a number of other instances one cannot admit the author's claim

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that the dialect he describes is 'that used by the vast majority of educated speakers living south of the Trent and east of the Severn, the Bristol Channel and Devon,' e.g. *wə:* (were), *jə:z* (years), *jɔ·* (you are), *jɔ:self* (yourself), *tʃuldren* (children). One doubts also whether 'educated speakers' exclaim 'I'll take my umbrella *for if* it rains,' and whether 'well, I never!' is really characteristic of educated 'women-folk.'

In another respect some revision would seem to be advisable. The recording of the sound-variations of quick and of slip-shod speech is valuable to the trained grammarian; but one questions whether either English teachers or foreign students will gain anything by seeing such transcriptions as *a:st* (asked), *sə* (sir), *nesisri* (necessary), *ka:ndu* (can't do), *woumppei* (won't pay).

Such faults however as the volume contains are remediable. What matters is that Mr Palmer has ventured successfully into little-explored territory; has recorded phenomena that others had not noticed; and has produced a book that no student or teacher of present-day English can afford to neglect.

J. H. G. GRATTAN.

LONDON.

GUSTAVE COHEN. *Le Livre de Conduite du Régisseur et le Compte des Dépenses pour le Mystère de la Passion joué à Mons en 1501.* (*Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg*, Fasc. XXIII.) Strasbourg et Paris: Librairie Istra; London: H. Milford. 1925. cxxviii + 728 pp. 90 fr.

M. Gustave Cohen donne en ce volume de 856 pages une édition de plusieurs cahiers manuscrits qu'il a retrouvés lui-même à Mons, en partie aux Archives Municipales, en partie dans les armoires à manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de la Ville. Amorcées par quelques lignes du 4ème fascicule des *Analectes Montois* (1869) où M. Léopold Devillers mentionnait un 'manuscrit de mystère contenant uniquement des indications relatives au rôle de chaque acteur, à la mise en scène, aux gestes, aux changements de décors, de costumes, etc.,' les recherches de M. Gustave Cohen ont abouti à la présente publication. Sous le titre de *Le livre de conduite du régisseur et le compte des dépenses pour le mystère de la Passion joué à Mons en 1501*, elle constitue une excellente édition d'un document unique pour l'histoire du théâtre et laissant bien loin derrière lui par son abondance et sa précision le *Frankfurter Dirigierrolle* du XIV^e^ siècle et les Denck-Rödel de Lucerne du XVI^e^ siècle.

Par les travaux auxquels il a voué une si grande partie de son temps, M. Cohen était ou ne peut mieux préparé pour tirer parti des renseignements fournis par ces précieux cahiers. Dans son introduction il a utilisé tous les détails techniques pour mettre au point nombre de questions qu'il avait déjà traitées, et de main de maître, en 1906 dans son livre maintenant classique intitulé: *Histoire de la mise en scène dans le théâtre religieux français du moyen âge*, dont une nouvelle édition est actuellement sous presse, questions concernant la scène, les décors, la

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machinerie, les fonctions de régisseur, les intermèdes musicaux, le choix, le nombre, le costume des acteurs, la part prise aux représentations par les prêtres, les ouvriers, l'emploi des figurants, des poupées, des animaux de bois.

Il n'a d'autre part négligé aucune peine pour rendre son édition facile à manier. Après avoir établi son texte de façon rigoureuse, il a rejeté en note la traduction des termes qui pouvaient présenter quelque obscurité; il s'est attaché à définir avec la plus grande netteté les mots techniques qui fourmillent en ces pages; il a ajouté quatre index qui permettent de retrouver très facilement les noms de personnes et de lieux, ceux des acteurs et des personnages dramatiques, les matières, les scènes et les thèmes. Il a établi un glossaire de tous les mots qui ont changé de sens et d'orthographe depuis le XV^{e} siècle et il a dressé un tableau grammatical de la langue, fort intéressant pour la connaissance du picard à l'extrême fin du moyen âge.

Il a enfin accru l'intérêt de son œuvre par l'addition de cinq planches, l'une consistant en un fac-similé du manuscrit et les autres destinées à nous replacer dans l'atmosphère du XV^{e} siècle, à nous remettre autant que possible en contact direct avec les représentations de mystères. (A remarquer tout particulièrement la superbe miniature de Jean Fouquet, exécutée vers 1450, actuellement au Musée de Condé à Chantilly, et ayant pour sujet *Le Mystère de Sainte Apolline.*)

Au point de vue littéraire, artistique et philologique cet ouvrage est du plus haut intérêt; il fait le plus grand honneur à M. Cohen et on ne saurait trop remercier l'Université de Strasbourg de l'avoir accueilli dans ses *Publications de la Faculté des Lettres* et d'en avoir assuré l'impression avec autant de soin, de goût et de libéralité.

LOUIS BRANDIN.

LONDON.

Clément Marot: Sein Leben und seine Dichtung. Von PH. AUG. BECKER. Munich: M. Kellerer. iv + 420 pp. 20 M.

Marot's importance as the first of modern French poets has of late years received more and more recognition. The systematic examination of his works, begun by Guiffrey in 1875, has been steadily developed, and light has been thrown on much that was obscure by successive commentators. Chief of these is Villey, who in his chronological researches and in his important critical study (*Marot et Rabelais*, 1923) has done more than any man to gain for Marot's work the credit it deserves. Professor Becker's work, while covering much the same ground, is the complement of Villey's. Chronologically, it agrees in essentials with Villey's: on the critical side there is a considerable advance. Where Villey gives a general literary sketch of Marot's work, Becker gives a far more detailed account from a slightly different angle. For him the interesting side of Marot is the psychological: the poems are treated as reflections of the writer's state of mind rather than as art-

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forms: and starting from this basis, with due allowances for purely external influences, he has built up a clear and coherent study of Marot's progressive development from youthful rhétoriqueur into pioneer lyric poet.

It must not be supposed from this that Becker has neglected the literary side of his subject: on the contrary, the development of forms is worked out in detail, and the vexed question of models and sources of inspiration is treated even more fully. It may be held that he lays too much stress on the importance of Marot's classical models: but the days are past in which Marot was regarded as almost an illiterate, and his acquaintance with Latin is now fully admitted. On the other hand, that he consciously followed Latin authors to the extent that Becker would suggest, is, I think, more open to question. The poet of the sixteenth century who harked back to antiquity was only too ready to advertise the fact: yet in Marot's work, compared with that of his contemporaries and successors, the pride of erudition appears but seldom. That Marot used his Latin authors is admitted; but the tone of his imitation suggests that he used them as a convenient means to his own end—the rehabilitation of French lyric poetry—rather than as an end in themselves.

Professor Becker's treatment of the translation of the *Psalms* is clear and sane: he has no doctrinal axe to grind, and the conclusion, that the religious, as distinct from the literary, value of the *Psalms* meant but little to Marot, is almost certainly the correct one. The poet's early life at the progressive, mystic court of Marguérite is apt to mislead: the reaction on his mind was aesthetic rather than religious; the *Psalms* became for him the highest expression of lyrical feeling, and the use made of his translation by the Reformers was a fortuitous circumstance for which he neither prepared nor cared.

A critical edition of Marot's works is still lacking: and it may be hoped that Becker's work, which fulfils many of the requirements of such an edition, will be one day expanded to meet the needs of lovers and students of Marot.

DONALD H. BEVES.

CAMBRIDGE.

Autour de Voltaire. Par F. VÉZINET. Paris: É. Champion. 1925. viii + 141 pp. 7 fr.

If M. Vézinet had been in a mood to mystify his public, he would have styled this little volume: 'Le Dossier Balleidier.' The original Balleidier, original as far as the present matter goes, was 'procureur au bailliage de Gex,' and quite the most important and lawyer-loving resident in the neighbourhood was the seigneur de Ferney. For some years, from 1762 to 1773, Balleidier acted as Voltaire's man of affairs and, like a good lawyer, kept copy and record of the matters which thus passed through his hands. These documents were preserved, as they always are in lawyer families in France, and, at long last, fell into

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the hands of the present author, who first published them in the *Revue d'Histoire littéraire de la France* in 1910. They form the bulk of the present volume. Of the five articles which it contains, the first four deal with subjects more or less directly suggested by the Balleidier dossier. The last, and not the least interesting, is a makeweight on the vexed question of the original inspiration of Rousseau's *Discours sur les Sciences et les Arts.*

It does not appear, from the first and most substantial of these articles ('Voltaire et son Homme d'Affaires'), that Voltaire ever asked Balleidier for advice. He was too much an 'enfant de la balle' for that. But he found plenty for him to do, so much in fact that he had to pay Balleidier annually a substantial retaining fee, over the payment of which there was finally a squabble which led, not without a 'procès,' to the terminating of their business relations. Only an incorrigible 'plaideur' goes to law with his own lawyer. Voltaire, in this respect, was incorrigible. He drained swamps, improved roads, planted trees, gave loans for building, took measures against the spread of cattle-plague, and performed other works of public and private importance. And Ferney, or as it is now styled, Ferney-Voltaire, still remembers him gratefully for these things. But it would seem that this admirable seigneur could not put up a fence without barbing it top and bottom with summonses and injunctions, signed for the most part by that accommodating widow Mme Denis. That is the reverse of the medal. We always knew there was one; and M. Vézinet's interesting marginalia drive the point home.

If literature had any frontiers, these legal skirmishes might well appear to some as scarce to traverse them. But all new facts are grist to the mill. Those who like more properly literary battles will turn to the last article: 'Rousseau ou Diderot?' Balleidier has no voice here. Diderot, as we know, gave out to his friends that in the matter of the *Discours sur les Sciences et les Arts*, he had done more than give good advice to the inexperienced Jean-Jacques. So, at any rate, it appears from the statements of Collé, Marmontel and others, who claim that, but for Aristarchus, the *Discours* would have been a defence and not a condemnation of civilisation and letters. But Diderot himself, in the second edition of his *Essai sur Sénèque*, declares that he said to Rousseau: 'Le parti que vous prendrez, c'est celui que personne ne prendra.' That, of course, is quite another matter, and M. Vézinet does well to draw attention to the discrepancy between what Diderot's friends claimed for him and what he claimed for himself. What Diderot said after a good meal in good company and what he was prepared to put into cold print above his own signature (or without it!) were two different things. Obviously it is the last that carries real weight. According to the *Essai*, Diderot claims, not to have made Rousseau a present of a brand new idea—indeed he himself points out how hackneyed the Rousseau paradox was before Rousseau appropriated it—but, more modestly, to have revealed this lad of forty to himself. You have, he said in effect, a genius for contradiction. Contradict!

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Here Rousseau and Diderot are in accord, for the *Confessions* and the second *Lettre à M. de Malesherbes* do not deny that Diderot helped Jean-Jacques to have the courage of his own convictions. So the disputants are 'départagés' and the ghost laid. But it was a silly ghost that did not stand looking at in daylight. Rousseau's ideas, like most mere ideas, are of no importance as such and, like all ideas, unoriginal. The 'œuvre' is the thing. Diderot did not write that[1].

D. G. LARG.

SHEFFIELD.

French Philosophies of the Romantic Period. By GEORGE BOAS. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1925. xi + 325 pp. $2.50.

It is not Mr Boas's intention to relate philosophy and literature, nor has he to any extent done so, if we except pp. 302–305. But he has treated Mme de Staël, Chateaubriand and Stendhal in a manner satisfactory even to the close student of literature. In the Preface we read that 'the following essays...attempt to study the philosophic background' of French Romanticism: philosophy, however, played a very small part in either the rise or the development of that literature. It is true that every writer has, either formulated or implicit, some 'philosophy of life,' but usually the philosophy is no more than an attitude and that unreasoned. Guizot and Mignet, Classics, had some sense of a philosophy of history, but how restricted it was! Barante, the Thierrys, Michelet, Romantics, were unphilosophical, and they believed in the picturesque treatment of history. In poetry, Hugo, Lamartine, Musset and Gautier were formal philosophers not at all and informal, very feebly; even Vigny abjured formal philosophy in *Les Destinées*. The novel, except in *Stello* and in G. Sand's works, was in no way philosophical, and neither Vigny nor Sand was as philosophical as George Eliot. The philosophic drama (for we may omit *Chatterton*) arose only when the Romantic movement was dying out. In short, the 'literature of power' owed to philosophy extremely little, the 'literature of knowledge'—except of course that of philosophy itself—not much, not nearly so much as it had done in the later half of the previous century, for no philosophers of the Romantic period exercised such a general influence as had been wielded by Voltaire, Diderot and Rousseau. When Mr Boas says, of the year 1830, that 'literature was looked upon as a product of philosophical positions' (p. 277), he should mention that it was not thus regarded by the great imaginative writers.

Mr Boas deals with the various philosophies with admirable clarity, the more so, perhaps (as he implies in the Preface), because he adopts the method of the historian not that of the philosopher, although his book displays considerable profundity. But he might have developed his allusion (pp. 40–41) to 'philosophic egoism'; for the great operative

[1] P. 125. 'Diderot fut pris à partie par les *ennemis* de Rousseau....' Does not M. Vézinet mean 'les *amis* de Rousseau'?

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philosophy of French Romanticism as of that of the rest of Europe was what Eucken has called Aesthetic Individualism, which came into the open rather later; at pp. 64 ff. of Widgery's English translation of *Life's Basis and Life's Ideal* we find an able account of that philosophy. The most complete and illuminating chapter in Mr Boas's work is that on 'The Rise of Eclecticism'; that on Positivism, however, not only is very shrewd, but it shows how comprehensive is his reading, how retentive his memory, and how thorough his grasp of the essence of the various treatises that he mentions. The concluding chapter is amusingly suggestive.

If the subject itself is a little dry, Mr Boas's treatment is not, for, in addition to being very clear and simple in exposition, he has a happy, dignified wit, sometimes indeed of that kind which, once called professorial, is now permissible only to those who are not professors or lecturers. But it is a pity that he should have left a few slight typographical errors. Far more grave is the fact that while, in 'The Introduction of Foreign Thinkers,' he deals satisfactorily with Kant and Schelling (for Hegel and Fichte had far less influence before 1848) as well as with Reid, he might have made a little more of the powerful lingering influence of Locke and Adam Smith, and he should not have dismissed Dugald Stewart with the sentence, 'The influence of Reid and the Scottish School acted through Jouffroy and was weakened by the introduction into France of German thought.' That weakening was not pronounced. In 1826, Cousin had said of Scotch philosophy that 'one must employ it and honour it before passing to anything else'; in 1833 Jules Simon gave to a correspondent the advice, 'My last counsel to you on philosophy is to study only Reid and Stewart'; a year later, a writer in the *Bulletin littéraire et scientifique* declared that the Scotch philosophy 'enjoyed a high renown' in France and added: 'On it rests almost entirely the philosophical teaching given in the colleges,' a statement corroborated in 1837 by the *Journal des Débats* of March 22, where it was said that the Scotch philosophy had become naturalised in France, learned men having introduced it into the schools and the universities as the basis of the study of metaphysics, ethics and allied subjects; Renan in his note-books of 1845–6 mentioned that his teacher 'affected Scotch philosophy' and that Reid was long his own ideal; and Jules Levallois, born in 1829, stated that, at the University, his 'philosophical portion' consisted of Reid and Stewart; moreover, Michelet in 1821 had, in his journal, written of Stewart thus: 'Jamais je ne remuai tant d'idées.'

But, on the whole, Mr Boas's book forms a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the French Romantic period, and he is to be congratulated both for the excellence of the documentation and for the perspicuity of his reasoning and of his ordonnance.

ERIC PARTRIDGE.

LONDON.

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Jaufre. Ein altprovenzalischer Abenteuerroman des XIII. Jahrhunderts. Herausgegeben von HERMANN BREUER. (*Gesellschaft für Romanische Literatur*, Band XLVI.) Göttingen: Vanderhoeck und Ruprecht. 1925. lxiii + 446 pp. 30 M.

This edition provides a readable text of *Jaufre*, based upon all the known MSS., for collations of some of which the editor is indebted to the late Wendelin Foerster. The story belongs to the Breton class of romances, and describes the fortunes of one of King Arthur's knights, who sets out to redress an insult offered to his master, and is involved in the usual complications of giants, magic, enchantment and love; the narrative is clear and direct, and the author, whoever he was, proves himself a story-teller of some skill. He wrote at the court and under the patronage of James the First of Aragon, between 1225 and 1228; in his laudation of the Conqueror he repeats almost textually a couplet employed by Ramon Vidal of Bezaudun in his *Castia-gilos*, when praising Alfonso VIII of Castile (*Castia-gilos*, ll. 3 and 4, *Jaufre*, 59, 60); however, a theory of authorship could hardly be built upon so slight a foundation, and perhaps for that reason the editor does not mention the point. The Provençal language had begun its decadence at the time when this poem was composed; the distinction between nominative and oblique cases was no longer strictly maintained; the difference between close and open vowels was in some cases becoming uncertain; two of the MSS. also display occasional Italian or French forms; hence the task of the editor in solving questions of orthography and prosody has not always been easy, but the full critical apparatus will always enable the student to ascertain the readings of an individual MS. The introduction gives a useful summary of the writer's idiosyncrasies with regard to phonetics and grammar; it also contains a very full analysis of the content of the poem. There are other questions which might have been discussed; some points of vocabulary deserve more consideration than they get in the brief notes. Moreover the question of the extent to which Spanish cultural influences have affected the writer is a point of some interest; he mentions *ricx homs* more than once as a class of nobility (ll. 136, 1204); he refers to the constitution of a court of justice in a manner that reminds us of the royal court in the *Poema del Cid* (ll. 6655 ff.); *far la figa* is not an expression that originated in Spain, but it is more habitual to that country than any other, and it occurs at least three times in this poem; it is possible that some of the phonetic and grammatical peculiarities should be referred to the same source; the editor mentions *cominal* (l. 1996); the unusual use of the pronoun *lo* deserves consideration, and for vocabulary it may be that *solier* (l. 4921) is used in the sense of the Spanish *solar*. However, these are minor points; the editor has given us an intelligible text and as much information upon the collation of it as anyone can expect and for this we are duly grateful.

H. J. CHAYTOR.

CAMBRIDGE.

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La Chanson de Sainte Foy. Tome I. Fac-similé du manuscrit et texte critique; introduction et commentaire philologiques. Par E. HOEPFFNER. Tome II. Traduction française et sources latines; introduction et commentaire historiques. Par P. ALFARAC. (*Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg*, Fasc. XXXII, XXXIII.) Paris: Les Belles Lettres; London: H. Milford. 376 and 206 pp. 14*s.* and 7*s.*

The elaborate treatment given to the *Chanson de Sainte Foy* in these two volumes is justified by the fact that it is one of the earliest Provençal documents that has come down to us, and, like the Boethius fragment, exhibits the Provençal language in a stage of development of great interest to philologists. The editors have, however, given us also matter of historical importance; they have been enabled to date the poem and to localise it with certainty; it belongs to the middle of the eleventh century, and the arguments produced both from the philological and historical sides leave little room for doubt that it was composed in the south-west corner of France, in the area of the Cerdagne, north of the Pyrenees; the light which this fact throws upon the relations between Rousillon and Catalonia, and upon the questions concerning the origin of the literary language of the troubadours, is fully appreciated in the introduction.

The text has been examined with the most scrupulous care, and hardly a word in the 593 lines of the poem has escaped considerations either phonetic, grammatical or syntactical. An excellent facsimile is given of the unique MS., so that the reader can control without difficulty the readings of the editor. The fortunes of this MS. make an interesting story, and M. Hoepffner has been able to trace its wanderings from the monastery of Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire, where it appears to have been copied, through the hands of sixteenth-century savants and of seventeenth-century collectors, from France to Sweden, Holland and England, until it came to rest in a Dutch library, where it was rediscovered by M. Leite de Vasconcellos at the beginning of the present century. The text presents many difficulties both of vocabulary and of construction, and the editors show much ingenuity and acuteness in the explanation of them. We are inclined to think that the true explanation of the troublesome passage, ll. 40, 41, 'plus cel q' es folz qetz melz membraz,' must start from the negative use of 'plus,' which is repeated in line 224, the meaning being, 'none of them avoid sin, no more the foolish than the sensible,' i.e., all alike are equally to blame; it is true that the 'melz membraz' should precede the 'folz,' but such cases of the cart before the horse are common enough in all early poems. The historical commentary not only throws much light upon the text of the poem, but is itself a valuable contribution to hagiographical literature. The two commentaries occasionally disagree; 'qi.l fez nurir' of line 225 is interpreted by the one as God and by the other as the devil; line 551 is mistranslated in the historical commentary; but these discrepancies are not numerous. We have noted a few misprints, but none of any great importance, except in line 115 where *to* should be *fo*. The editors

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have produced a work of great interest, and they certainly deserve to secure the full benefits of St Faith's patronage.

H. J. CHAYTOR.

CAMBRIDGE.

Cantigas d'Amigo dos Trovadores Galego-Portugueses. Edição crítica por JOSÉ JOAQUIM NUNES. Vol. II. Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade. 1926. pp. xvi + 471.

The poetical interest of the great Portuguese song-books, the *Cancioneiro da Vaticana*, the *Cancioneiro da Ajuda* and the *Cancioneiro Colocci-Brancuti* has always centred in the *cantigas de amigo*, which include the parallelistic poems called for the sake of convenience *cossantes*. The *cantigas de amor* (in which the lover speaks) are monotonous and insipid and, when read in large quantities, wearisome in the extreme. The *cantigas de amigo* (in which the lover puts the words into the mouth of the loved one) are, on the other hand, full of charm and fresh variety. These have now for the first time been collected in an easily accessible volume issued by the Coimbra University Press. Vols I and III, containing the introduction and notes, are to follow and will be awaited with keen interest. No doubt the cream of these *cantigas* will be found in the *Oxford Book of Portuguese Verse*, and in his *Chrestomathia Archaica*, published twenty years ago, Dr Nunes included about a hundred and fifty, while those of King Dinis (with fifty-five of which the present volume opens) have been critically edited by Dr Lang. But the present collection, which will be welcomed by all lovers of poetry, contains five hundred and twelve poems. The text has been edited with the greatest care, as one might expect from so scholarly an editor, who has had the advantage of being able to consult the *Cancioneiro Colocci-Brancuti*, now one of the most cherished treasures of the Lisbon National Library. Slips which were unavoidable in printing what is practically another language, the Galician-Portuguese of the thirteenth century, will easily disappear in a second edition. The Portuguese *m* has crept in frequently, and this is to be regretted because it might seem to lend countenance to the slovenly text of 1878. Thus we have 'coraçon' and 'coraçom,' 'gran' and 'gram,' 'sacan' and 'sacam' in the same poems. One of the more remarkable variants introduced is that in the second stanza of a poem by Joan Zorro, where for the unintelligible 'por amor da glosa' has been substituted 'por amor(es mui queixosa)'; but, as was pointed out in the *Modern Language Review* for January 1920, the word 'glosa' is no doubt a scribe's contraction: 'glōsa,' and we should read 'por amor da Gloriosa.' Exception may be taken to an alteration in another poem by Zorro. Dr Nunes reads 'Jus'a lo mar é o rio' ('Near the sea is the river'). This is certainly more definite, but it is less poetical than 'Jus'a lo mar e o rio' ('Near the sea and the river') and the alteration is unnecessary since Zorro must have been writing here, as elsewhere, of Lisbon, where the river is

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the sea. The printing of the last six lines as three in Airas Nunes' *pastorela* (here No. 256) is unfortunate, for both the poems quoted are well known, and both assonance and rhyme are lost in the new arrangement. To the new form given to the poem of King Sancho (No. 512) something of the same objection attaches, although here eight lines have been expanded into twelve. A few other flaws might be discovered here and there in the new text, but as a whole it shows the high-water mark of critical progress since the poems were originally published in a diplomatic edition by Ernesto Monaci in 1875. Anyone who doubts this has only to compare the text of 1926 with the strange chaotic text of the Portuguese edition of 1878. After comparing the two no one with any scholarship in him will fail to congratulate Dr Nunes heartily on his achievement.

AUBREY F. G. BELL.

S. JOÃO DO ESTORIL, PORTUGAL.

Das zentrale Problem in der Tragödie Friedrich Hebbels. Von ELISE DOSENHEIMER. (*Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte.* Buchreihe, iv.) Halle: M. Niemeyer. 1925. 131 pp. 6 M.

Persönlichkeit und Gemeinschaft. Studien zur Staatsauffassung der deutschen Romantik. Von PAUL KLUCKHOHN. (Same Series, v.) 1925. 111 pp. 6 M.

Adalbert Stifters Romane. Von ADOLF VON GROLMAN. (Same Series, vii.) 1926. 112 pp. 6 M.

The *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte*, founded in 1923 under the editorship of Paul Kluckhohn and Erich Rothacker, has, in these three years, established itself as one of the most distinguished and stimulating of modern reviews devoted to higher literary study. It has given concrete shape to that very significant development of the criticism of literature in Germany since the war, namely, the return to the philosophical and spiritual interpretation of literary phenomena, in which the German mind has always made its most valuable contribution to the common stock of our knowledge. And now, under the same editorship, there has begun to appear a series of monographs, which bid fair to assert a similar unique position among publications of this kind. The series opens with a collection of the lesser writings of Konrad Burdach, under the title: *Vorspiel. Gesammelte Schriften zur Geschichte des deutschen Geistes*, Vols I and II (xii + 400 pp. and 282 pp. 16 M. and 14 M.). Volume I contains three contributions which have not been published before, two long studies, 'Nachleben des griechisch-römischen Altertums in der mittelalterlichen Dichtung und Kunst und deren wechselseitige Beziehungen' (1895), and 'Die Entstehung des mittelalterlichen Romans' (1897), and an inaugural lecture on Walther von der Vogelweide (1902); while Vol. II brings together from periodicals and from the *Sitzungsberichte* of the

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Berlin Academy, valuable supplementary material to Burdach's fundamental works, *Vom Mittelalter zur Reformation* (1891–93), *Deutsche Renaissance* (1916) and *Reformation, Renaissance, Humanismus* (1918). A third volume is promised. While in subsequent reviews we hope to return to this series, I deal here briefly with three of the volumes, which, in size at least, may be described as lesser contributions to it.

I have read with particular interest Dr Elise Dosenheimer's volume of Hebbel criticism. In recent years, 'Hebbel-Forschung' as a result perhaps of a warp it received at the revival of an interest in this poet at the end of the last century, has found itself in a metaphysical blind alley which has been found to lead nowhere. One cannot, of course, get rid of metaphysics in discussing Hebbel: Hebbel himself will not allow one to do so: nor does Fräulein Dosenheimer; but she seems to me, in her closer adhesion to matters of concrete fact, to give an indication how Hebbel criticism may be led into more profitable channels. The central problem of Hebbel's tragedy is for her the irreconcilable antagonism between the sexes. This, I think, is indisputable, although one may not be prepared to subscribe to the sweeping conclusion which she arrives at: 'Ich stehe nicht an, zu sagen, dass Hebbel mit der Tragik zwischen den Geschlechtern im ausgeführten Sinne ein ganz neues tragisches Motiv, eine ganz neue tragische Möglichkeit in die Welt gebracht hat.' And, indeed, she herself admits 'vorhebbelsche Töne' in Hebbel's predecessors. But her assertion contains a real kernel of truth; it formulates the innovation which gives Hebbel his position in the nineteenth century as a successor of Kleist and a forerunner of Ibsen. Where Fräulein Dosenheimer seems to me to begin to lose solid ground under her feet is in seeing the transference of this sex conflict to the larger problems. As a woman, she says, Judith slays Holofernes; and 'in diesem Moment war der Progress zwischen den Völkern zu dem Progress zwischen den Geschlechtern geworden.' Such a conclusion is difficult to substantiate with solid facts, and without facts the dogmatic tone is unjustified. Yet, here, too, is suggested a line of investigation which, with the aid of modern psychological science, might well open up a new and promising avenue to Hebbel interpretation.

Paul Kluckhohn's valuable contribution to the spiritual understanding of the literature of the later eighteenth and early nineteenth century, published under too narrow a title, *Die Auffassung der Liebe in der Literatur des deutschen Klassizismus und der deutschen Romantik*, has already been reviewed in these pages (Vol. XVIII, p. 503). In the present essay he deals with what to an older generation would have seemed a pure paradox, the collectivism, the 'Gemeinschaftswillen' of the Romanticists. His work is supplementary to a number of suggestive publications of recent years dealing with the state-theory of the period; these, appearing in historical or philosophical journals, have not received the attention they deserve from the mere literary historian. Kluckhohn points out that in pietism, that headspring of Romantic individualism, there was also present a strong element of spiritual collectivism; the Romantic individualism itself is unfolded against a background of

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universalism in thought and feeling. When he comes to grips with the Romantic 'Staatsauffassung,' one is, however, sometimes tempted to question whether he is not dealing with a phenomenon which, although showing itself within the Romantic period, oversteps what may be legitimately called the Romantic doctrine. Granted that the Romantic conception of the state was a transference of the individualism of the unit to the aggregate, the moment came when the individualism of the state was lost sight of; and in that moment might it not be said that the Romantic idea had abdicated? We have, in fact, to deal with a gathering collectivist ideal which culminates in the political theories of Saint Simon in France; but before Saint-Simonism was reached in Germany, Romanticism was surely transcended. It seems questionable to me whether even Adam Müller is to be so unconditionally reckoned among the Romantic theorists. The ultimate impression which Kluckhohn's stimulating book leaves upon us is that of the *πάντα ῥεῖ* of literary and spiritual manifestations; the futility of boundary lines. And if ever a spiritual movement defied the schematism of the historian it is that eternally changing and developing phenomenon we call Romanticism.

The third volume before me, Adolf von Grolman's study of two works of Stifter's later years, the very long novels *Nachsommer* and *Witiko*, brings a difficult problem to the non-German critic. To us outside Germany and Austria Stifter has always been a writer of delicate and unique charm; he strikes a note that is peculiarly his own; and he was a realist of beauty—the beauty of the forest—before the doctrine of realism was formulated; and I have to thank the present essay for having induced me to read for the first time these two books, which are not included in the usual collected editions of the author's works. But I find it difficult to follow von Grolman in the extraordinarily high claims he makes for these novels. There is much calm wisdom in *Nachsommer*, and *Witiko* is a vivid historical pageant; but neither the wisdom of the one nor the pictures of the other—unrolled before us with a naïveté that admits of no 'retardation' and little 'Spannung'—atone for the lack in both of creative imaginative force or convincing character-drawing; they are both, in fact, from a point of view of literary art, very unsatisfying books. That von Grolman should speak of them in the same breath with the living creations of a Gottfried Keller is to me incomprehensible; and when we read of the 'Rückblick' of *Nachsommer*: 'Es zieht sich der ungeheuerste Bogen, der seit Homer, Dante, Shakespeare, Leonardo da Vinci und Hölderlin überhaupt in der Weltliteratur noch gespannt werden konnte...[Stifter] gab der ganzen Welt abendländischer Kultur die Erfüllung und Krönung des alten Humanitätsideals,' an abyss seems to open between German opinion and that of other lands, which is unbridgeable. Critics who reason thus, from so un-European a standpoint, would do well to leave the 'Weltliteratur' out of the question.

J. G. ROBERTSON.

LONDON.

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Goethe and Byron. Edited by J. G. ROBERTSON. (*Publications of the English Goethe Society.* New Series, Vol. II.) London: Published for the Society by A. Moring. 1925. 132 pp.

A reference to that invaluable bibliography of *English-German Literary Relations*, by L. M. Price, is instructive of the enormous influence exerted by the English poet on the Germans. Amongst his admirers and disciples in Germany are numbered men as widely apart in their literary sympathies as Heine and Grillparzer, and his influence has been the subject of a considerable specialist literature, of which the end is not yet. To a very large extent it was Goethe who was responsible for the wave of Byron worship which swept over Germany in the early years of the century and who saved his fame from the abrupt descent which it had already suffered in England. To Goethe's appreciative criticism (is he not himself responsible for the statement that 'we Germans are perhaps better able to estimate the merits of Shakespeare and Byron than the English themselves'?) may be traced much of the English poet's enduring popularity in Germany. It may well be questioned, indeed, whether the current German view of England and the English (a view shared by the Continent as a whole) and of our supposed hypocrisy and cant is not largely the result of contemplating us through Byron's distorted vision. It is this conception of England, the reluctance to recognize any merit in this country, which a discerning German critic like Arnold Schröer has been at pains to combat by pointing out that Byron was by no means representative of what was best in that great age of Romantic achievement.

On the title-page of his book Professor Robertson claims merely to have 'edited' the volume. He is too modest: he has written most of it. He would imply, possibly, that he builds on the work of many others and to these he duly expresses his obligations in numerous foot-notes. But there is ample evidence that many of his conclusions are based on independent research of his own. It is especially these latter and the admirable presentation of the subject-matter which make the work so valuable a contribution to Anglo-German literary relations. It affords an aspect of 'world literature' which would have been after Goethe's own heart, for the old poet himself started to make a list of English versions of his works. A comparison of Price's exiguous chapter on Byron with the volume under review will demonstrate our indebtedness to the present editor. Here we have set out in full the complete history of the relations between the two great individualists of the nineteenth century—both personal and literary—with references and parallel passages quoted *in extenso*. As Professor Robertson clearly shows in his concluding chapter, in the interesting discussion of how a poet so dissimilar in aim and achievement could have exerted so profound an impression on Goethe's Olympian calm, it was the personality of Byron rather than the work which was the attraction—on the latter, indeed, Goethe sometimes passed the most amazing judgments. In Byron, Goethe found, as it were, the incorporation of that demonic force which he himself had

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experienced so strongly in the enthusiasm of his early Storm and Stress, and to which he had given such poetic and satisfying expression in his *Egmont.*

L. A. WILLOUGHBY.

SHEFFIELD.

Altfriesisches Wörterbuch. Von F. HOLTHAUSEN. (*Germanische Bibliothek*, I, iv, 5.) Heidelberg: Carl Winter. 1925. xviii + 152 pp. 7 M. 50.

Students of Frisian are much better catered for than twenty years ago. In particular attention has been bestowed in Germany on North Frisian and dictionaries of the Sylt, Föhr and Helgoland dialects have been published, together with a detailed phonetic survey of the Sylt dialect by the Norwegian E. W. Selmer and a most valuable series of Frisian studies by the author of the dictionary under review, which have appeared in the *Beiträge* from 1921 onwards. Further, dissertations have been written on the Goesharden dialect by E. Brandt (Halle, 1913), on the technical terms used in house-building on the island of Föhr by L. Peters (Husum, 1913), and Winter has recently published a new grammar of the Moringen dialect by Erika Bauer.

In the meantime Dr Littmann has rescued for us the last remnants of the East Frisian of the islands in *Friesische Erzählungen aus Alt-Wangerooge* (Oldenburg, 1922). As to West Frisian it is impossible to do justice to the great upgrowth of literature in all its branches; the way for the foreign student is made smooth by works such as D. Kalma's *Ús memmetael* (Leeuwarden, 1925) and periodicals like *De Holder.*

All these works raise almost as many problems as they solve. The historical and comparative study of Frisian has still far to go. We can be truly grateful to Professor Holthausen for having considerably lightened our task by bringing the 85-year-old dictionary of Richthofen, unique and invaluable work for his generation, up to date and by applying to the undertaking his admirable equipment in Anglo-Saxon and his full conversance with the scattered literature on Old Frisian. He has been helped by van Helten's various contributions and by G. Walter's noteworthy treatise, *Der Wortschatz des Altfriesischen* (Leipzig, 1911), but has added a very great deal of his own.

Aiming at maximum conciseness, the dictionary lacks quotations. Its etymologies are summary, but often suggestive. Strict alphabetical order is modified by grouping of derivatives under the stressed stems. Cross-references abound.

A general survey of this dictionary, assisted by the introductory notes on sound-equivalences and followed up by a few explorations of details, leads me to look less sceptically on the idea of the Anglo-Frisian unity than Walter, *op. cit.*, p. 76. Despite the paucity of its vocabulary, which consists mainly of legal and ecclesiastical terms, parts of the body, torts and injuries and the penalties imposed, Old Frisian offers more points of contact with English than came within Walter's

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purview. To the equations he discusses we should now have to add the following list: *bōch* (bough), *brein, drēd, etwētisword, fiārdəng, fiuwertnacht, flēma, frīdom, to gadera, godweb* (also O. Saxon), *grislik, gristel, grōia, hēda, hef, heftene, hēl*[2] (heel), *hend* (O.E. hende), *herne* (O.E. hyrne), *hlenbedd, hlest*[2] (O.E. hlyst), *hōk, hōp, hōrning, hreppa, hrespa, bihriūsigia, hrōf, īrst* (O.E. ȝe-īrsod), *jēta* (yet), *kenlīk* (O.E. cynelic), *klaklâs* (O.E. clæcléas—survives on Föhr as *klakluas*), *lâkinge, lok, luft* (left), *meldke* (O.E. molde), *nera* (O.E. nierwan), *ramia* or *remia* (O.E. remian), *rekon, rēsia* (O.E. rǣswian), *rim* (O.E. rima), *selma* (O.E., cf. Föhr *sallǝm*, Sylt *bērsalǝm*), *sēria, skerd*[1] (O.E. sceard), *skern* (O.E. scĕarn), *skerta* (O.E. scyrtan), *skilinge* (to O.E. scilian), *slēwich* (O.E. sláw and O.S. slêu), *smitta, sōm* (O.E. ȝesōm), *spēdel* (cf. Helgoland *spitəng*; O. Fris. has also *spēkle*), *spurnan, stēpa* (O.E. stíepan), *stō* (O.E. stōw), *stōw* (cf. O.E. stōwian), *swânga, swīka, tâwia, teddre, teidia* (O.E. tyǧian), *thusk* (O.E. þyslic), *trind* or *trend* (cf. O.E. trendan and Sylt *trinj*), *uppå, urhlēt, urwēna, wâmm, wânia, wapul, wigila, wīta, worma, wrāxlia, wrīgia.* Further, there is the adjectival use of *līf* and *salt,* forms like *hēte* (cf. O.E. hâtu), as against the more prevalent *hette* or *luve* (cf. O.E. lufu) and the verb *luvia.* In a very large number of words one may notice community as between Norse, Frisian and English, e.g. the *p* in *creep*; in very few cases we observe a Gothic parallel to the otherwise isolated English-Frisian equation, e.g. Sylt *nēsk*, E. *nesh*, Go. *hnasqus.* A thorough search of the modern Frisian vocabularies, with full regard to ascertained sound developments and also conditions of borrowing, would give us a still stronger feeling of kinship; in passing I merely refer to the cognates of words like *clip* (embrace), *grind, grope, rafter, reel* among many.

To the loan and foreign words already listed by Holthausen in *Beiträge,* XLV, pp. 34 ff. he is now in a position to add over thirty more: *akolitus, āme, åmpel, bekken, butera, dukāt, evangelista, examinēria, exorcist, fīk, flamme, fondēria, leie, līn, mette, minrabrōther, ordinēria, regēria, seinenge, rokk, stil, studēria, subdiakon, testament, text, ūre, wimma* (fr. Lat. *vindemiare,* which, curiously enough, has left no descendants in the Romance languages) and French *basterd, berbier, hantēria, harnask.*

The Frisian dialects still conserve the equivalents of 'christen' and 'font' as against German. They also agree with English and O. Fris. in the words 'Tuesday' and 'Wednesday,' but O. Fris. *sāterdei* has been now replaced by contracted forms of *sunnēvend.* Contraction often obscures words in Old Frisian as in the modern dialects. Thus we have forms like *stins* < stênhus, *meikorum* < miþ elk ōþrum, *mâr* < ni wâri, etc.

In conclusion I would pay a tribute of gratitude to the author by supplying a few further etymological hints, some of which necessarily lay outside the scope of his work:

beddklâth paralleled by Engl. *bedclothes* from the fourteenth century.

bénfest, cf. Icelandic *beinfastur* with the same meaning.

fīk 'sore.' The English *fig* in the sense of 'piles,' Lat. *fīcus,* from 1550.

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halskrīga 'stiffness in the neck' seems to come from the same root as our *crick* (*crykke* of the *Prompt. Parv.*).

hlemm 'a blow,' add Icel. *hlemma.*

hrekka (p. 140) 'to tear,' cf. further Engl. N. Cy. *retch.*

knī. In the sense of 'degree of kinship or descent' we have Engl. *knee* from ca. 1000 A.D., cf. *N.E.D.* s.v. 'knee'; also Mod. Icelandic *knjerunnar* (cf. Blöndal's dictionary) and O.N. *knérunn.* This meaning has penetrated even into the Finnish *polvi* (1. knee, 2. generation, especially in the compound *sukupolvi*); also into the Irish *glún.*

morren 'eine Art Waffe.' Is this perhaps the O. French *morne* (adopted in English, cf. *N.E.D.*) < morner 'to blunt'? If so, the word indicates the rebated head of a tilting lance.

sīma 'a rope.' The O.E. *síma* survives in the wide-spread North Country form *sime.*

swommel 'swimming.' The E. Yorksh. *swimmel* shows the same mode of derivation, but means 'awry.'

tilath, cf. O.E. *tilþ.*

W. E. COLLINSON.

LIVERPOOL.

SHORT NOTICES.

Every issue of *The Year's Work in English Studies* raises our opinion of the value of the publication and adds to our debt to the English Association and the Editors and contributors. The issue for 1924 (Oxford: University Press. 318 pp. 7*s.* 6*d.*, or to members, 3*s.* 6*d.*) is the fifth that has appeared and the first to contain no contribution from Sir Sidney Lee, who till now acted as sole or joint-editor. The last months of his life, now unhappily closed, were given to his *Life of King Edward VII.* In his place Professor Herford is coupled as an Editor with Dr Boas—'uno avolso non deficit alter Aureus.' The contributors of the sections remain as for 1923 except that Professor E. V. Gordon of Leeds succeeds both Miss E. E. Wardale for 'Anglo-Saxon Studies' (now called 'Old English Studies'), and Professor P. G. Thomas for 'Middle English.'

Each section being in the hands of an expert, it is needless to say that the reader is presented with a great amount of really searching and valuable criticism. Professor Tolkien's account of the first two publications of the Place-Name Society runs to eleven pages, and many other examples could be given in which the criticism appears to be of the highest possible value. I think myself that a little warmer praise might have been given to the new *Histoire de la Littérature anglaise* by MM. Legouis and Cazamian—Legouis' appreciation of Shakespeare seems to me extraordinarily just and delicately expressed—whereas another work (reviewed in this *Review*, vol. xx, p. 178), by a very eminent scholar, appears to be rated more highly than it deserves. A survey like this must provoke some differences of opinion, but no one

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can leave it without admiration for the excellence of the work which our best scholars in all departments have bestowed upon it. One notices but few misprints: but on p. 62, l. 3 'to a study' should perhaps read 'to a student,' on p. 88 *De Claribus Mulieribus* is an obvious slip, on p. 133 *Mariam* twice appears as *Marian*.

G. C. M. S.

One must rejoice in the wide popularity already attained by Mr H. W. Fowler's *Dictionary of Modern English Usage* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926. viii + 742 pp. 7*s.* 6*d.*). Mr Fowler takes as his guide the best possible authority, the *Oxford Dictionary*; his personal acquaintance with the usage of the best speakers of English does not date from yesterday: he touches on a great variety of little questions on which people with shorter experience and less literary knowledge are in doubt of the right answer, and his recommendations are generally marked by strong common sense as well as literary taste and are conveyed in a very fresh and pungent style. If his readers follow him, the result on the whole can only be good. I am sorry that it did not occur to him to say a helpful word on the neologisms: 'I cannot help but say,' 'tragedy' (= deed of bloodshed), 'an account of how they had died,' 'scientist.' In his phonetics, Mr Fowler perhaps sacrifices scientific accuracy too much to 'common sense,' e.g. in his account of his system of notation: 'g is reckoned hard (get); s is reckoned hard (set).' In the latter case 'hard' means breathed, not voiced, and 'g' being a voiced sound should therefore be called 'soft.' But it is inconsistently called 'hard' in distinction to the sound 'j' (or 'dzh'). Is 'burglarious' really pronounced 'buglār-ius'? The directions for Uhlan (oo'lan), Zwieback (tswē'bahk) seem needlessly in defiance of the German pronunciation of the second syllables of these words.

Mr Fowler knows well how many English words have been simplified in spelling through the good sense of writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries who preferred 'spite' to 'spight,' 'dismal' to 'dismall,' 'privilege' to 'priveledge,' 'war' to 'warr,' 'governor' to 'governour,' 'he' to 'hee,' 'always' to 'allwayes.' One would hope therefore that he would give a helping hand to those who are trying to do the same service to the written language of to-day, and when two forms are in use, would recommend the simpler one. It is disappointing to find that he recommends the retention of 'rhyme' against 'rime,' and says of the substitution of '-or' for '-our': 'It is not worth while to resist such a gradual change or to fly in the face of national sentiment by trying to hurry it'; of the forms 'fag(g)ot': 'spell with two *g*'s,' and of the forms 'g(u)ild': 'the revival [of the earlier] *gild* usually puzzles the reader for a moment and should be abandoned as an affectation.' These surely are counsels of pusillanimity.

Mr Fowler's readers will all grieve with him for the loss of his brother to whom this book is dedicated and whose collaboration was so valuable to him in his earlier works.

G. C. M. S.

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In *A Cabinet of Characters* (London: H. Milford. 1925. xliv+437 pp. 12*s.* 6*d.*) Miss Gwendolen Murphy, already known for her *Bibliography of English Character-Books 1608–1700*, gives us specimens of 'characters' ranging from one by Theophrastus to one by Mr Galsworthy, and prefaced by an Introduction which, if not quite as lucid as one might wish, is a useful account of the different types of the *genre*. It will be seen that Miss Murphy uses the word 'character' in a wide sense, as well as in the more restricted sense in which it is applied to 'characters' such as Overbury's and Earle's. The extracts are given in the original spelling. Each group is preceded by a short critical note. There are eleven illustrations. In l. 13 of Davies' epigram *In Afrum* (p. xv) 'the' seems to have dropped out before 'names.' In the note p. xiii the spelling, 'Nuremburg,' is open to exception. The motto 'Hi guten Tiriact vnd Wurmsam' on the tooth-drawer's banner (p. 193) is left unexplained. Dr L. A. Willoughby informs me that it means 'Here (you may get) good theriac and worm seed' (medical remedies, the latter for intestinal worms).

G. C. M. S.

The members of the English Department of the University of Michigan may be congratulated on *Studies in Shakespeare, Milton and Donne* (University of Michigan Publications. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1925. 232 pp.). However familiar with recent work on Milton and Donne no student should neglect either Mr J. H. Hanford's careful paper on Milton's early literary development or Mr L. I. Bredvold's on the religious thought of Donne. There is much in Mr C. C. Fries' paper to support the belief that Shakespearian punctuation was, after all, rather structural than rhetorical or elocutionary. Whether Mr O. J. Campbell has really thrown much fresh light on *Love's Labour's Lost* or *The Two Gentlemen*, others must decide. I may be allowed to say, however, that, before giving the dates of performance of *Lælia* and *Pedantius*, and touching on the source of *Lælia* and its relation to *Twelfth Night*, Mr Campbell might have done well to consult my editions of these plays. The volume has unfortunately a good many misprints, e.g. p. 51, n. 5, 'Bangs,' for 'Bang,' p. 58, note 23 cont., 'of' for 'Cf.,' 'Königen' for 'Königin,' p. 107, l. 22, 'quod' for 'quod nunquam,' p. 113, l. 32, 'tibi' for 'tibi sit,' p. 119, l. 29, 'by best' for 'my best,' p. 145, l. 10, 'euga' for 'euge,' p. 146, l. 11, 'ad quem' for 'ad quam,' etc.

G. C. M. S.

In his conscientious little thesis *Die Frauengestalten in Molières Werken* (Halle: Max Niemeyer. 1925. 52 pp. 2 M. 20) Herr Max Kapp has carefully pinned down, described, and classified Molière's female characters much as if they were butterflies. He has not omitted a single specimen. The result is to impress the reader with the plenitude and variety of Molière's female world and with his intimate knowledge of the female heart. One or two criticisms may be permitted. Although Molière calls Dorine a *suivante* and Nicole and

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Toinette *servantes*, there is apparently no difference of social status between them. The only one of Molière's more important servants who is distinctly of a lower class is Martine, the kitchen-maid of *Les Femmes savantes*. Herr Kapp is a little rash in endorsing Faguet's opinion that Célimène is not a coquette. If her letters to Acaste and Clitandre do not spell coquetry it is difficult to say what does. Finally, as a more general criticism, the word 'type' occurs far too often. The majority of Molière's men and women are not merely types but individuals.

A. T.

In *Dramatic Theory in Spain* (Cambridge: University Press. 3*s.* 6*d.*) Mr H. J. Chaytor has rendered a real service to University teaching of Spanish, which suffers greatly from lack of texts, by collecting a number of passages representing ideas on the theory of the drama current during the Golden Age. Most of these, being available only in expensive or rare editions, are beyond the reach of all but a few research students, and Mr Chaytor has been able, in some eighty small pages, to make selections from nine important writers, to annotate them liberally and to provide them with a succinct introduction. It is easy to object to a book of this scope that this or that writer is omitted from it, or treated too briefly, and a larger volume would certainly have been more useful. But it is very much more to the point to praise the enterprise of author and publishers in issuing this book, and to hope that it may be widely taken up wherever Spanish literature is taught, and followed by companion volumes for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The documents of the Romantic period, many of them published only in reviews and other journals, now very scarce, stand especially in need of being reprinted.

E. A. P.

It is not easy for a single reviewer to do justice to a volume like *Studies in German Literature* (Madison: University of Wisconsin. 1925. $2), consisting of miscellaneous articles contributed in honour of Alexander Rudolph Hohlfeld, since 1900 head of the Department of German in the University of Wisconsin. A. W. Aron ('Anatole France and Goethe') illustrates Anatole France's familiarity with Goethe. J. C. Blankenagel ('Heinrich von Kleist's Pursuit of Happiness') writes attractively on Kleist's notion of happiness and his failure to realize it. F. Bruns ('Die Motivierung aus dem Unbewussten bei Heinrich von Kleist') holds that many of Kleist's principal characters, e.g. Richter Adam, Käthchen, Prinz Friedrich, proceed somnabulistically from unconsciousness to consciousness. He leans on Sigmund Freud for support. G. C. Cast ('The Religious Views of Gerhart Hauptmann as reflected in his Works') comes to the natural conclusion that the poet is no formalist, subscribes to no particular creed, but finds salvation for the individual as well as for society in self-sacrificing human love. E. Feise ('Zum Problem von Goethes *Clavigo*') finds a division of dramatic interest between the irresolute hero (Clavigo) and the affec-

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tionate brother (Beaumarchais) and discusses the affection of Goethe for his sister, Cornelia. G. F. Lussky ('Die Frauen in der mittelhochdeutschen Spielmannsdichtung') gives a searching analysis of the social position of women in three representative poems, viz. *Rother*, *Crescentia* (from the *Kaiserchronik*), and *Athis und Prophilias*. B. Q. Morgan ('Three Translations of Goethe's *Iphigenie auf Tauris*') compares the skill of Beverly Tucker, Anna Swanwick, and Elizabeth Dowden. C. M. Purin ('Tolstoi und Kröger') gives a very full account of the influence of Tolstoi on the Holstein novelist, Timm Kröger. E. C. Roedder ('Blätter aus meiner Schillermappe') throws light on certain uncompleted dramatic projects of Schiller's, viz. *Die Begebenheit zu Famagusta*, *Das Ereignis zu Verona*, and *Die Braut in Trauer*. The articles which appeal most directly to the present reviewer are those by M. B. Evans on 'The Attitude of Andreas Gryphius toward the Supernatural,' L. M. Price on 'Richardson in the Moral Weeklies of Germany,' and E. Prokosch on 'Rhythmus und Persönlichkeit in Goethes *Faust*,' an essay on the nature and purpose of the metrical changes in *Faust*. Professor Hohlfeld is to be congratulated on this tribute of regard from his pupils and colleagues.

G. W.

We have received from Messrs Gyldendal, Copenhagen, the prospectus of a new organ for Scandinavian Philology, *Acta Philologica Scandinavica*, which issued its first number in April. The journal, which is to be international in character, and to print its contents in English, French and German, is subventioned by the Rask-Ørsted Fund, and edited by Dr J. Brøndum-Nielsen and Dr Lis Jacobsen. It will appear four times a year, and the subscription is 16 kroner.

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NEW PUBLICATIONS.

June—August, 1926

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BERNBAUM, L., The Views of the Great Critics on the Historical Novel (*Publ. M. L. A. Amer.*, xli, 2, June).

CORNFORD, L. C., Interpretations. London, G. G. Harrap. 6*s.*

DELACROIX, H., L'Analyse psychologique de la fonction linguistique. (Zaharoff Lecture, 1926.) Oxford, Clarendon Press. 2*s.*

Festschrift F. Kluge zum 70. Geburtstag dargebracht von W. Franz, O. Behaghel, K. Bohnenberger, O. Dammann und andern. Tübingen, Englisches Seminar. 8 M.

FRIEDERICI, G. Hilfswörterbuch für den Amerikanisten. Lehnwörter aus Indianer-Sprachen und Erklärungen altertümlicher Ausdrücke. (Stud. über Amerika und Spanien, Extra-Serie, ii.) Halle, M. Niemeyer. 8 M.

GOEBEL, J., W. Dilthey and the Science of Literary History (*Journ. Engl. Germ. Phil.*, xxv, 2).

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NEIHARDT, J. G., Poetic Values: their Reality and our Need of them. London, Macmillan. 7*s.* 6*d.*

RAND, E. K., Ovid and his Influence. (Our Debt to Greece and Rome.) London, G. G. Harrap. 5*s.*

RICHARDS, I. A., Science and Poetry. London, Kegan Paul. 7*s.* 6*d.*

SPINGARN, J. E., Creative Criticism. Essays on the Unity of Genius and Taste. London, H. Milford. 6*s.*

VAN TIEGHEM, P., La sensibilité et la passion dans le roman européen au XVIII[e] siècle (*Rev. litt. comp.*, vi, 3, July).

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WALZEL, O., Das Wortkunstwerk. Mittel und Erforschung. Leipzig, Quelle und Meyer. 14 M.

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MOORE, O. H., The Young King Henry Plantagenet, 1155–1183, in History, Literature and Tradition. (Ohio State University Studies, ii, 12.) Columbus, Ohio State Univ.

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AUSTIN, H. D., Dante Notes (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, xli, 6, June).

BARBIERI, F., Alcuni caratteri della controriforma in Lombardia (*Giorn. stor. della lett. ital.*, lxxxvii, 3).

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CHARLIER, G., La plus ancienne chanson wallone (*Acad. royale de langue et de litt. franç., Bull.*, iv, 6, May).

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(*c*) *Modern French.*

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